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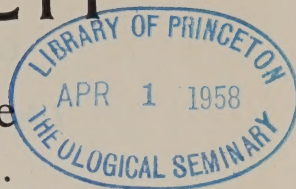
THE ALL-PRESENT GOD:

A STUDY IN ST. AUGUSTINE



# THE CHURCH

An Introduction to the  
Theology of St. Augustine



by

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15 & 17 SOUTH BROADWAY, ST. LOUIS 2, MO.

AND

33 QUEEN SQUARE, LONDON, W. C.

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*Library of Congress Catalog Card Number: 57-12148*

*Printed in the United States of America  
by Vail-Ballou Press, Inc., Binghamton, New York*



*With devotion  
To my Mother*

*Who taught me to pray  
Who inspired me to love the Church  
Who guided my steps to the Altar  
On her eightieth birthday*





## PREFACE

**S**T. AUGUSTINE, the Father of Fathers and the Doctor of Doctors, is of the past, present, and future. The intellectual attainments of the ages preceding him converge in him; religious knowledge sweeping down on succeeding generations, diverges from him. He imbibed the culture of the ancients; he nourished the souls of the Middle Ages; he sheds light for the mind of modern man. His mind lived in the ancient world; since his death it lived for fifteen centuries with undiminished vigor in the Christian world; and will continue to live as a beaconlight in the world of mankind. He is the embodiment of all ages and of all peoples.

He is of pagan past. In him we find amassed the vast intellectual treasures of the ante-Christian world. The best intellectual ingredients of ten centuries have gone into the formation of the soul of St. Augustine. He was imbued with Graeco-Roman culture. From it he inherited depth and subtlety of thought, clarity, and fineness of expression. He entered into the richly laden treasures of Greek thought: he examined, separated, rejected, appropriated. He made an illuminating meditation on the course of the history of man drawing lessons which no man weighing major human events can afford to ignore.

Augustine appeared on the scene of Christianity at a time when, under the onslaught of the Germanic peoples, the western half of the Roman Empire had begun to crumble. Is it too much to suppose that it was a providential power that made in Augustine, the flowering of the ancient world, emerge at this crucial point in distant Africa? Through him the treasures of the Graeco-Roman world were preserved and transformed to the needs of Christianity, and then transmitted as a heritage to a new world, and as a guidepost to a new order.

Augustine was personally associated with some of the greatest

religious and philosophical movements of the time. In consequence, he writes with passion and conviction because he experienced inwardly what he wrote; he opposes with vehemence the error he once espoused; he defends with alacrity the faith he adopted. Like St. Paul, St. Augustine, sometimes called the second St. Paul, was able to appreciate the Christian religion because he was not always with it. Moreover, coming as he did in the wake of some of the greatest agitations in Church history, when pivotal doctrines of revelation were in quandary, he became the great theologian who gave the theological structure to doctrines which were formulated by the first ecumenical councils.

In Augustine we find not only the best of the Graeco-Roman culture, but an embodiment of the Christian tradition of the first four centuries. The African Bishop stands in the middle of the patristic era like an immense reservoir, nourishing itself on many rivulets. Gathering the living waters of doctrine, morals, spirituality from the Fathers who preceded him, he enriched them by the vitality and vigor of his own spirit only to release them in a swollen stream to his successors. Generations after generations of Christians have been drawing the quickening waters of life from this ever fresh and ever flowing stream. It is to the glory of St. Augustine that he was able to amass and digest, by and large, the great heritage of the Greek and Latin Churches of the first four centuries, present it in the light of the natural achievements of the Graeco-Roman mind, enrich it by his own peerless genius, and bequeath it to Western culture.

St. Augustine proved himself to be not only the greatest theologian but also the greatest philosopher of the patristic period. He made good use of the philosophy with which he was imbued to serve as an instrument for the rational exposition of faith. It was his great achievement to have been able to strike a proper proportion in the use of the revealed word of God found in the Scriptures, of the tradition conveyed by the Fathers and of the attainments of reason drawn from philosophers. As a consequence of establishing a proper balance between authority and reason, there resulted the right blend of positive and speculative theology. His achievements in the wedding of faith and reason have proven a perennial blessing for both. The dangers of obscurantism were



removed and the means of enlightenment were provided for. Origen and Augustine opened up a clear and wide avenue of rational faith. Centuries later Anselm and Thomas will tread down this same avenue.

There is something universal, even exceptional, about Augustine's place in the history of human thought. Among the potentates of the mind, architects of thought, he stands alone as one who has never lost his hold on the minds of others, as one who has never been lost to sight. From the moment he entered the Christian arena as thinker, writer, expounder, exegete, and apologist, he became the center of interest for the Western world. In the course of the history of Christian thought in the West, Augustine's name has never been consigned to oblivion, never pushed to the background. To this day its luster remains untarnished.

During his life time he was the moving spirit of the numerous councils held in his native Africa. Hereafter ecumenical as well as provincial councils, even the councils of Trent and the Vatican, had their eyes turned toward St. Augustine. He was the recognized champion of orthodoxy and unity against heresies and schisms that beset the Church of his day. His brilliance in the exposition of the Scriptures and conveyance of tradition made him the arsenal against all future heresies and schisms. His exegetical works, sermons, letters, doctrinal treatises had a meaning not only for their own times but for all times.

His achievements have been so overwhelming that the Fathers who followed in the wake of St. Augustine were content, for the most part, with digesting the vast heritage he bequeathed to humanity. A St. Gregory the Great, a St. Leo the Great, a St. Isidor are the offspring of the African Doctor. The dynamic power of his thought remains unabated with the transition from the patristic to the scholastic periods. He is by far the most important single factor in the development of Christian theology in the Middle Ages. What the period of theology comprised between the ninth and the fifteenth centuries would have been without him is difficult to augur.

In Peter Lombard's epoch-making *Book of Sentences*, which survived from the twelfth to the sixteenth century as the standard textbook of theology in the universities of the times, by far the

lion's share was drawn from the works of the Bishop of Hippo. Anselm is filled with the spirit of St. Augustine. During the Golden Age of the scholastic period Augustine reigns supreme. The Franciscans from Alexander of Hales to Scotus are immersed in him. The Dominicans esteem him. St. Albert the Great says: "Whoever will contradict Augustine in matters of faith and morals is guilty of great impiety." St. Thomas recognizes his authority from the multitude of passages he quotes and from adopting his spirit.

There is hardly any domain of thought associated with religion that was not influenced by the genius from Africa, even after the scholastic period. The polemical writers during the reformation on both the Protestant and Catholic sides had recourse to St. Augustine for their doctrinal weapons. The great religious orders became the beneficiaries of his spirituality and piety. Such masters of spiritual life as St. Francis de Sales, de Bérulle, Olier, St. Anthony of Padua drank deeply of those quickening waters. The concept of peace, the political theories, relation between Church and State, which played such an important role in the political life of the Middle Ages cannot be understood in their full light without recourse to St. Augustine. Even among the philosophers, who proceeded independently of scholasticism, as did Descartes, Malebranche, Pascal, the School of Port-Royal, Leibnitz, Berkeley traces will be found of the great luminary of the Western world in their metaphysics, psychology, and theodicy.

Today St. Augustine is just as much a living force as he was of yore in his native African Church which is no more; as he was in the remainder of the patristic period; as he was in the scholastic age; as he was at the time of the Reformation. Witness the heightened interest on the occasion of the 1500 anniversary of his death in 1930 when a flood of articles, books, and commemorative periodicals in many languages issued from the press. Witness the renewed special interest in 1954 when the world was celebrating the 1600 anniversary of the birth of the greatest genius of Christianity. Take note of the heightened interest in the editions and translations of the Fathers in practically all Christian lands; in these series the works of St. Augustine occupy the foremost place and the highest esteem. When the souls of individuals are undergoing a scrutiny and the minds of men perceive that they are at cross-

roads, they tend to seek the light of one who wrote the immortal *Confessions* and the ingenious *City of God*.

No thinker, no philosopher, no religious writer—outside the inspired authors of Sacred Scripture—has enjoyed such a long, uninterrupted, unabated universal popularity in the Christian world as the unusual Saint of North Africa. He was and is the boast of the whole Christian Church—the Protestant and the Catholic recognize his genius and merit. His name has survived as an ever living and ever influencing force for over fifteen centuries. It concerns the man of letters, the historian of thought, the seeker of truth, the scrutinizer of one's inner self, the statesman, the philosopher, the psychologist, the theologian. No Christian mind has been able to disseminate truth with such overpowering abundance, to stimulate the will with greater charity, to provide the heart with a greater multitude of experiences.

St. Augustine is an architect of thought, a poet of intuition, a dialectician of power, an artist of expression. That is why he is appealing and enthralling to us after so many centuries. In his writings there is movement in his tones, a glow in imagery, charm in expression, vigor in dialectic, splendor in spiritual vision. In the presentation of doctrine there is an intellectual structure, a subtle acumen, rigorous logic, facile perspicuity. There is one single purpose giving order and finality to an immense reservoir of thought: the attainment of happiness in the love of God, here on earth in a limited measure, in the hereafter in a consummate degree.

These are the reasons which explain the prodigious influence of St. Augustine on the mind of man down through the ages, the ever youthful vitality of his works, the perennial fecundity of his thoughts, the dynamic power of his religion. But is not the most fundamental reason for the persistent survival of his thought to be found in the fact that it is expressive of that truth which approaches to, and participates in, the permanence of eternal Truth? For its attainment Augustine had spent himself; to this end all of his philosophy and theology had been written.

We Christians today, whether we perceive it or not, live under his influence notwithstanding the fact that many long centuries separate us from this Latin and African Doctor. More than any one else he is the Father of Western Christianity and the molder



of our Christian minds. Augustine's thought, after passing through many channels and being gripped into system, can still be recognized as his own. His religion, doctrine, morality, spirituality have entered into the warp and woof of the Christian way of thinking. Because of the span of time which separates us from him, and more on account of the immensity of his writings which are forbidding even to the learned, few realize the impact of this one mind on the millions and millions of intellects which came in his wake. The learned scholar as well as the illiterate faithful, if they are conservative Christians, think with the thoughts, feel with the sentiments, speak with the words of that luminary which was once in Africa.

There is every reason to believe that Augustine will remain the prophet and the oracle, the monitor and the guide of future generations. Men like the Bishop of Hippo do not die. Although he thought, loved, wrote in one corner of the Church, he did all for the whole Church and for all times. His voice is but an expression of the revelation of God. As long as there is a human mind and a human heart there will always be need for the light which illumined the way of Christianity for sixteen centuries and always need for the warmth and consolation and courage which his works radiated to mankind. The centuries to come cannot make his thoughts grow old because they are the expressions, the desires, the longings of human nature.

## INTRODUCTION

**I**F there ever has been a time in the history of the divided Christian Churches when they have come to an earnest decision to explore every avenue that could lead to a union of all, that time is with us right now. The willingness on the part of the heads of the separated churches, the serious efforts of prominent leaders, the widespread interest among all denominations, and a sincere conviction in the feasibility of their aims create an atmosphere as would not have been deemed possible some fifty years ago. The present movement toward but a single Christian Church, organized on an unprecedented scale, sustained by systematic endeavors, and suborned by a new enthusiasm, may be the dawn of a new Christian era.

The prevailing will to bring unity into the Christian fold is highly commendable. But, according to the present scope, if Christianity is successful in achieving some kind of an association of churches, it will not be fundamentally more than the unity of name which they now possess. For even if it should be possible to establish a unity of government, this will not reestablish that unity for which Christ prayed before He departed from this world. All efforts to effect unity, after so many centuries of division, will be made according to man-made blueprints and in the spirit of mutual compromise. In the light of Sacred Scripture, the Church of Christ, truly one and truly universal, cannot be assumed to be defectible and cannot be made subject to compromise. True, in the Sacred Books, the Church is presented in its planned form and incipient stages of organization, but in early tradition it is seen in its full operation. Tradition recognizes only one universal Church and disavows churches not living in communion with it.

Undoubtedly, St. Augustine is the most outstanding representa-

tive of the Fathers, the most abundant conveyer of tradition, a faithful witness of history, the greatest exponent of the doctrine on the Church. He is acclaimed by all Christians: the Fathers of the Reformation expressed great respect for him; the Roman Pontiffs have always extolled him. Luther, Calvin, and other early Reformers claimed him for their side; Pope Pius XI was merely voicing the sentiments of the Catholic Church when he said: "He is ours" (*noster est*). Although from time immemorial the Church hails him as the "Doctor of grace," he merits equally as well to be honored as the "Doctor of ecclesiology" since in this domain his teaching is so vast, penetrating, complete that it constituted a rich fund for all ages of Christian thought.

There are precedents to the work accomplished in this book, which presents as its core the doctrine of St. Augustine on the Church. The first attempt at a synthesis was made in a series of long articles by H. Schmidt, "Des Augustinus Lehre von der Kirche," in *Jahrbücher für deutsche Theologie*, VI (1861), 197-255; VII, 237-281; VIII, 261-325. With greater penetration was Augustine's ecclesiology presented by H. Reuter in his work *Augustinische Studien* (Gotha: 1887), in which he assembled the articles that originally appeared in the *Brieger Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*. Herein lies the source of some biased views which have almost perpetuated themselves in works dealing with St. Augustine's doctrine of the Church. In 1892 appeared T. Specht's *Die Lehre von der Kirche nach dem hl. Augustinus*. The foregoing works, as well as that of P. Battifol, *Le catholicisme de saint Augustin* (3me éd; Paris: 1929) can be considered as now antiquated. The most complete presentation is that of F. Hofmann, *Der Kirchenbegriff des hl. Augustinus* (München: 1933). There is no complete work dedicated to this important subject in the English language; G. G. Willis, *Saint Augustine and the Donatist Controversy* (London: 1950) deals with some ecclesiological aspects of St. Augustine's doctrine.

The subtitle, "An Introduction to the Theology of St. Augustine," results from the manner in which the Bishop treats the subject. His idea of the Church is so interwoven with his entire theology that unless the Church is viewed in the light of the other doctrines it will not be fully understood in itself nor in its



relationship to the whole of Christian revelation. The essence of Christianity is not this doctrine or that, not such rites and observances, not certain sacraments and the power of jurisdiction, but it is the Church, and there is no Church without authority, none without the whole assembly of doctrines, none without a moral code, none without the life of grace, none without Christ and the sacraments, none without unity, apostolicity, catholicity.

In interpreting and digesting the thought contained in the voluminous sources bequeathed to us by St. Augustine no individual can consider himself as self-sufficient and independent of the gigantic accomplishment of the past and present times. No life is long enough to make an independent study of all the doctrines and points of doctrine which are involved in a study like the present. The better that we are disposed and equipped to utilize the investigations of scholars who have devoted much time and energy to throw the spotlight on points of doctrine the better will our prospects be in interpreting and systematizing the enormous thought of the Bishop of Hippo.

A final observation may serve as a key to the understanding of the reason for the use of such editions as occur in the footnotes of these pages. Throughout the book the Maurist edition of the Benedictine Fathers, which has been incorporated into the Migne edition of the Fathers (indicated by PL) has been used. It is placed first because it is most commonly found in libraries; it is complete, carefully executed, reliable; few, if any, discrepancies from the more recent critical editions will be found in it. To satisfy the most rigid requirements of scholarship new editions are added to that of Migne: viz., the Viennese edition of the Latin Fathers (*Corpus Vindobonense*) whenever it is available (abbreviated CSEL) or other editions of particular works.



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## PART I

### THE CONSTITUTION OF THE CHURCH

The Church was for St. Augustine "the treasure hidden in the field" (Matt. 13:44). Her meaning, power, and beauty were hidden from him in the early part of his life notwithstanding the fact that he was born of a devout Catholic mother and in that part of Africa in which Christianity flourished at the time. When he unearthed the treasure, he relinquished once and for all the pleasures and blandishments of a promising world, and gave all he had—mind and heart—to make it his own. Again, we cannot but think that the Church was "the one pearl of great price which, when he had found, he sold all that he had and bought it" (Matt. 13:46). From that time on he espoused her cause wholeheartedly, defended her doctrine indefatigably, vindicated her unity passionately, gave his heart and mind unflinchingly to her in devotion and service.

He sees Christ, the incarnate Word of God, identified with the Church. Not human wisdom but He alone is the Savior of men, the mediator between God and men, and she continues Christ's work on earth. She is the dispenser of life, the healer of human nature, the ark of salvation. She is the divinely appointed teacher in matters doctrinal and moral; her authority is unquestionable and surpasses that of the wisest of men. She governs and rules men in the name of God for their own good that they may attain supreme happiness in life everlasting. For this reason the Church is the treasure, the precious stone here upon earth.

If the Church is to be compared to a precious stone it will be more aptly one that contains three facets. Such a stone is one, yet the human eye poring over it observes three images, and centering its attention on any one facet will have a particular impression of it for that moment. So, too, the Church is one but

there can be three distinct viewpoints of her. And thus St. Augustine's rich and manifold concept of the Church, in order to be fully appreciated, must be broken up into its main components.

The first part of this book deals with the concept of the Church. Attention will be focused in the first chapter upon the Church considered as the mystical body of Christ; in the second chapter, as a hierarchical institution; in the third, as a social organization. A fourth chapter will be added to study the relationship which exists between the mystical body of Christ on the one hand, and the hierarchic, sacramental, social institution on the other hand.



## CHAPTER I

### THE CHURCH, THE MYSTICAL BODY OF CHRIST

THERE are now innumerable systematic treatises on the Church. It was not always so. What is their history? It has been pointed out that the controversies between the Catholic Apologists and the Fathers of the Reformation in the sixteenth century gave origin to special works on the Church.<sup>1</sup> These controversies have given a strong impetus to a restudy of the nature of the Church of Christ and have occasioned numerous works on it. There have, however, been systematized treatises dealing with the Church previous to this period. The Dominican Cardinal John Torquemada (known in Latin literature as Turrecremata) wrote his work *Summa de Ecclesia* in the fifteenth century<sup>2</sup> and Archbishop Giacomo Capocci published his *De Regimine Christiano* in the very beginning of the fourteenth century.<sup>3</sup> Yet there can be no doubt that the great body of truths constituting these formal treatises are found in the works of St. Thomas, the Prince of the Scholastics, even if they are not organized under a special title.<sup>4</sup>

If, however, the primal and common source of all treatises on the Church is to be sought we must revert to the fourth century

<sup>1</sup> Thus P. Torréilles, *Le mouvement théologique en France depuis ses origines jusqu'à nos jours* (Paris: s.d.), p. 172.

<sup>2</sup> Turrecremata, *Summa de Ecclesia* (Venetiis: 1561). M. d' Herbigny *Theologica de Ecclesia* (Paris: 1920), I, 9, points to this work as being the first systematic treatise on the Church. Cf. K. Binder, *Wesen und Eigenschaften der Kirche bei Kardinal Juan de Torquemada* (Innsbruck: 1955); J. F. Stockmann, *Joannis de Turrecremata O.P. vita ejusque doctrina de corpore Christi mystico* (Bologna-Haarlem: 1951).

<sup>3</sup> H. X. Arquillière, *Le plus ancien traité de l'Eglise, Jacques de Viterbe, De Regimine Christiano, Études des sources et édition critique* (Paris: 1926).

<sup>4</sup> M. J. Congar, *Esquisses du Mystère de l'Eglise* (Paris: 1953), p. 60.

of the Christian era, to St. Augustine, the greatest of the Fathers. Here we shall discover the materials that have entered into the texture of the works of St. Thomas and the Scholastics, here the substance that is found in Torquemada and Capocci, here is the fountain from which the Fathers of the Reformation purported to draw, here the doctrine and pattern of defense for the Apologists of the sixteenth century, here is the warp and woof of modern ecclesiastical works and thoughts. As Battifol observes, Augustine not only is reputed to be the Doctor of grace but also merited to be the Doctor of ecclesiology.<sup>5</sup>

St. Augustine has at no time written anything that approximates to a systematic treatise on the Church. In order to be able to form a concept of the Church it is necessary to acquaint oneself with all of his many works and their historical backgrounds. Some points of his doctrine are stressed and defended, but others are merely mentioned casually. Some elements are gleaned from polemical treatises, others from instructional and exhortative works. In all of them are to be found myriads of pieces of mosaic from which can be formed a whole, rich picture of a Church which the African Bishop defended, promoted, and loved. No Father of the Church nor Scholastic supplies us with more wealth of thought on the Church and manifests more zealous devotion than did the Bishop of Hippo.

The Church of St. Augustine cannot be grasped in a single and simple concept. He himself does not undertake to define it. Many elements enter into its formation. What is more, these elements are disparate. Some are external and visible, others are internal to the members constituting the Church, and are thus invisible; some temporal, others eternal. The way leading to a reconstruction of Augustine's mind becomes more intricate when we consider that his doctrine of the Church does not stand isolated but is intrinsically bound up with many other difficult doctrines.

St. Augustine gives utterance in many passages as the occasion demands to words, expressions and sentences, from which we are able to infer that the Church of his time was a Church of sacramental rites and a hierarchical order. Further, writing especially

<sup>5</sup> P. Battifol, *Le catholicisme de saint Augustin* (4me éd.; Paris: 1929), Introd., p. vi.

against Donatism, he is led to portray the Church concretely in its historical, geographical, visible form, which can be discerned from false churches. The aspect, however, of the concept of the Church which he cherished most fondly and which he never seems tired of teaching, repeating, emphasizing and expounding to his listeners is the Church considered as the body of Christ.<sup>6</sup> The union of the faithful with Christ in forming His Church is something "sublime, divine and mysterious."<sup>7</sup>

The Church is designated in the works of St. Augustine by the phrase *corpus Christi*, the body of Christ. The fuller designation with which we are acquainted, namely, "the mystical body of Christ" is of a much later origin.<sup>8</sup> It was introduced to express a

<sup>6</sup> On the various aspects of the doctrine of the Church as the mystical body of Christ in St. Augustine see the following more recent works and articles: J. Vetter, *Der hl. Augustinus und das Geheimnis des Leibes Christi* (Mainz: 1929); M. Comeau, *Saint Augustin, exégète du quatrième évangile* (Paris: 1930), pp. 339-69; J. Czuj, "Kościół katolicki u św. Augustyna," *Przegląd Teologiczny*, IV (1923), pp. 209-27; 281-98; *id.*, "Kościół jako mistyczne ciało Chrystusa u św. Augustyna," *Przegląd Katolicki*, 1930, 498-500; *id.*, *Kościół jako mistyczne Ciało Chrystusa według Św. Augustyna* (Lublin: 1936); M. del Río, "El Cristo Místico y la Comunión de los Santos según San Agustín," *Religión y Cultura*, XV (1931), 402-60; K. Adam, *Die geistige Entwicklung des heiligen Augustinus* (Augsburg: 1931); E. Mersch, *Le corps mystique du Christ* (2me éd.; Louvain: 1936), II, 34-131; F. Hofmann, *Der Kirchenbegriff des hl. Augustinus* (München: 1933); J. C. Gruden, *The Mystical Christ* (St. Louis: 1936), pp. 124 ff.; Boutet, "L'unité des chrétiens dans le Christ," *La vie spirituelle*, LII (1937), 78-83; LIII (1937), 76-89; E. Heston, "The Dogmatic Preaching of the Fathers," *Ecc. Rev.*, CIII (1940), 502-12; E. Mersch, "Deux traits de la doctrine spirituelle de saint Augustin," *Nouv. rev. théol.*, LVII (1930), 391-410; J. Rivière, "Notre vie dans le Christ selon Saint Augustin," *La vie spirituelle*, XXIV (1930), 112-34; W. Kwiatkowski, "Istota chrystjanizmu według św. Augustyna," *Studja Augustyńskie* (Warszawa: 1930), pp. 73-92; W. Staniszewski, *Kościół jako Mistyczne Ciało Chrystusa według Św. Augustyna* (Lublin: 1936); J. Zamega, "Il 'totus Christus' di S. Agostino nei suoi riflessi missionari," *Il pensiero missionario*, XI (1939), 193-208; C. Gombos, *Theologia charitatis apud S. Augustinum*; I De charitate Christi (Coloczae: 1940); E. Prina, *La controversia Donatista alla luce della dottrina del Corpo Mistico di Gesù Cristo nelle opere antidonatiste di S. Agostino* (Roma: 1942); G. Spanedda, *Il mistero della Chiesa nel pensiero di Sant' Agostino* (Sassari: 1944); P. V. Kornyljak, *Sancti Augustini de efficacia sacramentorum doctrina contra Donatistas* (Rome-Philadelphia: 1953).

<sup>7</sup> *Contra Faust.*, XXI, 8 (PL 42, 392).

<sup>8</sup> Cf. H. de Lubac, "Corpus Mysticum, étude sur l'origine et les premiers sens de l'expression," *Rech. de science rel.*, XXIX (1939), 257-302; 429-80; XXX (1940), 40-80; 191-226.



union of the Church's members with Christ. The terminology of St. Augustine, while not so exact and fixed as that established by the Scholastics, gives hardly any cause for ambiguity. When he speaks of Christ's human nature or its component parts, he refers to it or to them as *anima*, *caro*, *homo*,<sup>9</sup> *humana natura*<sup>10</sup> and *corpus*.<sup>11</sup> He avoids the use of *corpus Christi* to mean Christ's personal and physical body.

The Eucharist is, according to St. Augustine, also the body of Christ. And hence *corpus Christi* occurs in a twofold sense: in the real sense, as the body of Christ, and in an analogical sense, as the mystical body of Christ.<sup>12</sup> When Augustine speaks of Christ's body in the Eucharist, he at times alludes to it as the "sacrament of the body of Christ,"<sup>13</sup> but at times without the determining word "sacrament." In fact the expression "the body of Christ" occurs differently in the very same sentence, once meaning the Eucharist, the second time the mystical body.<sup>14</sup> But, in such cases, it is clear from the context which meaning is intended to be conveyed by the expression.

If not the exclusive, then by far the most common, use of the expression *corpus Christi* is to designate the Church, especially as it connotes the internal union of its members with Christ. It is almost a habit for the Bishop to mention the "body of Christ" and to add an apposition, viz., "the body of Christ, the Church," or "the body of Christ which is the Church." Or, vice versa, when he makes mention of the Church, he adds "the body of Christ."<sup>15</sup> Such appositives make it clear which "body of Christ" is meant, and at the same time stress the inner nature of the Church.

The term "mystical" is used by St. Augustine as being synony-

<sup>9</sup> Cf. *Sermo* 214, 7 (PL 38, 1069); *Contra Jul.*, 5, 15, 57 (PL 44, 815).

<sup>10</sup> *De Trin.*, 15, 26, 46 (PL 42, 1093-94).

<sup>11</sup> *De civ. Dei*, X, 29, 1-2 (PL 41, 308, ed. Dombart-Kalb, I, 448-49).

<sup>12</sup> G. Lecordier, *La doctrine de l'Eucharistie chez saint Augustin* (Paris: 1930), p. 73.

<sup>13</sup> *De pec. mer. et remis.*, I, 24, 34 (PL 44, 128; CSEL 60, ed. C. Urba and J. Zycha, 82).

<sup>14</sup> *Sermo* 272 (PL 38, 1247).

<sup>15</sup> The instances are innumerable, e.g., *De Trin.*, XV, 26, 46 (PL 42, 1093-94).

mous with the word "mysterious" and "invisible,"<sup>16</sup> but he does not use it in connection with the "body of Christ" as the Church. The Bishop also treats of an ecstatic elevation and mystical union of the soul with God, but neither in such an instance does he make use of the term "mystical."<sup>17</sup> It was introduced as a technical term for this phenomenon in the sixth century.<sup>18</sup> Nor did the other Fathers unite the term "*mysticum*" with "*corpus Christi*" to designate the Church as the body of Christ. The phrase *corpus mysticum* was employed by the Fathers, and even the medieval theologians, not in reference to the Church, but to Christ's corporal presence in the Eucharist.<sup>19</sup> A transition was made from the Eucharistic meaning of *corpus mysticum* to the ecclesiological sense. William of Auxerre introduced the distinction between the *corpus Christi naturale* and the *corpus Christi mysticum*,<sup>20</sup> whereas St. Thomas distinguished between the *corpus Christi verum* and the *corpus Christi mysticum*.<sup>21</sup>

The Fathers make use of the term "mystical" in reference to the Church, but not as a technical word but a descriptive one.<sup>22</sup> Thus St. Gregory of Nyssa<sup>23</sup> refers to the Church as a "mystical people"; St. Ephrem<sup>24</sup> calls the Church a "mystical spouse"; St. Jerome<sup>25</sup> names it the "mystical temple"; St. Cyril of Alexan-

<sup>16</sup> Cf., e.g., *De Trin.*, XV, 26, 46 (PL 42, 1093-94).

<sup>17</sup> See the well-known description of his own mystical experiences: *Confes.*, IX, 10, 23-26; cf. P. Henry, *La vision d'Ostie. Sa place dans la vie et dans l'oeuvre de saint Augustin* (Paris: 1950), p. 299; J. Pépin, "Primitiae spiritus." Remarques sur une citation paulinienne des 'Confessions' de saint Augustin," *Rev. de l'histoire des religions*, CXL (1951), 155-201; A. Mandouze, "L'extase d'Ostie," *Augustinus Magister* (Paris: 1954), I, 67-84.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. P. P. Parente, *Quaestiones de mystica terminologia* (Washington, D.C.: 1941), pp. 40-41; p. 12; see also J. de Guibert, *Theologia spiritualis* (3 ed.; Romae: 1946), p. 3.

<sup>19</sup> *Sermo* 272 (PL 38, 1247).

<sup>20</sup> *Summa aurea*, II, tr. 1, c. 4, q. 5.

<sup>21</sup> *In IV Sent.*, d. 12, q. 1, a. 3, sol. 3; cf. M. Grabmann, *Die Lehre des hl. Thomas von Aquin von der Kirche als Gotteswerk* (Regensburg: 1903), pp. 220 and 270.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. S. Tromp, *Corpus Christi quod est Ecclesia* (3 ed.; Romae: 1946), p. 100.

<sup>23</sup> *De bapt.* (MG 46, 421).

<sup>24</sup> *In Jud.* (ed. Vat. I, 321).

<sup>25</sup> *Dial. contra Pel.*, II, 25 (PL 23, 591).

dria<sup>26</sup> describes the union in the body of Christ as a "mystical union"; St. Ambrose<sup>27</sup> names Christ the "mystical Head." The term "mystical" can be substituted by the word "invisible" or "spiritual" to interpret the correct meaning in each of these phrases. Augustine, too, refers to the Church as being "mystical," which is not an appellation or designation but a description of its invisibility and spirituality, in consequence of which we cannot know who will be its members in the life to come.<sup>28</sup>

By not using the designation the "mystical body of Christ," the Fathers were spared the trouble of explaining the term "mystical." With its introduction into ecclesiology, its precise meaning was also in due time determined. Modern authors writing on the subject of the Church as the mystical body of Christ cannot pass over the term "mystical" without explaining it or making a longer or shorter study of it.<sup>29</sup>

The term "body" (*corpus*) did not have a definite, well-defined meaning. Several senses can easily be detected in the Latin of St. Augustine. 1) *Corpus* meant a reality that might be either corporeal or spiritual. It is in this sense that Tertullian calls God a *corpus*,<sup>30</sup> since whatever is not a *corpus* must be nothing.<sup>31</sup> It is also in this sense that he refers to "the Church which

<sup>26</sup> *In Io.*, I, 14 (PG 73, 161).

<sup>27</sup> *De Elia et Jejun.*, 10, 36-37 (PL 14, 710); *In Ps.* 118, serm. 20, 2 (PL 15, 1483).

<sup>28</sup> *Sermo* 252, 7 (PL 38, 1175): "Attendite illam Ecclesiam beatam, mysticam, magnam, . . ."

<sup>29</sup> Cf., e.g., M. d'Herbigny, *De Ecclesia* (Paris: 1921), I, 119; J. Gruden, *The Mystical Christ*, pp. 53 ff.; A. Goodier, "The Mystical Body," *The Month*, CLIX (1932), 289-97; J. Franzelin, *De Ecclesia Christi* (Romae: 1907), p. 310; Pius XII, *Mystici Corporis Christi*, 1943, ed. Herder, 63; C. Feckes, *Das Mysterium der heiligen Kirche* (3 Aufl.; Paderborn: 1951), pp. 39 ff.; M. D. Koster, *Ekklesiologie im Werden* (Paderborn: 1940), p. 118; O. Semmelroth, *Die Kirche als Ursakrament* (Frankfurt: 1954), pp. 30 ff.

<sup>30</sup> On this account Tertullian's God is seen by some as being material; such is the interpretation of R. E. Roberts, *The Theology of Tertullian* (London: 1924), p. 127.

<sup>31</sup> Thus in the work *Adv. Praxeas*, 7 (PL 2, 161; CSEL 47, ed. A. Kroymann, III, 235), Tertullian says that God is a "body" (*corpus*), "although He is a spirit." But in another work, *De carne Christi*, II (PL 2, 774; ed. F. Oehler, *Tertulliani Opera Omnia*, Lipsiae: 1851-54, II, 446), he gives us a definition of his *corpus*: "Everything that is, is a body in its own way (*sui*

is the body of three divine persons.”<sup>32</sup> Augustine states that he does not wish to enter into any dispute about the term *corpus*, but he, too, refers to this usage of the term.<sup>33</sup> In this meaning, he remarks, the human soul can be said to be a *corpus*.<sup>34</sup> 2) *Corpus* signifies that which is material, corporeal in opposition to the spirit or spiritual.<sup>35</sup> He develops this meaning in his philosophy of the nature of corporeal and spiritual beings. A body is described as being or moving in a place according to its three dimensions, and as being distributed in place according to the measurement of its parts.<sup>36</sup> 3) *Corpus*, translates the term “body” in the sense of an organism, composed of many members, with its vital growth, multiplicity of members, subordination of parts to the whole.

It must be remembered that Augustine was trained in the classical languages of the pagans and that after his conversion he had to acquire the Latin idiom of the Christians to express concepts which Christianity had introduced into human thought. It was not long, however, before he mastered the revealed thought and the customary medium of expression.<sup>37</sup> Augustine’s *corpus*

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*generis*); nothing is incorporeal (*incorporata*) unless it is not.” Tertullian did however teach that the human soul, although it was immortal, had a corporeal nature. Cf. Aug. *De Haer.*, 86 (PL 42, 46).

<sup>32</sup> *De bapt.*, 6 (PL 1, 1205; CSEL 20, ed. A. Reifferscheid and G. Wissowa, 206): “Necessario adjicitur Ecclesiae mentio, quoniam ubi tres, id est, Pater et Filius et Spiritus sanctus, ibi Ecclesia, quae trium corpus est.”

<sup>33</sup> *De orig. anim.*, II, 4 (PL 33, 722; CSEL 44, III, 550): “si corpus est omnis substantia, vel si quid aptius nuncupatur id quod aliquo modo est in seipso.”

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*: “Corpus est anima.”

<sup>35</sup> St. Augustine uses the word *corpus*, as do later philosophers, in opposition to *spiritus* or *anima* in the physical composition of man; cf. *De cura pro mortuis gerenda, passim* (PL 40, 591 ff.). *De fide et symb.*, X, 23 (PL 40, 193; CSEL 41, ed. J. Zycha, 28): “Et quoniam tria sunt quibus homo constat: spiritus, anima, et corpus: quae rursus duo dicuntur, quia saepe anima simul cum spiritu nominatur; pars enim quaedam ejusdem rationalis, quae carent bestiae, spiritus dicitur: principale nostrum spiritus est.”

<sup>36</sup> *Ep.* 127, 2, 4 (PL 33, 517; CSEL 44, III, 101); *Sermo* 23, 5, 5 (PL 38, 157); *Sermo* 277, 13, 13 (PL 38, 1264); *Ep.* 187, 5, 17 (PL 33, 838; CSEL 57, IV, 95); *ibid.*, 4, 11 (PL 33, 836; CSEL 57, IV, 90); *ibid.*, 4, 17 (PL 33, 838; CSEL 57, IV, 96). Cf. S. J. Grabowski, *The All-Present God: A Study in St. Augustine* (St. Louis: 1954), pp. 80 ff.

<sup>37</sup> Cf. J. Finaert, *L'évolution littéraire de saint Augustin* (Paris: 1939);



in the expression *corpus Christi* has a strong connotation of a spiritual reality, so that we practically lose sight of the corporeal sense of the type from which the analogy is taken. This is also the manner in which the other Fathers think of the Church. But in post-reformation ecclesiology of the sixteenth century, when the social and hierarchical elements come to the foreground, the corporeal and juridical sense of the word "body" gains ascendancy.

Augustine speaks for the first time of the Church as being the body of Christ in his work *De Genesi contra Manicheos*, written in 389-390. Here he describes the origin of the Church and states that Christ left the Father in heaven in order to descend upon earth and to appear to men. But Christ also left his mother, that is the Jewish synagogue, in order to unite Himself with His spouse, the Church, and thus to form one body with the latter.<sup>38</sup>

Christ, says St. Augustine, can be understood, according to the pronouncements of Sacred Scripture, in a threefold manner. Firstly, he is represented as true God, enjoying equality of nature and eternity with God the Father. In this viewpoint of Christ we prescind from any consideration of his human nature. Secondly, He is to be considered as God made man in the Incarnation; thus as possessing both natures, the human and the divine. He is mediator and head of the Church. Thirdly, Christ is to be taken no longer as an individual, but in His fullness, that is with the whole Church, with all the members. Of these He is the head, with them He constitutes one unit, one whole, one person, as it were.<sup>39</sup> It is in this third manner that the Bishop of Hippo very

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J. Balogh, "Augustins alter und neuer Stil," *Die Antike*, III (1927), 351-67; Christine Mohrmann, *Die altchristliche Sondersprache in den Sermones des hl. Augustin* (Nimeguen: 1932); *id.*, "Le latin commun et le latin des chrétiens," *Vigiliae christianae*, I (1947), 1 ff.; *id.*, "Comment saint Augustin s'est familiarisé avec le latin des chrétiens," *Augustinus Magister* (Paris: 1954), I, 111-16; M. Verheijen, *Eloquentia pedisequa: Observations sur le style des "Confessions" de saint Augustin* (Nimeguen: 1949).

<sup>38</sup> 24, 57 (PL 34, 215-16). Both of these images of the Church, viz., as spouse and the mystical body will occur frequently together. Cf. P. Schelkens, "De Ecclesia Sponsa Christi," *Augustiniana*, III (1953), 145-64.

<sup>39</sup> *Sermo* I, 1 (PL 39, 1943).

frequently considers both Christ, in His relation to the Church, and the Church inasmuch as she is intimately and inseparably joined to Christ. This is the whole Christ, the full Christ. Since Christ was destined from eternity to be a mediator and to have members, He and His members constitute the complete Christ. The relation between Christ and the Church, in so far as Christ Himself is concerned, is expressed by calling Christ "the head of the Church."

Before the Incarnation the Word rules over all things because they have been created by Him. But the Word cannot be said to be the head of all things because the creator does not descend, so to speak, to the level of created things, but, although most intimately present to them, He remains a transcendental being. And thus, if there were no Incarnation of the Son of God, He could not become the head of His Church unless in some wider sense.<sup>40</sup>

The union of the Word with the humanity takes place in the bosom of the Virgin Mother. In this temple Christ is united to His spouse, the human nature.<sup>41</sup> Through the assumption of a human nature Christ associates Himself with Adam and all mankind; He now belongs to the one human family.<sup>42</sup> Augustine maintains that one of the purposes of the Incarnation was the founding of the Church.<sup>43</sup> The words of St. Paul: "*Sacramentum hoc magnum est, ego autem dico in Christo et in Ecclesia*,"<sup>44</sup> occur thirty-five times in his works and that in a twofold interpretation. In thirty-four cases the union of bride and bridegroom is interpreted as prefiguring the mystical union of Christ and the Church—with each faithful soul as well as with all of them corporately; in one instance it refers to the physical union of Christ

<sup>40</sup> *Sermo* 91, 8, 8 (PL 38, 571); *In Io. Ev. tr.* 9, 10 (PL 35, 1463); *Enar. in Ps.* 83, 11 (PL 37, 1066); *Ep.* 140, 6, 15 (PL 33, 544; CSEL 44, 166).

<sup>41</sup> *Sermo* 126, 5, 6 (PL 38, 701): ". . . de utero scilicet virginali, ubi sanctae nuptiae factae sunt, Verbum et caro. . . ."

<sup>42</sup> *In Io. Ev. tr.* X, 11 (PL 35, 1472-73); *Enar. in Ps.* 26, 23 (PL 36, 211); cf. W. Kwiatkowski, "Istota chrystjanizmu według św. Augustyna," *Studja Augustyńskie* (Warszawa: 1931), p. 64.

<sup>43</sup> *Sermo* 137, 6, 6 (PL 38, 767); *Sermo* 191, 2, 3 (PL 38, 1010); *Enar. in Ps.* 3, 9 (PL 36, 77).

<sup>44</sup> Eph. 5:32.

with humanity in the Incarnation.<sup>45</sup> Through the Incarnation of the Son of God all mankind has been elevated to a certain union with God, and a new mankind (so to speak) whose head is Christ comes into existence.<sup>46</sup>

Christ became the head of His Church by the assumption of a human nature. Consequently, it is according to His humanity, which He has assumed for this purpose, that He is directly the head of His Church. St. Augustine expressly states regarding the immortal Johannine words: "*Verbum caro factum est*" (John 1:14), that it is not the *Verbum*, divinity as such, which is the head of the Church, but the *Verbum*, inasmuch as it has assumed the humanity of Christ, has become the head of the Church.<sup>47</sup>

The doctrine of the Incarnation of the Word is necessarily linked with the doctrine of the Church as the body of Christ. If the eternal Word had willed to remain in its divine nature, it could not have become, in a congruous manner, the head of humanity or of the Church. The heterogeneity of these two natures—the divine in Christ and the human in the Church—would render incongruous a purely divine headship over the Church constituted of human beings. Hence the need for the assumption by the Word of a human nature through which Christ becomes directly the head of the Church and rightfully also of all mankind.

These explanations are no innovation of St. Augustine but are common to the tradition anterior to his time. The human element in the Incarnation as a unitive link has been amply developed by the Alexandrian school of theology. St. Cyril, for instance, insists on it as a bond of union, whereby we are made partakers of divine nature, and participate in the Holy Ghost.<sup>48</sup>

How does St. Augustine conceive of the role of the head? L. Berti,<sup>49</sup> an Augustinian theologian, summarizes the doctrine of

<sup>45</sup> P. Colli, *La pericope paolina ad Ephesios 5, 32 nella interpretazione dei SS. Padri e del Concilio di Trento* (Parma: 1951), pp. 78–88.

<sup>46</sup> Cf. Kwiatkowski, *op. cit.*, p. 84; J. Czuj, "Kościół jako ciało mistyczne u św. Augustyna," *Przegląd Katolicki* (Warszawa: 1930), p. 498.

<sup>47</sup> *Enar. in Ps.* 148, 8 (PL 37, 1942).

<sup>48</sup> *In Io. Ev. tr.* 10, 14 (PG 73, 1045); *ibid.*, 17, 20, 21 (PG, *ibid.*, 557 and 560).

<sup>49</sup> *Theologia historico-dogmatico-scholastica* (Monachii et Padeponi: 1750), V, 220.

the Bishop of Hippo on the headship in three sentences: 1) the head must be in organic unity with the rest of the members; 2) it must excel all the other members; and, finally, 3) it must exert an influence over them.

In the psychology of St. Augustine the highest faculties of man, viz., mind (*mens*) and reason (*ratio*) have their seat in the head. Although the soul (*anima*) animates the whole body, its activity manifests itself more in the head than it does in any other part of the body. The head is the soul's central station, and hence there is a certain identification between the soul and the head so that the head is said to rule and to govern the rest of man.<sup>50</sup>

There are two outstanding passages in which Augustine describes the role of the head in the body and then compares that role with Christ the head in the mystical body. One passage is found in his *Enarrationes*<sup>51</sup> and the other in *De agone christiano*.<sup>52</sup> This is what Augustine teaches in these passages. He emphasizes both a unity of the head with the rest of the members in the body, and a diversity between it and them. There is unity because the head and the members constitute a single organism. There is diversity because the head differs from all the other members by its conspicuous excellence. Each of the five senses in the body possesses its own particular sensation, whereas the head possesses a concentration of all five sensations. It sees, hears, smells, tastes and touches. This concept of the *plenitudo sensus et motus* found its way through the *Book of Sentences*<sup>53</sup> into scholastic theology.<sup>54</sup>

If, St. Augustine argues, such is the excellence of the head over the other members of that body, how much more excellent is Christ, the head of the mystical body.<sup>55</sup> Moreover, just as the soul vivifies the whole body, but exerts and manifests its activity

<sup>50</sup> *De serm. Dei in monte*, II, 12, 42 (PL 34, 1288): "Hoc enim recte accipimus caput, quod in anima praeeminet, et quo caetera hominis regi et gubernari manifestum est. . . . Caro enim quae subjecta esse debet, nullo modo est totius naturae humanae caput."

<sup>51</sup> *Enar. 2 in Ps. 29, 2* (PL 36, 217).

<sup>52</sup> *De agon. Christ.*, 20, 22 (PL 40, 300).

<sup>53</sup> Lib. III, d. 13 (ed. Quaracchi, p. 603).

<sup>54</sup> *Summa Fratris Alexandri*, p. III, qu. 1, tit. 1 (ed. Quaracchi, IV, n. 97, pp. 140, 142).

<sup>55</sup> *Enar. 2 in Ps. 29, 2* (PL 36, 217).



more in the head than it does in the rest of the body, so too Christ the head vivifies all His members; and just as the members of the body are subject to the head, so too the members of Christ are dependent upon Him for their supernatural life.<sup>56</sup> Summarily, just as the fullness of life is found in the head so the plenitude of the divinity resides in Christ Jesus.<sup>57</sup>

Hence, for St. Augustine the role of the head in a human body is similar to the role that Christ performs in the Church. It is a universally accepted principle of patristic theology—and is one that is evident in St. Augustine—that our knowledge of spiritual things is drawn and abstracted from the visible things that we observe. According to our observation and knowledge of our human body, life, directive and motive power emanate from the head as from a source and activate all the members. Such is the life-giving, motion-causing, and directing role of the head in relation to its members.

Christ, too, exerts a direct influence on the members that are attached to Him in a spiritual way. As their head He animates them by a higher life than that which they already possess in the physical body. As His members they grow, are influenced and guided by the life that descends upon them from the head, as from a source of supernatural life. If we ask ourselves how do we conceive of this interaction between Christ who has a two-fold nature and man who has a single nature, Augustine's answer is very definite. The point of contact between man and Christ is the human nature of Christ. Life flows into the soul of man from the human nature of Christ inasmuch as that human nature of Christ is united to His divine nature. Both natures in Christ are distinct but inseparable. For Christ, as St. Augustine trenchantly remarks, is "human divinity and divine humanity."<sup>58</sup>

Through the union which was effected when the Word assumed flesh, the Word continues to produce effects proper to itself, but dispenses them through the assumed human nature. The

<sup>56</sup> *De agon. Christ.*, 20, 22 (PL 40, 301).

<sup>57</sup> *Ep.* 187, 13, 40 (PL 33, 847; CSEL 57, 116).

<sup>58</sup> *Sermo* 47, 21 (PL 38, 310). So also St. Leo, *Hom. de Transfigur. Dom. Sermo* 51 (PL 54, 309): "Sicut Deo vera humanitas, ita homini inerat vera divinitas." Cf. T. J. van Bavel, *Recherches sur la Christologie de saint Augustin* (Fribourg Suisse: 1954), pp. 13-44.

life and power of grace which is communicated from the head to the members are produced by Christ inasmuch as He is God.<sup>59</sup> Just as creation in the order of nature is a work that belongs exclusively to God, so grace, too, in the order of supernature, is an effect that pertains exclusively to God. Both natures of Christ have their definite roles in the sanctification of man. The humanity of Christ is the point of contact for the divinity with those constituting His members. It serves as a channel through which the springs of life surging from a divine fountain-head may flow into the souls of men.<sup>60</sup> Christ Himself thirsts not, but quenches the thirst of others.<sup>61</sup>

In this teaching of St. Augustine on the role of Christ's sacred humanity in relation to the members united to him by grace, there is a principle enunciated which is of far-reaching consequences. It applies not only to the sanctification of men but also to other similar actions, such as miracles, in which the divinity and humanity of Christ are involved. The human nature of Christ is a medial agent between the divine nature and the effect produced. The question is to what extent do we ascribe the effect to it and in what manner does it operate. More precise answers to these questions came at a later period in the history of theology when the doctrine was developed by the use of technical phraseology, defined more exactly, and extended in application.

In general, St. Thomas<sup>62</sup> with the other Scholastics and modern theologians,<sup>63</sup> teaches that the humanity of Christ is an agent of our sanctification. But they also maintain that the humanity of Christ is not a cause that is separate from, and independent of,

<sup>59</sup> *In Io. Ev. tr.* 82, 3 (PL 35, 1842): "Quamvis autem Christus vitis non esset, nisi homo esset; tamen istam gratiam palmitibus non praeberet, nisi etiam Deus esset."

<sup>60</sup> G. Philips, "L'influence du Christ-Chef sur son Corps mystique suivant saint Augustin," *Augustinus Magister* (Paris: 1954), II, 813, is of the opinion that Augustine does not assign to the humanity of Christ an efficient instrumental causality but the role of something near to an occasion for the transmission of life into the members of Christ by the Holy Ghost. "Le corps du Christ ne se dit pas l'organe de transmission de la vie divine."

<sup>61</sup> *In Io. Ev. tr.* 13, 8 (PL 35, 1496).

<sup>62</sup> *Summa theol.* Ia IIae, q. 112, a. 1, ad 1; IIa IIae, q. 13, a. 2 et 3; IIa IIae, q. 48, a. 6; IIa IIae, q. 64, a. 3.

<sup>63</sup> E. Mura, *Le Corps Mystique du Christ* (2 ed.; Paris: 1937); P. Galtier, *De Incarnatione et Redemptione* (Paris: 1947), pp. 335 ff.

the divine Word. That is why they classify this medial agency of the humanity of Christ as an instrumental cause.<sup>64</sup> In other words, it is the human nature of Christ which vitalizes the members attached to it as their head, in so far as that human nature is upheld, possessed by, and united to a divine Person.

Hardly any light could be gained from St. Augustine for the more intricate question whether this instrumentality of the sacred humanity of Christ in our sanctification is of the intentional or physical order. The intentional or moral (as it is called by others) causality, in the doctrine at hand is this: The very fact that one becomes a member of Christ's body is a postulation on the divinity of Christ to sanctify that member. It is not, therefore, the human nature of Christ which has a direct sanctifying influence but the divine. St. Bonaventure,<sup>65</sup> the Scotists, Vasquez, and many modern theologians<sup>66</sup> favor a sufficiency of the intentional instrumentality of Christ's humanity. The Thomists,<sup>67</sup> Suarez,<sup>68</sup> and others<sup>69</sup> demand, in addition to it, a physical instrumental causality. There is disagreement in interpreting the mind of St. Thomas; there are some passages which seem to favor the physical,<sup>70</sup> whereas others, the intentional instrumentality as sufficient in itself.<sup>71</sup>

It appears that Augustine's doctrine on the mystical body of

<sup>64</sup> Cf. E. Hugon, *La causalité instrumentale en théologie* (2me éd.; Paris: 1931).

<sup>65</sup> *In Lib. Sent.*, 3, d. 13, a. 2, q. 3 (*Opera Omnia*, ed. Quaracchi, III, 288-90).

<sup>66</sup> C. Pesch, *Praelectiones Dogmaticae*, IV (ed. 4-5; Friburgi Br.: 1922), prop. 27; L. Billot, *De Verbo Incarnato* (ed. 7; Romae: 1927), p. 255: "Imperium enim divinum est immediate efficax omnium quae imperat, nec potest physice transire per instrumentum, ut mediante instrumento, physice pertingat ad effectum."; P. Galtier, *De Incarnatione et Redemptione* (Paris: 1947), pp. 337-48.

<sup>67</sup> Joannes a S. Thoma, *Cursus Theologicus*, In 3, q. 13, disp. 15, a. 2 and 3 (ed. Vivès, VIII, 425-52); R. Garrigou-Lagrange, *Christ the Savior* tr. by Dom Bede Rose (St. Louis: 1950), p. 394.

<sup>68</sup> *De Incarnatione*, disp. 31, secs. 3 and 5, *Opera*, XVIII, 96-99; 103-7.

<sup>69</sup> P. Parente, *De Verbo Incarnato* (4 ed.; Romae: 1950), p. 143.

<sup>70</sup> *Summa theol.*, IIIa, q. 13, a. 2; *ibid.*, q. 8, a. 1 ad. 1.

<sup>71</sup> *In Lib. Sent.*, 3, d. 16, q. 1, a. 3; *De pot.*, q. 6, a. 4; *Summa theol.*, IIa IIae, q. 178 a. 1 ad 1. Cf. F. Mitzka, "Das Wirken der Menschheit Christi zu unserem Heil nach dem hl. Thomas von Aquin," *Zeit. für kath. Theol.*, LXIX (1947), 189-208.

Christ fits better into the framework of a physical instrumental causality. This becomes more likely if we adopt the explanation of physical causality relative to the humanity of Christ as it is expounded by Scheeben who makes it a certain dynamic or organico-dynamic causality. The humanity of Christ is, in this interpretation, a mystico-physical organism in which divine powers inhere as in a source or channel. He illustrates this type of instrumental causality by iron made red-hot by heat so that the iron becomes calorific itself.<sup>72</sup>

Since Christ is the head, He must have a body. Since He has already been said to be the head of members who are united to Him by grace, and these members form the Church, the Church is therefore His body. That the Church is the body of Christ is frequently, emphatically and in diverse ways reiterated throughout the works of the saintly Bishop of Hippo. "The body of Christ is the Church."<sup>73</sup> "And indeed if He is the head, He has a body. His body is the Church."<sup>74</sup> "The head of the Church is Christ, the Church is the body of Christ."<sup>75</sup> Equivalent to these statements in which the Church is considered as a corporate unity are those assertions in which the Church is considered in its individuals. In the latter cases, Christ is formed in His integrity,<sup>76</sup> and in His plenitude.<sup>77</sup> It is the same, therefore, for St. Augustine

<sup>72</sup> *Handbuch der Kath. Dogmatik*, III, 1 (Frieburg in Br.: 1882), pp. 233-61; *Die Mysterien des Christentums* (Frieburg in Br.: 1865), pp. 440-49 (# 68); tr. by C. Vollert, *The Mysteries of Christianity* (St. Louis: 1947), pp. 455-65.

<sup>73</sup> *Enar.* 2, in Ps. 21, 28 (PL 36, 178): "Corpus autem Christi Ecclesia." *Enar.* in Ps. 41, 1 (PL 36, 464). *Enar.* 2, in Ps. 90, 1 (PL 37, 1159). *Enar.* in Ps. 118, ser. 31, 1 (PL 37, 1591). *Sermo* 62, 3, 5 (PL 38, 416). *In Io. Ev. tr.* 15, 31 (PL 35, 1521). *Contra Cresc.*, II, 13, 16 (PL 43, 476; CSEL 52 ed. M. Petschenig, 374).

<sup>74</sup> *Enar.* in Ps. 138, 2 (PL 37, 1784): "Et utique si caput est, habet corpus. Corpus autem ejus sancta Ecclesia."

<sup>75</sup> *In Io. Ep. tr.* 6, 10 (PL 35, 2025): "Caput Ecclesiae Christus, Ecclesia Corpus Christi." *In Io. Ep. tr.* 10, 3 (PL 35, 2057).

<sup>76</sup> *Sermo* 341, 9, 11 (PL 39, 1499): "Etenim caput et corpus unus est Christus: non quia sine corpore non est integer, sed quia et nobiscum integer esse dignatus est, qui et sine nobis semper est integer, non solum in eo quod Verbum est unigenitus Filius aequalis Patri, sed et in ipso homine quem suscepit, et cum quo simul Deus et homo est."

<sup>77</sup> *In Io. Ev. tr.* 21, 8 (PL 35, 1568): "Plenitudo ergo Christi caput et membra."



to say that Christ the head is united with His members and that Christ the head is united with His Church; for the members of Christ constitute His Church. "What is the head and what the members? Christ and the Church."<sup>78</sup>

Our union with Christ, while it is very intimate and a great privilege, is not of the same nature as the union of Christ with the other divine Persons who constitute with Him the Most Blessed Trinity. Christ, the Word, is substantially one with the Father and the Holy Ghost. One nature is common to all three Persons. They are of equal dignity and worthy of the same worship. With us Christ, the Word, is only "naturally" one, in the sense that He took to himself our human nature. Possessing a nature of the same stock as we do (*semen Abrahae*), we are one with Him on the side of His human nature. In this manner all men originating from our protoparents form a certain oneness. Beyond and above this common nature, however, Christ has willed to unite more intimately to Himself those who seek salvation through the Church by imparting to it His own life. Members thus united to Christ the head form a certain spiritual being, constitute Christ's body.

This is the doctrine of the Church as the mystical body of Christ. The analogy is founded upon the unity and nature of a human body. In developing his doctrine of the mystical body of Christ, St. Augustine studies the relations existing between the head and the body and applies them to the Church conceived as the body of Christ. The body is composed of many members united under one head, so, too, the Church has many members, but only one head, Christ. In a physical body organic unity is essential; if the Church is the body of Christ, then it, too, must possess an internal unity. And as in a bodily organism the unity is effected by the life of the body, which life is associated with the head, so in the body of Christ the unifying factor is the life of grace proceeding from the head. And as the human body with its members forms but one person, so is Christ with His members said to form, to some extent, but one "person." Hence the follow-

<sup>78</sup> *In Io. Ev. tr.* 21, 8 (PL 35, 1568): "Quid est caput et membra? Christus et Ecclesia."

ing beautiful exhortation given in the consciousness and spirit of this unity:

Hold to that and fix it in your memory as children of the doctrine of the Church and of the Catholic faith; know that Christ is both Head and Body, that the same Christ is the Word of God, the only Son of the Father and equal to Him. Behold, therefore, by what admirable favor you are united with God—even through Him, who, one with God the Father, wished, to be also one with us.<sup>79</sup>

This unity is expressed and stressed by St. Augustine in various ways. We have already heard the Church called Christ in His plenitude. It is also designated as the complete person of Christ. We find in the works of the African Doctor a whole series of phrases expressing a similar or equivalent meaning; thus: *totus Christus, unus ille, unus vir, vir integer, perfectus vir, una persona, sponsus et sponsa, duo in carne una*,<sup>80</sup>—all of which replace the word *Church* and express its oneness with Christ. In other words, the Church is simply called Christ, or vice versa. A frequent and potent argument for this identification is found by the same Doctor in the words of Christ, already glorified in heaven, addressed to Saul, the persecutor not of Christ directly but of his Church. These words identify Christ with the Church: “Saul, Saul, cur *me* persequeris?”<sup>81</sup>

It is evident that human words fail us in expressing the reality and intimacy of this new mode of union. We must not for that reason allow ourselves to be led into the exaggerated notion that those forming Christ’s body are deprived of their own personal, individual existence. Manifestly the union of the members of the body with Christ, the head, belongs to a different category than that which is effected between the divine personality and divine nature on the one hand and the human nature assumed by the Word on the other. This latter union in which the human nature

<sup>79</sup> *Enar. in Ps. 142, 3* (PL 37, 1846).

<sup>80</sup> *Contra Donat. ep.*, 4, 7 (PL 43, 395–96): “Totus Christus caput et corpus est. Caput unigenitus Dei Filius, et corpus ejus Ecclesia, sponsus et sponsa, duo in carne una (Eph. 5:23, 30, 31).”

<sup>81</sup> *Act. Ap.* 9:4; 22:7; 26:14. Vulgate: “Saul, Saul quid me persequeris?” E.g., *Enar. in Ps. 52, 1* (PL 36, 613).

has not its own personality but subsists in the personality of the Word is indeed a union *sui generis*. But the union of Christ with His members in the mystical body deprives neither the head nor the members of their own personal individuality.<sup>82</sup>

In this unique unity of Christ and His Church is rooted the identification of Christ with his Church, taken not only abstractly as a corporate entity but also concretely with His individual members. For it is not the actions, attributes and perfections of Christ alone that are ascribed to that entity which is the body of Christ, but also the state, actions, and qualities of the members — are predicated of it. As a result we have a variety of attributes, often widely disparate, referring to the same body of Christ. This matter was deemed important enough at this time for a countryman of St. Augustine, a certain Tichonius,<sup>83</sup> to formulate, among other rules for the right interpretation of the Sacred Scriptures, the rule for the interchange of predicates between head and body.<sup>84</sup> Tichonius' exegetical code for scriptural exegesis has been incorporated by St. Augustine into his own volume,<sup>85</sup> commented on, and, we may say, adopted by him. Through this influential Doctor the same principles and exegetical method have passed to future generations.<sup>86</sup>

Certainly the knowledge and application of this principle

<sup>82</sup> Cf. C. Feckes, *Das Mysterium der heiligen Kirche* (3 Aufl.; Paderborn: 1951), p. 44; F. X. Arnold, *Grundsätzliches und Geschichtliches zur Theologie der Seelsorge* (Freiburg: 1949), pp. 20 ff.; O. Semmelroth, *Die Kirche als Ursakrament* (Frankfurt a. Main: 1954), pp. 33 f.

<sup>83</sup> This name occurs in various forms of spelling, thus Ticonius, Tyconius, Tychonius.

<sup>84</sup> The best edition of these rules is that of F. C. Burkitt, *The Rules of Tichonius* (Texts and Studies, vol. III, n. I, London: 1894). The words of the editor noting the influence of Tichonius upon St. Augustine may conveniently be quoted here: "His greatest influence, however, both on his contemporaries and on succeeding generations was due to his two exegetical works; the Book of Rules . . . and the commentary of the apocalypse."

<sup>85</sup> See: *De doct. chris.*, III, 31 ff. (PL 34, 82 ff.), where St. Augustine reviews the rules of Tichonius with his commentaries.

<sup>86</sup> T. Käppeli, *Zur Lehre des Thomas von Aquin vom Corpus Christi Mysticum*, p. 134: "Auch der hl. Thomas schliesst aus der mystischen Einheit zwischen Christus und der Kirche auf die communicatio idiomatum und verwertet sie besonders in seinen Psalmenkommentaren." Cf. *Summa theol.*, IIIa, q. 15, a. 1. ad 1, where St. Thomas solves an objection by referring to the rules of Tichonius as found in St. Augustine's work.

must have proved itself very convenient to the Bishop of Hippo in the role of commentator on the whole Psalter. This is the more true if we remember that the Saint was not in the most fortunate possible position for the undertaking of this gigantic task, if the literal textual meaning was to be arrived at through a knowledge of the original languages of Sacred Writ and of the Greek Fathers. He was sorely deficient in Hebrew—the original language of the Psalter; while his knowledge of Greek was sufficient for reading the Greek Fathers in the original only with difficulty, he preferred to read even these in Latin translations.<sup>87</sup>

In explaining the psalms, the Bishop takes the liberty to use the accommodated sense. He frequently finds Christ, either in His own person or in His body, the Church, to be the one described or referred to in many psalms, even in those which are generally not recognized as Messianic by students of the Old Testament.<sup>88</sup> This was a persuasion which was not peculiar to the Bishop of Hippo, but was characteristic of the time.<sup>89</sup> Hence, their role in the divine worship: "My psalter is my joy," says St. Augustine,<sup>90</sup> and St. Jerome urges us to sing the psalms "in the light of Holy Scripture."<sup>91</sup> Sections of those psalms which seem incongruous with Christ's dignity and sanctity create no difficulty for St. Augustine. For, applying the first rule<sup>92</sup> of the ex-

<sup>87</sup> W. Montgomery, *St. Augustine* (London: 1914), p. 189; S. Salaville, "La connaissance du Grec chez s. Augustin," *Échos d'Orient*, XXI (1922), 387-93; P. Guilloux, "Saint Augustin, savait-il le Grec?" *Rev. d'hist. ecclés.*, XXI (1925), 79-83; A. C. Vega, "El helenismo de San Agustín. Llegó San Agustín a dominar el griego?" *Religión y cultura*, II (1928), 34-35; G. Bardy, "Grecs et Latins dans les premières controverses pélagiennes," *Bull. de litt. eccl.*, 1948, 1-20; B. Altaner, "Die Benützung von original griechischen Vätertexten durch Augustinus," *Zeitschrift für Religions- und Geistesgeschichte*, 1949, pp. 71-79; L. F. Montalbano, "Sulla conoscenza del greco di S. Agostino," *Humanitas*, VI (1951), 1095-97.

<sup>88</sup> J. Delamare, "Lorsque saint Augustin explique les psaumes," *La vie spirituelle*, LXXXII (1950), 115-36; O. Perler, "Augustinus und die Psalmen," *Anima*, III (1948), 289-94.

<sup>89</sup> Cf., e.g., Tertullian, *Adv. Praxean*, XI (CSEL 47, 244): "Omnes pene psalmi Christi personam sustinent."

<sup>90</sup> *Enar. in Ps.* 137, 3 (PL 37, 1775). For Augustine's astounding mastery and penetrating feeling of the Psalms, cf. G. N. Knauer, *Psalmenzitate in Augustins Konfessionen* (Göttingen: 1955).

<sup>91</sup> *Comment in Eph.* 3, 5 (PL 26, 562): "in scientia Scripturarum."

<sup>92</sup> The first rule of Tichonius is the following in St. Augustine's *De doc-*



egetical rules of Tichonius, the Bishop of Hippo predicates the attributes of perfection which he finds described in the psalms directly and properly of Christ, whereas the weaknesses and imperfections he associates with the body of Christ. Although Scriptural descriptions involve predications concerning one person, as it were, namely the body of Christ, the mind of St. Augustine distinguishes between the attributes of the body and those of the head. Throughout his commentaries on the psalms the saintly Doctor is careful and specific in pointing out what belongs to the head and what belongs to the body.<sup>93</sup>

The members of Christ's body have begun to be a part of Him and like to him through the newly acquired life of regeneration. Yet they are not completely free from the remains of the old and fallen nature, and in this they are unlike their head.<sup>94</sup> Man does not reassume the full status of the innocent Adam in this life as a result of the redemptive work of Christ. The means have been furnished to man whereby he can assimilate himself more and more, in the course of his life, to the head. The object of man's life and actions must be in conformity with Christ, and out of this conformity waxes assimilation. Consummate perfection of the members is reserved for the heavenly existence of the body of Christ.

Sanctification, therefore, is of a twofold nature, which we may term, in modern nomenclature, static and dynamic. Static sanctification, which may be described also as automatic, is that which results from the very union of the body with the head. Dynamic sanctification, which may be described as meritorious, results from the powers bestowed upon members of the body by the head in order that they may sanctify themselves through the actions which they perform with the aid of grace.

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*trina christiana*, 31, 44 (PL 34, 82): "Prima (regula) de Domino et ejus corpore est: in qua scientes aliquando capitis et corporis, id est, Christi et Ecclesiae unam personam nobis intimari . . . non haesitemus quando a capite ad corpus, vel a corpore transitur ad caput, et tamen non receditur ab una eademque persona. Una enim persona loquitur . . . et tamen quid horum duorum capiti, quid corpori, id est, quid Ecclesiae conveniat, utique intelligendum est."

<sup>93</sup> *Enar. in Ps.* 37, 6 (PL 36, 400); *Enar. in Ps.* 142, 3 (PL 37, 1846).

<sup>94</sup> *De pec. mer. et remis.*, II, 8, 10 (PL 44, 157-58; CSEL 60, ed. C. Urba and J. Zycha, 82).

Sanctification that arises out of the very union with Christ, the head, is common to all the members by virtue of their vital union with Christ. This is the purpose of the existence of the mystical body of Christ on earth. There may be some men in the body of Christ without being sanctified by it, but the fault lies on the part of man. Such men adhere to it as putrid members. The sanctification arising out of the works performed under the instigation and aid of grace makes the difference in holiness between one member and another member. And thus some members are closer and more intimately united than others to the head, the source of life.

The office of Christ in the Church as the body of Christ gains additional light and glory when a comparison is made between the roles of Christ and Adam in the spiritual destiny and economy of mankind. St. Paul<sup>95</sup> and St. Augustine emphasize the same parallelism by portraying all men of the human race as united in Adam and then again all just men as united in Christ. As Adam is the head of these men by origin and in the order of nature, so Christ, who because of his similarity to Adam in this regard is portrayed as the second Adam, is the head of mankind in the order of a new origin and a new life. As Adam is the fountainhead of all corporal life to mankind, so Christ is the source of all spiritual life; and, as Adam is the cause of the spiritual death to all his children, so Christ is the cause of the rebirth of the human race. The doctrine of the body of Christ, therefore, must be considered with the background of two other pivotal doctrines in the framework of St. Augustine's theological system, namely, that of the original sin of Adam with its effects upon posterity and the doctrine of the redemption.

Adam is called the head of mankind, not only because the life of the body originates from him as from the first parent, but also because the *natura seminalis*,<sup>96</sup> as St. Augustine expresses it,

<sup>95</sup> I Cor. 15:45; cf. Rom. 5:12-19.

<sup>96</sup> The expression *natura seminalis* is similar to the other well known phrase *ratio seminalis*. By the former is meant that our future spiritual status was made dependent upon the protoparent Adam; we are said to have been inclosed in Adam's person, in such a manner that we were to be born in the condition either of the innocent Adam or the sinful Adam. Cf. *De civ. Dei*, XIII, 14 (PL 41, 386; ed. Dombart-Kalb, I, 572-73). The other expression,

was implanted in him for propagation. This *seminal nature* brings unity and solidarity to the human race; it brings about a certain stricter dependence than that of mere origin upon our proto-parent.<sup>97</sup> Adam was chosen to be not only the parent of the life of the body, but also of the spiritual life of the soul. He was endowed with grace for himself<sup>98</sup> but also for all mankind. Having used his free will to sin—to abandon God—he has involved the whole human race in his fall turning it away from God.<sup>99</sup> It is thus that this nature, tainted by sin, devoid of the life of grace, in our first parent, passes on stained by sin through all ages, to all progeny<sup>100</sup>—save for the exceptions which God may allow in the course of time.<sup>101</sup> No one of his future children actually participated in his transgression, nor was it necessary. Through

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namely, *ratio seminalis* means "that all the potentialities and causes of all things that were to appear fixed in the beginning not merely generically but specifically, in other words, that the *rationes seminales* were determined exactly for all future beings. . . . We mean that these powers were there in matter, capable of producing the effects that we now see and that God had commanded, as it were, these powers to produce definitely these facts." M. J. McKeough, *The Meaning of the Rationes Seminales in St. Augustine* (Washington, D.C.: 1926), pp. 54-55; R. Cardet, "Les raisons causales, d'après saint Augustin," *Bull. litt. eccl.*, 1949, 208-28; R. M. Bushman, "Augustine and the Stoics," *New Scholasticism*, III (1952), 283-304.

<sup>97</sup> *De pec. mer. et remis.*, III, 7, 14 (PL 44, 194; CSEL 60, 141). *In Io. Ev. tr.* 10, 11 (PL 35, 1472); "Diximus . . . Adam unum hominem fuisse, et ipsum esse totum genus humanum."

<sup>98</sup> *De correptione et gratia*, 11, 29 (PL 44, 933): "Adam non habuit Dei gratiam? Immo vero habuit magnam, sed disparem."

<sup>99</sup> *De correptione et gratia*, 10, 28 (PL 44, 933): "Quia vero per liberum arbitrium Deum deseruit, iustum iudicium Dei expertus est, ut cum tota sua stirpe, quae in illo adhuc posita tota cum illo peccaverat, damnaretur."

<sup>100</sup> *De civ. Dei*, XIII, 14 (PL 41, 386; ed. Dombart-Kalb, I, 572-73): "Deus enim creavit hominem rectum, naturarum auctor, non utique vitiorum; sed sponte depravatus justoque damnatus, depravatos damnatosque generavit. Omnes enim fuimus in illo uno, quando omnes fuimus ille unus, qui per feminam lapsus est in peccatum, quae de illo facta est ante peccatum. Nondum erat nobis singillatim creata et distributa forma, in qua singuli viveremus; sed jam natura erat seminalis, ex qua propagaremur: qua scilicet propter peccatum vitata, et vinculo mortis obstricta, justoque damnata, non alterius conditionis homo ex homine nasceretur."

<sup>101</sup> Excepting Christ, cf. *Op. imp. contra Iul.*, 4, 134 (PL 45, 1429) and the Mother of Christ, cf. *De nat. et gratia*, 36, 42 (PL 44, 267; CSEL 60, ed. C. Urba and J. Zycha, 263-64).

our carnal and natural birth alone we are inheritors of the tainted nature of the common father of mankind.<sup>102</sup>

Thus it is evident that Adam, the protoparent, is the head as to the origin of our nature, but was ordained also in the counsels of God to be the head as to the origin and preservation of justice, grace, life. This latter headship he has forfeited for himself and posterity. A second Adam, Jesus Christ, incarnate God, is sent as the Redeemer of mankind, as the Restorer of the lost life.<sup>103</sup> Just as we are born to death—despoiled of the life of justice—by the first Adam, so we are reborn to the life of God by the second Adam.<sup>104</sup> According to St. Augustine, then, our first parent was gifted with that life of the soul which he calls grace, and frequently justice;<sup>105</sup> that gift which was destined for all was lost to the human race by Adam, but was restored to us by Christ.

In the present order instituted by God, restoration to the life of grace involves at the same time incorporation into Christ.<sup>106</sup> He is the life-giver, but the very same act by which this life is imparted unites one to Him, and the resulting union remains the source of life as long as one does not separate oneself from Christ. The multitude of individuals restored to this new and higher life through the vivifying effects of the Redeemer and head constitutes a spiritual entity which is His body here on earth. There is no life, therefore, without Christ, the Redeemer; there is no life without being united to Him; there is no life

<sup>102</sup> *Ep.* 187, 9, 30 (PL 33, 343; CSEL 57, ed. A. Goldbacher, IV, 108): "Ac per hoc nec moreremur nisi per carnalem propagationem de membris illius veniremus."

<sup>103</sup> *Ep.* 187, 9, 30 (PL 33, 343; CSEL 57, ed. A. Goldbacher, IV, 107): "Duo ista quae in uno fiunt homine, nasci et renasci, ad duos homines pertinent: unum ad illum primum Adam, alterum ad secundum qui dicitur Christus."

<sup>104</sup> *Ibid.*: "Omnes, et omnes ideo dixit, quia in mortem nemo nisi per illum, in vitam nemo nisi per istum." Cf. *De Gen. ad lit.*, 6, 24, 35 (PL 34, 353; CSEL 28, ed. J. Zycha, I, 196).

<sup>105</sup> A. Słomkowski, "Relatio gratiam sanctificantem inter et justitiam originale secundum doctrinam S. Augustini," *Collectanea Theologica*, XVIII (1937), 40.

<sup>106</sup> *Ep.* 187, 9, 30 (PL 33, 843; CSEL 57, ed. A. Goldbacher, IV, 108): ". . . nec viveremus nisi per spiritualem connexionem membra hujus essemus. Ideo nobis opus fuit nasci et renasci."



without belonging to a corporate union of all men who form His body.

But when and how do men associate themselves with the body of Christ in order to become its members? Here again Augustine pursues the analogy existing between members of the body of Christ and the type, namely, the human body. In order that a human being come to life it must be born of man and woman; so also, that one may become a member of the body of Christ, one must be reborn of God and the Church.<sup>107</sup> To be born of God is to begin a new life by the grace and justification of which he is the author.<sup>108</sup> To be born of the Church is to receive and begin this new life in baptism, which has been confided to the Church as the sacrament of regeneration.<sup>109</sup> As we have been made one with Adam in the order of nature to the extent of losing the life of justice which he forfeited for us, so we are incorporated into Christ and made one in Him through a new and second birth.

Hence all such as have received the sacrament of baptism in the Church are said "to have been regenerated in Christ and born from above";<sup>110</sup> they have become new men,<sup>111</sup> renovated by baptism,<sup>112</sup> and have put on Christ.<sup>113</sup> These effects produced in the baptized subject are concomitant with, and inseparable from, the incorporation into the body of Christ. For Augustine tells his hearers: "When you have been baptized, then you have been born members."<sup>114</sup> Just as he points out that it is impossible to become a member of the visible Church except by the sacrament of baptism, so also the incorporation into the mystical body is impossible unless it be by baptism or martyrdom (*passio*) in be-

<sup>107</sup> *Sermo* 121, 4 (PL 38, 680): "Prima nativitas ex masculino et femina; secunda nativitas ex Deo et Ecclesia."

<sup>108</sup> *Sermo* 119, 4 (PL 38, 674): "Ecce sunt; sed ex Deo nati sunt."

<sup>109</sup> *De pec. mer. et remis.*, 2, 27, 43 (PL 44, 177; CSEL 60, ed. C. Urba and J. Zycha, 114): "Sacramentum autem baptismi profecto sacramentum regenerationis est."

<sup>110</sup> *Sermo* 34, 3, 6 (PL 38, 211).

<sup>111</sup> *Enar. in Ps.* 75, 15 (PL 36, 966).

<sup>112</sup> *Ep.* 190, 16 (PL 33, 862; CSEL 57, ed. A. Goldbacher, IV, 152).

<sup>113</sup> *Ep. ad Gal.*, 27 (PL 35, 2124); *Sermo* 37, 2, 16 (PL 30, 228): "Qui Christum induerunt, non tantum in forma sacramenti, sed etiam in opere exempli, sequentes vestigia Domini sui."

<sup>114</sup> *Sermo*, Denis XXV (Morin, *Aug. Sermones*, p. 164).

half of Christ.<sup>115</sup> So closely united, therefore, is the sacrament of baptism with incorporation into the body of Christ, that Augustine speaks of baptism as the actual incorporation into the body of Christ ("*compages corporis Christi*"), which is the effect of baptism, rather than the sacrament which causes that incorporation. "For this is to preach Christ, not to say only that which is to be believed about Christ, but also that which is to be observed by him who approaches the union of the body of Christ (*ad compagem corporis Christi*)."<sup>116</sup>

From what has been said, it can be gleaned why the Church which is the mystical body of Christ is also called a mother—*mater Ecclesia*. Following in the path of tradition<sup>117</sup> Augustine makes full use of this title and shows on what grounds it is justified.<sup>118</sup> "His (Christ's) mother is the whole Church because it bears his members, that is, his faithful by the grace of God."<sup>119</sup> The body of Christ is formed of all those whom the Church previously bore as children, and now they, as members of Christ's body, help to transmit that life to others.<sup>120</sup> The faithful Christians form together with Christ a living oneness, which is compared to a living organism, capable of imparting its own life. When a child is brought to the fountain of baptism and is reborn to supernatural life, the faithful who are the body of Christ become the mother of Christ. The whole Church which is formed of the holy ones and animated by the Holy Ghost, imparts its life to the baptized infant; for "the whole Church bears all, the whole Church bears each."<sup>121</sup>

It was St. Ambrose who said, "*Maria est typus Ecclesiae*."<sup>122</sup>

<sup>115</sup> *De anima et ejus orig.*, I, 9, 10 (PL 44, 480): "nemo fit membrum Christi, nisi aut baptizmate in Christo, aut morte pro Christo."

<sup>116</sup> *De fid. et oper.*, 9, 14 (PL 40, 2061; CSEL 41, ed. J. Zycha, 51).

<sup>117</sup> Cf. J. Plumpe, *Mater Ecclesia* (Washington, D.C.: 1943); V. Stoppa, *L'Ecclesia Mater negli autori della fine del III° sec. e di tutto il IV°* (Torino: 1950).

<sup>118</sup> Paola Rinetti, "Sant' Agostino e l' 'Ecclesia Mater'," *Augustinus Magister* (Paris: 1954), II, 827-34.

<sup>119</sup> *De sanct. virg.*, 5, 5 (PL 40, 399).

<sup>120</sup> Cf. F. Hofmann, *Der Kirchenbegriff des hl. Augustinus* (München: 1933), p. 266.

<sup>121</sup> *Ep.* 98, 5 (PL 33, 362; CSEL 34, 526).

<sup>122</sup> *Exp. in Ev. Lc.*, II, 7; II, 57. Cf. A. Müller, *Ecclesia-Maria* (2 Aufl.; Freiburg, Sch.: 1955); J. Huhn, "Ein Vergleich der Mariologie des hl. Au-

St. Augustine developed this crisp dictum of his spiritual father<sup>123</sup> and beloved doctor.<sup>124</sup> The Bishop of Hippo compares this motherhood of the faithful in the mystical body of Christ to the motherhood of Mary. On account of this function of giving birth to new members of the body of Christ, the Church is most like to the blessed Virgin Mary, who bore the physical body of Christ.<sup>125</sup> Mary was a virgin, yet she became a mother; the Church gives birth to Christ's members, yet she, too, is a virgin on account of her undefiled faith in Christ. Mary was a mother and a virgin, and a mother according to the flesh, but she was also mother according to the spirit. According to spirit she was an active member of the mystical body of Christ and cooperated in bringing spiritual life to others. She was not in spirit a mother of Christ, our head, because she was born of Him in spirit. All who believe in Christ, and she belongs to these, are called children of the Spouse.<sup>126</sup> She is, however, in spirit the mother of Christ's members, because she has cooperated in charity and thus participated in bringing a rebirth to the members of Christ's body.<sup>127</sup>

In his treatise "On Virginity"<sup>128</sup> the Bishop of Hippo expatiates on the motherhood of Mary and the motherhood of the Church, the mystical body of Christ. It was becoming, he says, that by a stupendous miracle, our head should be born of a virgin. For in this manner it could be shown to be becoming also for the members of Christ's body to be born in spirit of a virgin

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gustinus mit der des hl. Ambrosius in ihrer Abhängigkeit, Ähnlichkeit, in ihrem Unterschied," *Augustinus Magister* (Paris: 1954), I, 222-39. Cf. Hervé Coathalem, *Le Parallelisme entre la sainte Vierge et l'Eglise dans la tradition Latine jusqu'à la fin du XIIIe siècle* (Rome: 1954).

<sup>123</sup> *Contra Jul. Pel.*, I, 3, 10 (PL 44, 645): "quem veneror ut patrem."

<sup>124</sup> *Contra Jul. Pel.*, I, 9, 44 (PL 44, 671): "doctor meus."

<sup>125</sup> *De symb.* (Morin, *Aug. Sermones*, p. 448): "Numquid non virgo sancta Maria et peperit et virgo permansit? Sic et Ecclesia et parit, et virgo est: et si consideres, Christum parit: quia membra ejus sunt, qui baptizantur. Vos estis, inquit apostolus, corpus Christi et membra. Si ergo membra Christi parit, Mariae simillima est."

<sup>126</sup> Matt. 9:15.

<sup>127</sup> *Sermo* 191, 2, 3 (PL 38, 1010); *Sermo* 192, 2, 2 (PL 38, 1012).

<sup>128</sup> *De sant. virg.*, 6, 6 (PL 40, 399); cf. A. Müller, "Unité de l'Eglise et de Marie chez les Pères, IV<sup>e</sup> et V<sup>e</sup> s.," *Études Mariales: Marie et l'Eglise*, I, IX (1951), 34-35.

Church. Mary alone is mother both in spirit and in flesh; in flesh she bears Christ, in spirit His members. She is not only the mother of Christ, but also the virgin of Christ. The Church, the body of Christ, is in spirit wholly the mother of Christ, and also wholly the virgin of Christ. But, according to flesh, it is not wholly so; in some, who practice virginity, it is the virgin of Christ; in others, who bear physical children, it is not a virgin of Christ. The married faithful women and such as have dedicated themselves in virginity to God, are spiritually the mothers of Christ, if they lead a holy life in charity and fulfill the will of God. When mothers bear children according to the flesh, they do not bear Christ but Adam, and therefore they hasten with them to the sacrament of baptism in order that they may become members of Christ's body.

St. Augustine recognizes the unique holiness of Mary and the unsurpassed dignity of the motherhood of Mary relative to the birth of the physical Christ. In comparing her role in the birth of the mystical Christ, the Bishop states that she is but a part of the whole and therefore plays a part which is subordinate to the Church as a whole. His words are: "Holy is Mary, blessed is Mary, but the Church is greater than the Virgin Mary. Why? Because Mary is only a part of the Church; she is only a member, an important member, a most excellent member, nevertheless only a member of the whole body. If she is only a member of the body, then the body is more than the member."<sup>129</sup>

It is evident that in the teaching of St. Augustine upon the Church as the mystical body of Christ and as a mother that gives rebirth to a spiritual life it is not only a matter between God and the soul but also a concern of the whole Church. Members of the mystical body of Christ participate in the restoration of man to life and at the same time to membership in the body of Christ. This participation does not merely consist in prayer and good example but is likened to a mother who gives life to a child. Just as there is a transmission of spiritual life from the head to the members, so there is also a certain mediation of the same spiritual life from the members of the body of Christ to the newly be-

<sup>129</sup> *Sermo*, Denis XXV (Morin, *Aug. Serm.*, p. 163).



gotten member.<sup>130</sup> In the light of these statements the Church as a mother is not only a name, but also a reality.

In this sense all Christians forming the body of Christ participate in transmitting the life of grace to those who are incorporated into the body of Christ. But not all in equal measure. A member that is more excellent and more intimately united to the head will be a mediator of supernatural life in a higher degree than one whose dignity and degree of sanctity is lesser. That is one reason why Mary who is "the most excellent member" must be a mediatrix of life in an exceptional degree.<sup>131</sup>

The transmission of life from the mystical body as mother to the regenerated members does not exclude the ministry of the priesthood, as shall be seen later when the hierarchical organization shall be studied.

#### ORIGIN

The doctrine of the Church in its aspect as the mystical body of Christ has its roots firmly implanted in the books of Sacred Scripture. Its preparation is found already in the solidarity of the Israelitic people and their peculiar union with God.<sup>132</sup> It is presented through the length of the pages of the Synoptic Gospels as a kingdom—the kingdom of God.<sup>133</sup> In St. John, without be-

<sup>130</sup> M. Schmaus, *Katholische Dogmatik* (3 und 4 Aufl.; München: 1949), II, 900: "... hat jedes Glied des Leibes an jeder Begnadung seinen Anteil, es wirkt mit und vermittelt die Gnade nicht nur durch eine persönliche Fürbitte, sondern physisch durch die Betätigung der in ihm wohnenden Lebenskraft, die den ganzen Organismus beseelt und das Leben weitergibt."

<sup>131</sup> Cf. A. Stolz, "Die Mittlerin aller Gnaden," in: P. Sträter, *Katholische Marienkunde*, II (1947), 241-71; M. Schmaus, *loc. cit.*: "So kommt auch Maria eine allgemeine Gnadenvermittlung zu, welche der Art nach nicht verschieden ist von der aller anderen lebendigen Glieder der Mater Ecclesia, dem Grade nach aber alle anderen überragt, weil Maria auf Grund ihrer einzigartigen Heiligkeit auch in der Ecclesia sine macula et ruga eine besondere Stellung einnimmt." F. Hofmann, "Mariens Stellung in der Erlösungsordnung nach dem hl. Augustinus," *Abhandlungen über Theologie und Kirche*, Festschrift für Karl Adam (Düsseldorf: 1952), pp. 213-24.

<sup>132</sup> Cf. Wheeler Robinson, "The Hebrew Conception of Corporate Personality," in *Werden und Wesen des Alten Testaments* (Berlin: 1936), pp. 49 f.

<sup>133</sup> So much so that the two passages in which the word "Church"—*Ekklesia*—occurs, viz., Matt. 16:17 and Matt. 18:17 are controverted by Protestant scholars as to their genuineness. Others deny the identity between

ing entirely excluded as a kingdom,<sup>134</sup> it is portrayed in the categories of life—as being a participation of the divine life, or a life-bringing union with Christ.<sup>135</sup> St. Paul, without excluding from it the concept of a kingdom,<sup>136</sup> envisions the Church as a new creation, a restoration of all things in Christ, as the mystical body of Christ.<sup>137</sup> He thus necessarily combines, in his own way, what the Synoptics and St. John say of the Church.<sup>138</sup> These three sources of the New Testament do not present contradictory concepts but different viewpoints and considerations of one and the same manifold concept.<sup>139</sup>

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the Church and the kingdom of God; for example, J. Bright, *The Kingdom of God. The Biblical Concept and Its Meaning for the Church* (New York: 1953): "no tendency in the New Testament to identify the visible church with the Kingdom of God." According to Jackson-Lake, *Beginnings of Christianity* (London: 1920-33), I, 330, this identification is already unmistakable in Matt. 16:19 and in the parables in St. Matthew, "some of which are unintelligible unless the Kingdom of Heaven means the Christian Church."

<sup>134</sup> K. L. Schmidt, "Βασιλεία," Kittel, I, 582 ff. St. John speaks of the kingdom of God in two passages: 5:5 and 18:36. Although the Greek word for Church—*ekklesia*—does not occur in his Gospel there can be no doubt that he speaks of it. Cf. E. Gaugler, "Die Bedeutung der Kirche in den johanneischen Schriften," *Internationale kirchl. Zeitschr.*, 1924, pp. 97 ff.; O. Cullmann, *Urchristentum und Gottesdienst* (2 Aufl.; Zurich: 1950), pp. 39 ff.

<sup>135</sup> Cf. J. B. Frey, "Le concept de 'vie' dans l'Évangile de saint Jean," *Biblica* (1920), 37-58; 211-39; R. Bernard, "La revelation de l'Homme-Dieu," *Vie spirituelle*, LXXXIX (1953), 124-41; R. Brechat, "Du Christ à l'Église: Le dynamisme de l'Incarnation dans l'Évangile selon S. Jean," *Divus Thomas* (Piac.), LVI (1953), 67-98; F. Mussner, *Z<sup>Ω</sup>H. Die Anschauung vom "Leben" im vierten Evangelium unter Berücksichtigung der Joh-Briefe* (München: 1952).

<sup>136</sup> This concept appears in Col. 1:12 f.; Eph. 5:5, as development of the theme dealing with Christ's sovereignty, cf. L. Cerfaux, *La théologie de l'Église suivant saint Paul* (Paris: 1948), pp. 294-97.

<sup>137</sup> L. Cerfaux, *Le Christ dans la théologie de saint Paul* (Paris: 1951), p. 264: "La conception de l'Église corps du Christ joue un rôle important dans la théologie de saint Paul. Elle lui appartient en propre, . . ."

<sup>138</sup> Cf. L. Bouyer, "Jerusalem, la sainte Cité," *La vie spirituelle*, LVIII (1952), 376; H. de Lubac, *Méditation sur l'Église* (3 ed.; Paris: 1954), pp. 102-3.

<sup>139</sup> The doctrine is certainly found in St. John as well as in St. Paul, although it is described from a different angle by each. A. Lenmonnyer, *The Theology of the New Testament*, tr. (St. Louis: 1929), p. 168: "Between the point of view of St. Paul and that of St. John in spite of the entire agreement between their mentality and their psychology—there is an undeniable difference. They do not put the emphasis on quite the same things; but they

St. Augustine, too, discovers the doctrine of the mystical body in some intimations and allusions in the Synoptics;<sup>140</sup> he finds in the Gospel of St. John the indispensable element of life, he sees in St. Paul the ardent, direct, and perfect portrayer of it. St. Augustine's concept of the Church takes all the Scriptures into account, although when he speaks of the Church as the mystical body his attention is focused principally on the Epistles of St. Paul, without however ascribing it to him as his exclusive doctrine.

Since St. Augustine—the *alter Paulus*—follows faithfully in the footsteps of St. Paul, a summary of the latter's doctrine on this matter will be in place here to set out the connection between both writers. The Apostle of the Gentiles presents not only the general substance or broad outline of the doctrine of the mystical body of Christ but supplies us even with many a detail, an impressiveness of statement, a variety of application, a wealth of image and analogy unparalleled in any other sacred author. Yet it would certainly be unwarrantable to expect to find even in St. Paul a finished body of doctrine with the completeness and precision of a scientific treatise. The Apostle was preoccupied more with the practical application of this doctrine in the preservation of Christian unity and in the moral conduct of Christians than with the direct doctrinal exposition. This is likewise true of the early Fathers who followed in his footsteps.

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say the same things." F. Monse, *Johannes und Paulus, Ein Beitrag zur neutestamentlichen Theologie* (Münster: 1915), Neut. Abh., Band V, Heft. 2-3, pp. 164, 148, 169-89: "Paulus und Johannes stimmen also darin überein, dass Christus in der innigsten Gemeinschaft zu seiner Kirche steht, wie die Bilder der bräutlichen Liebe, des paulinischen vom Leibe und den Gliedern, und des johanneischen vom Weinstock beweisen. Bei Johannes ist diese Vereinigung noch inniger gedacht." Cf. also A. Goodier, "The Mystical Body," *The Month*, CLIX (1932), 289-97; M. J. Congar, *Esquisses du mystère de l'Église* (Paris: 1953), pp. 14 ff.

<sup>140</sup> *De Trin.*, XV, 19, 34 (PL 42, 1084): "... de quibus membris suis ait, 'Quando uni ex minimis meis fecistis, mihi fecistis' (Matt. 25:40)." So also he alludes frequently to a text in the *Acts of the Apostles* in confirmation of the doctrine of the body of Christ: e.g., *Enar. in Ps.* 130, 6 (PL 37, 1708): "Ipse Dominus desuper clamavit pro corpore suo, 'Saul, Saul, quid me persequeris?' (Acts 9:4) et ipsum nemo tangebatur, sed pro corpore in terra laborante caput de coelo clamabat." Cf. J. Gruden, *The Mystical Christ*, pp. 87 ff.

The teaching of St. Paul on the unity of Christ and the faithful may be conveniently reduced to the following main headings: 1) analogies, 2) the expressions "in Christ" and "in the Lord," 3) words compounded with the Greek *syn* and translated by the Latin *con*.

## I

There are three analogies whose purpose is to teach and to illustrate the intimate unity of Christ and the Christians in the Epistles of the Apostle. They are: the physical body, the bride and the bridegroom, and the spiritual temple or building.

Firstly, the analogy for which St. Paul has a predilection is that of the physical body. The Church is the body of Christ and the Christians are its members. This analogy has a deep and even mysterious significance. The universal Church, according to St. Paul, is not an amorphous aggregation of individuals, not merely a social organization, but a unified organism, a living body, and in such there must be of necessity inequality and diversity of office and function for the well-being of the whole. The Church, therefore, portrayed under the image of a body, expresses the life of which Christ is the source and unity amid diversity of membership.<sup>141</sup> The use of the word "body" to denote the unity of the human body, of a society, of an army, of an organization or of the world was well known in Hellenistic literature.<sup>142</sup>

It can be gleaned from the various passages in which this analogy occurs that it is portrayed by St. Paul in a twofold manner: 1) Christ the head is placed in contrast to the members of the body, i.e., the Church;<sup>143</sup> 2) Christ is made identical with the Church, that is, the Church is the mystical Christ. And thus Christ is not only the head, but also the head and the body.<sup>144</sup>

<sup>141</sup> L. Cerfaux, *La théologie de l'Église suivant Saint Paul* (Paris: 1948), p. 201.

<sup>142</sup> Cf. A. Wikenhauser, *Die Kirche als der mystische Leib Christi nach dem Apostel Paulus* (Münster: 1940); W. L. Knox, "Parrallels to the N. T. use of *σῶμα*," *Journal of Theological Studies*, XXXIX (1938), 243-46; F. de Visscher, *Les Édits d'Auguste découverts à Cyrène* (Louvain: 1940), pp. 91-93; S. Hanson, *The Unity of the Church in the New Testament* (Uppsala: 1946), p. 52.

<sup>143</sup> Col. 1:18; 2:19; Eph. 1:22; 15 f.

<sup>144</sup> H. Schlier, *Christus und die Kirche im Epheserbrief* (Tübingen:



The contents of both series of assertions can be reduced in the end to the oneness of Christ the head, and of the members, His body. No doubt, behind this analogy of head and body lies a deep and mysterious doctrine in the Apostle's mind, but particular circumstances in communities to which the doctrine was brought to attention occasioned its repetition in various forms. The primary purpose which the Apostle wishes to attain by the inculcation of this analogy is the preservation and enhancement of unity. There is only one Christ; He can have but one body. The members of Christ must live in unity, that is, in harmony and concord through charity among themselves, and in union with their own head. For this purpose they must avoid heresy, which disrupts the unity of faith, and shun transgressions against the law of morality, whereby the bonds of charity are burst asunder.<sup>145</sup>

It is evident from this analogy that the union of Christ and the Christians is not only an individual union, but also a corporate union. This latter precisely is stressed by the Apostle of the Gentiles, for in it lies the welfare of the Church. There is a hierarchical order of functions in the Church just as there is in the human body. In that hierarchy Christ is the head<sup>146</sup> and the Church His body.<sup>147</sup> Among the members of the Church them-

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1930), p. 38: "Vor allem ist aber zu beachten dass Christus so wohl die κεφαλή ist, als auch das σῶμα + κεφαλή."

<sup>145</sup> Gal. 3:28; I Cor. 1:10 ff.; 12:12 ff.; Phil. 1:27; 2:1 ff.; Eph. 4:3 ff.

<sup>146</sup> Eph. 4:4-16: "One body and one Spirit, even as you were called in one hope of your calling; one Lord, one faith, one baptism: one God and Father of all, who is above all, and throughout all, and in us all . . . and he himself gave some men as apostles, and some as prophets, others again as evangelists, and others as pastors and teachers, in order to perfect the saints for a work of ministry, for building up the body of Christ, until we attain to the unity of the faith and of the deep knowledge of the Son of God, to perfect manhood, to the mature measure of the fullness of Christ. And this he has done that we may be now no longer children, tossed to and fro and carried about by every wind of doctrine. . . . Rather are we to practice the truth in love and so grow up in all things in him who is the head, Christ. For from him, the whole body (being closely joined and knit together through every joint of the system according to the functioning in due measure of each single part) derives its increase to the building up of itself in love."

<sup>147</sup> Eph. 1:22-23: "And he hath subjected all things under his feet, and hath made him head over all the Church, which is his body and the fullness of Him, who is filled all in all."

selves there are inequality of authority and diversity of function. Yet all are united by a common purpose and aim, by the oneness of their faith and by the bond of charity.

These thoughts are scattered throughout the *Epistles* of St. Paul, but especially do they form a great part of the *Epistle to the Ephesians*, which is a commentary on the Church, the body of Christ.<sup>148</sup> Although this Epistle has been impugned by Protestant scholars from Holzmann to Dibellius as being unauthentic,<sup>149</sup>

<sup>148</sup> Here are some of the classical texts: Eph. 1:22, 23: "And he (God) hath subjected all things under his feet, and hath made him (Jesus) head over all the Church, which is his body, and the fullness of him who is filled all in all." Eph. 4:6-16: "But to every one of us is given grace, according to the measure of the giving of Christ, . . . And he gave some apostles and some prophets, and other some evangelists, and other some pastors and doctors, for the perfecting of the saints, for the work of the ministry, for the edifying of the body of Christ. . . . For doing the truth in charity, we may in all things grow up in him who is the head, even Christ: From whom the whole body, being compacted and fitly joined together, by what every joining supplieth, according to the operation in the measure of every part, maketh increase of the body, unto the edifying of itself in charity." Cf. J. Méritan, "L'Ecclesiologie de l'Épître aux Éphésiens," *Rev. biblique*, VII (1898), 343-60; A. Beel, "Interpretatio Eph. 2:11-22," *Collationes Brugenses*, XXXVI (1936), 369-74; P. Benoit, "L'Horizon Paulinien de l'Épître aux Éphésiens," *Rev. bibl.*, XLVI (1937), 343-61; E. Lenn, "Recapitulation in Christ," *Clergy Rev.*, XIV (1938), 205-15; A. Van der Heeren, "Quibus metaphoris in Ep. ad Ephesios designetur Ecclesia Christi et quomodo hujus proprietates essentielles ibidem indicentur," *Collationes Brugenses*, XVI (1911), 449-54; *id.*, "Instaurare omnia in Christo," Eph. 1:10, *ibid.*, XXV (1920), 228-32; *id.*, "Mysterium a S. Paulo praedicatum," *ibid.*, pp. 316-19; F. Mussner, *Christus, das All und die Kirche. Studien zur Theologie des Epheserbriefes* (Trier: 1955).

<sup>149</sup> *An die Kolosser, Epheser, an Philemon*. Erklärt von M. Dibellius, *Handbuch zum Neuen Testament*, XII (3 Aufl.; Tübingen: 1953). For him Ephesians is not an epistle and not Pauline but a doctrinal tract composed in the first century. The late Dean Inge said: "When I read Ephesians in English I think it may have been written by St. Paul; when I read it in Greek I do not recognize its manner." A dent has been made also in the ranks of the learned in the English-speaking world. Rejecting or strongly questioning the Pauline origin of the Epistle are: J. Moffat, *Introduction to the Literature of the New Testament* (3rd ed.; Edinburgh: 1949), pp. 373-95; C. L. Mitton, *The Epistle to the Ephesians: Its Authorship, Origin and Purpose* (Oxford: 1951); *id.*, "Important Hypotheses Reconsidered. VII. The Authorship of the Epistle to the Ephesians," *Expository Times*, LXVII (1956), 195-98; A. H. McNeile, *An Introduction to the Study of the New Testament* (Oxford: 1953), pp. 165-77; E. J. Goodspeed, *Introduction to the New Testament* (Chicago: 1937), pp. 231-39; *id.*, *Key to the Ephesians* (Chicago: 1956), p. xvi: "Ephesians is based upon the nine genuine letters of Paul and fashioned out of them, by a skilful and gifted hand, to serve

it contains for St. Augustine the words of St. Paul, but above all it is for him a part of the *scriptura canonica*<sup>149a</sup> for which the Church alone can be the voucher and guarantor,<sup>149b</sup> and it admirably conspires with his other Letters to portray the spiritual and corporate nature of the Church.<sup>150</sup>

Christ is the head of the church which is his body; and this relationship is the most characteristic theme of the epistle. The essential place of the church in the divine scheme of redemption is never absent from the mind of St. Paul, but nowhere else does he treat the theme so fully as in Ephesians, or make it so abundantly clear that redemption implies not merely a personal and individual reconciliation with God, but also membership in a corporate society of divine origin, the church of Christ.<sup>151</sup>

For the purpose of our inquiry the following conclusions may be drawn:

- 1) An individual is brought by way of justification into union

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as an introduction to the churches of the next generation." In the name of the traditional view speaks E. F. Scott, *The Literature of the New Testament* (New York: 1940), p. 180: "The weight of evidence is decidedly in favor of Paul's authorship"; *id.*, *The Epistles of Paul to the Colossians, to Philemon and to the Ephesians* (New York: 1930), p. vii, where the author "holds to the position which has never been questioned until modern days."

<sup>149a</sup> *De civ. Dei*, XI, 3 (PL 41, 318; ed. Dombart-Kalb, I, 463); *De nat. et grat.*, 61, 71 (PL 44, 282); cf. B. B. Warfield, *Calvin and Augustine* (Philadelphia: 1956), p. 431.

<sup>149b</sup> *Contra ep. Manich.*, 5, 6 (PL 42, 176; CSEL 25, 197); *De doct. Christ.*, II, 8 (PL 34, 40); cf. M. Löhrer, *Der Glaubensbegriff des hl. Augustinus in seinen ersten Schriften bis zu den Confessiones* (Einsiedeln: 1955), p. 431.

<sup>150</sup> H. Schlier, *Christus und die Kirche im Epheserbrief* (Tübingen: 1930), pp. 39-40, disagrees with the many commentators, old and new (such as Abbot, Ewald, Haupt, H. von Soden, and Traugott Schmidt), who maintain that the concept of the mystical body is Pauline and that it is not confined to the Ephesians but is part of his other epistles as well. F. Mussner, *Christus, das All und die Kirche. Studien zur Theologie des Epheserbriefes* (Trier: 1955) holds, against Schlier and Käsemann (and in general, against the School of Bultmann), that the background of the theology of the Epistle to the Ephesians is not gnostic, and that the expressions and sentences contained in it are to be interpreted not from external sources but from the text itself and in the light of the context.

<sup>151</sup> E. Graham in *A New Commentary on Holy Scripture*, p. 539; cf. also F. Prat, *La théologie de saint Paul* (23 éd.; Paris: 1934), I, 359: "Le sujet principal . . . de l'Épître aux Éphésiens est l'Église, prolongement du Christ dans le temps et l'espace, complément, le plérôme du Christ."

with Christ through the medium of, and simultaneously with, the incorporation into the Church, the body of Christ.<sup>152</sup>

2) Christ and the faithful constitute one living whole, one organism, one body hierarchically arranged according to diversity of function. Multiple and divided bodies as constituting a single body are foreign to the Epistles of St. Paul.

3) Christ the head lends not only organical unity to members incorporated into the Church, His body, but also permeates them with His own life, through which the growth and perfection of a new spiritual order are attained. There is, therefore, a community of life between Christ and the Christians so that both the whole body and each member of it live the same supernatural life.

4) In consequence, the Church is depicted as being the continuation or the fullness of Christ, so that we cannot conceive Christ any longer adequately unless it be done together with His complement, the mystical body.<sup>153</sup> St. Paul uses the vocabulary "τὸ πληρόμα" for fullness.<sup>154</sup> According to the interpretation

<sup>152</sup> W. J. S. Simpson in *A New Commentary on Holy Scripture*, p. 394: "According to St. Paul, the individual convert is not brought into relation with Christ so as to leave relation to the church secondary or optional, but rather brought into relation with Christ through incorporation into the Church. . . . And the church into which the individual is incorporated is not the local church, but the larger church; not, for example, the church in Corinth, but the church which is the body of Christ, and which has a local representation in Corinth. . . . St. Paul's insistence on the unity of the church, the body and the members involves the conception that union with Christ is secured to the individual convert through union with the organism which is the body of Christ."

<sup>153</sup> Eph. 1:22-23; cf. F. Prat, *op. cit.*, II, 341-43; S. Tromp, *Corpus Christi quod est Ecclesia* (2 ed.; Romae: 1946), 84 f.; V. Warnach, "Die Kirche im Epheserbrief," *Beiträge zur Kontroverstheologie* (Münster: 1949), I, 12-14.

<sup>154</sup> For the lexicography, cf. J. B. Lightfoot, *Paul's Epistles to the Colossians and to Philemon* (London: 1904), pp. 255-71; S. Hanson, *The Unity of the Church in the New Testament* (Uppsala: 1946), pp. 127-29; J. Gewiess, "Die Begriffe πληροῦν und πληροῦσθαι im Kolosser- und Epheserbrief," *Vom Wort des Lebens. Festschrift für M. Meinertz* (Münster: 1950), pp. 128-41; C. F. D. Moule, "'Fullness' and 'Fill' in the New Testament," *Scottish Journal of Theology*, 1951, pp. 79-86. See also: Montgomery-Hitchcock, "The Pleroma of Christ," *The Church Quarterly Review*, CXXV (1937), 1-18; E. Percy, *Die Probleme der Kolosser- und Epheserbriefe* (Lund: 1946), pp. 76-78, 384-86; J. Dupont, *Gnosis. La Connaissance religieuse dans les épîtres de saint Paul* (Louvain-Paris: 1949), pp. 421, 453-



of some,<sup>155</sup> the Church is the complement of the physical body of Christ, i.e., fills and completes it as the physical members complete the head in order that man be in the state of a whole. According to others, the trenchant word is to be taken either in a passive sense that the Church is the receptacle of the riches of Christ, or in an active sense that Christ imparts His supernatural life to His members in the measure in which they need it.<sup>156</sup> In harmony with this teaching the sufferings of the members of the mystical body of Christ have a complementary value to the sufferings of Christ in His physical body.<sup>157</sup>

5) The Holy Ghost, who is the Spirit of Christ, dispenses His gifts of grace in the mystical body of Christ and is in a certain sense the soul of that body, for He operates in the mystical body in the way that the soul works in the physical human body.<sup>158</sup> The Holy Spirit is a divine reality. The supposition that there can be many independent Christian societies "with a unity of the spirit" is totally strange to the teaching of St. Paul.<sup>159</sup>

Secondly, the union or oneness existing between Christ and the Church is compared to that of bride and bridegroom.<sup>160</sup> Christ is united to the faithful as a husband is to his wife.<sup>161</sup> For the union between husband and wife is an image of the union

76: C. L. Mitton, *The Epistle to the Ephesians: Its Authorship, Origin and Purpose* (Oxford: 1951), pp. 94-97.

<sup>155</sup> F. Prat, *La théologie de saint Paul* (23 ed.; Paris: 1934), I, 356-58; II, 341 f.; St. Thomas, *Expos. in Eph.* 1, Lect. 8.

<sup>156</sup> Thus Knabenbauer, Meinertz, Wikenhauser; T. K. Abbott, *The Epistles to the Ephesians and to the Colossians* (Edinburgh: 1909), p. 245; J. Huby, *Saint Paul, Les Épîtres de la captivité* (Paris: 1935), p. 66; L. Cerfaux, *La théologie de l'Église suivant saint Paul* (Paris: 1948), p. 245; *id.*, *Le Christ dans la théologie de saint Paul* (Paris: 1951), p. 321.

<sup>157</sup> Col. 1:18, 24.

<sup>158</sup> F. Prat, *op. cit.*, II, 347 ff.: "L'Esprit-Saint est l'âme du corps mystique. Comme l'âme ennoblit le corps humain par sa présence, le vivifie par son contact, le meut par son activité, ainsi l'Esprit-Saint anime le corps mystique du Christ: il est l'hôte divin de l'Église et de chacun des fidèles; il est moteur et agent unique dans l'ordre surnaturel; . . ." Cf. also *ibid.*, I, 360-61.

<sup>159</sup> Armitage Robinson, *St. Paul's Epistle to the Ephesians* (2 ed.; London: 1914), p. 93; J. Huby, *Saint Paul, Les Épîtres de la captivité* (Paris: 1935), p. 196.

<sup>160</sup> II Cor. 11:2.

<sup>161</sup> Rom. 7:2-4.

existing between Christ and the Church.<sup>162</sup> St. Paul argues for the subjection of the wife to husband, since man is the head of the wife just as Christ is the head of the Church, which as His body is subject to Him. Of course, there is an additional title for the subjection of the Church to Christ in the fact that Christ is also the Redeemer of His mystical body; indeed, by redeeming the body He has become its head. It is this thought of intimate union of the faithful with Christ that is proposed by St. Paul as a powerful motive for Christian chastity and conjugal fidelity.<sup>163</sup>

Finally, in two impressive passages St. Paul compares the spiritual oneness of Christ and the Christians to a building of which Christ is the cornerstone, the keystone of the arch. The Christians are living stones forming a spiritual edifice.<sup>164</sup> They are built upon Christ, the foundation. Or the same image, according to which the Christians form a living temple, depicts God or the Holy Ghost as abiding in that temple, either in each Christian, or in all Christians corporately taken. In one passage he says: "You are God's building. According to the grace of God that is given to me, as a wise architect, I have laid the foundation . . . Know you not, that you are the temple of God who dwelleth in you?"<sup>165</sup> And in the other passage he expatiates on this same thought in the following manner: "Now therefore you are no more strangers and foreigners; but you are fellow-citizens with the saints and the domestics of God, built upon the foundations of the apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ Himself being the chief corner stone; in whom all the building, being framed together, groweth up into a holy temple in the Lord. In whom you also are built together into a habitation of God in the spirit."<sup>166</sup>

To the analogies already enumerated we may add the one of the olive and the grafted branches by which St. Paul insin-

<sup>162</sup> Eph. 5:21-24.

<sup>163</sup> I Cor. 6:15-16.

<sup>164</sup> P. Vielhauer, *Oikodome. Das Bild vom Bau in der christlichen Literatur vom Neuen Testament bis Clemens Alexandrinus* (Heidelberg: 1940).

<sup>165</sup> I Cor. 3:9-16.

<sup>166</sup> Eph. 2:19-22; cf. I Tim. 3:15. See Hanson, *The Unity of the Church in the New Testament* (Uppsala: 1946), pp. 131-36.

uates organical unity and participation in a higher life by the image of horticultural grafting.<sup>167</sup> The Jews belong by birth to the sacred tree whereas the Gentiles by nature come from the wild olive; if the latter are to produce good fruit they must be ingrafted into the cultivated tree.<sup>168</sup> This metaphor naturally reminds us of the one employed by our Lord in St. John's Gospel, viz., of the vine and the branches,<sup>169</sup> and is a corroboration of the identity of the doctrine of both Apostles. The vine or the olive tree is "the plant of justice" of which Abraham is the root. There is but one organism of salvation.

It would be incorrect, therefore, to state that St. Paul conveys the doctrine of the spiritual union existing between Christ and the Christians exclusively under the analogy of the body. Whilst it is true that this is the predominant and most emphatic metaphor, which has passed down to posterity as a doctrinal heritage, still the very same doctrine, or aspects of it, are illustrated, clarified, and embellished by other metaphors. St. Paul could find no single metaphor sufficiently exhaustive of all the content of the "mystery" and so he uses several images and passes from one to the other or even mingles one with the other.<sup>170</sup> All these analogies tend to portray the inner nature, the varied applicability, the many-sidedness and depth of the mystery of the oneness of Christ and the faithful.

## II

The solidarity of Christ and His intimate union with the Christian faithful find further expression in a variety of other Pauline forms which throw additional light on what has been said above. For the present we shall confine our attention to the expression "in Christ" and its equivalent "in the Lord," both of which occur in St. Paul 164 times.<sup>171</sup> Their frequency gives rise to the belief

<sup>167</sup> Rom. 11:16 ff.

<sup>168</sup> L. Cerfaux, *La théologie de l'Église suivant St. Paul* (Paris: 1948), pp. 40-41.

<sup>169</sup> John 15:1 ff.

<sup>170</sup> Cf. I. M. Vosté, *Commentarius in Epistolam ad Ephesios* (Romae: 1921), p. 45.

<sup>171</sup> The count and tabulation were first undertaken by A. Deissmann in a work devoted to this investigation, *Die neutestamentliche Formel "in Christo Jesu"* (Marburg: 1892).

that the expressions have been crystallized into a formula. These formulas primarily bear some reference to the mystical union of the Christian with Christ, although in some exceptional cases they may be devoid of any such relationship.<sup>172</sup> Notwithstanding the attempts made to classify them according to the thoughts or actions with which the expressions occur, a complete or perfect classification is impossible.<sup>173</sup> Only a broad outline of meanings is given here.

a) By these formulas a new life, altogether different from the one already possessed and higher than it, is designated. For by this life men become the sons of God, are made holy, have access to God, and will be brought back to life after death. "If then any be in Christ a new creature, the old things are passed away, behold all things are made new."<sup>174</sup>

b) From this union comes to the one united "in Christ" power and strength, joy and truth. "Brethren, be strengthened in the Lord, and in the might of his power."<sup>175</sup>

c) In conjunction with the oneness of Christ and the Christians can the many passages which speak of working, laboring and serving in Christ be understood.<sup>176</sup> "Be ye steadfast and unmovable; always abounding in the work of the Lord, knowing that your labor is not in vain in the Lord."<sup>177</sup>

d) Finally there are those uses of the formula which have a direct bearing on the Church as the body of Christ. "For as many

<sup>172</sup> Cf. Prat, *op. cit.*, II, 478; A. Wikenhauser, *Die Christismystik des hl. Paulus* (Münster: 1928), p. 10; E. Sommerlath, *Der Ursprung des neuen Lebens nach Paulus* (2 Aufl.; Leipzig: 1927), pp. 65-68; A. Oepke, in *Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament* herausgegeben von G. Kittel und G. Friedrich, II, 537 f.; F. Büchsel, "In Christo bei Paulus," *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*, XXXXII (1949), 141-58; M. Meinertz, *Theologie des Neuen Testaments* (Bonn: 1950), II, 135 f.; A. R. George, *Communion with God in the New Testament* (London: 1953), pp. 147-64.

<sup>173</sup> Wikenhauser, *loc. cit.*, p. 12.

<sup>174</sup> II Cor. 5:17; cf. Phil. 3:7; Gal. 3:26; Rom. 6:11; Phil. 1:1; 4:21; Eph. 5:8; 3:12; I Thess. 4:17; I Cor. 15:22.

<sup>175</sup> Eph. 6:10; cf. Phil. 4:13; 4:10; 3:1; 4:4; Philemon 1:8; Gal. 5:10; II Thess. 3:4.

<sup>176</sup> H. E. Weber, "Die Formel 'in Christo' und die paulinische Christismystik," *Neue kirchl. Zeitschr.*, XXXI (1920), 219.

<sup>177</sup> I Cor. 15:58; cf. Rom. 16:3, 9, 12; I Cor. 9:1-2; II Cor. 2:12, 17; 12:19; Col. 4:7.



of you as have been baptized in Christ, have put on Christ. . . . For you are all one in Christ."<sup>178</sup>

It is evident, therefore, that the expressions "in Christ Jesus," "in Christ," and "in the Lord" occur in the framework of St. Paul's theology on the oneness of Christ with individual Christians or the corporate union of Christ with the Church. That Christ is in the faithful Christian so as to constitute but one, so to say, being and life, and that Christ is united in like manner to all Christians constituting but one body is an essential portion of the Apostle's teaching which stands in the background of this Christ-phraseology.<sup>179</sup> It would be unfounded, however, to envisage St. Paul's dicta on the mystical Church as forming a new concept of the Church—one which entirely supplants the institutional and juridic notion of the Church.<sup>180</sup> In no single epistle of St. Paul—nor in any other sacred writer for that matter—do we find a complete doctrine of the Church, but the concept of the mystical body as it successively develops itself in the pages of the Apostle is most apt to integrate the various elements of the doctrine on the Church.<sup>181</sup> His assertion that the Church is the body of Christ does not constitute properly speaking a definition<sup>182</sup> but it furnishes us with an effective image which leads us to an understanding of the Church.<sup>183</sup> It can be applied to the Church in her earthly or heavenly state as well as to her institutional or mystical aspect.

<sup>178</sup> Gal. 3:28-29; cf. Gal. 1:22; I Thess. 2:14; II Cor. 12:2.

<sup>179</sup> Cf. Joh. Weiss, *Das Urchristentum* (Göttingen: 1917), p. 360; Wikenhauser, *Die Christumystik des hl. Paulus*, pp. 12 and 14; Prat, *op. cit.*, II, 478.

<sup>180</sup> Cf. K. Holl, "Der Kirchenbegriff des Paulus," *Sitzungsberichte der preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* (Berlin: 1921), opposed by W. Mundle, "Das Kirchenbewusstsein der ältesten Christenheit," *Zeitsch. für neuest. Wissenschaft*, XXII (1923), and H. Hoehnlein, "La notion de l'Église chez l'Apôtre Paul," *Rev. d'hist. et de phil. rel.*, XVII (1937), 362 ff.; See also: H. von Campenhausen, *Kirchliches Amt und geistliche Vollmacht* (Tübingen: 1953), p. 75, opposed by O. Karrer, "Apostolische Nachfolge und Primat," *Zeit. f. kath. Theol.*, LXXVII (1955), 134 ff.

<sup>181</sup> H. de Lubac, *Méditations sur l'Église* (3 ed.; Paris: 1954), p. 105.

<sup>182</sup> L. Cerfaux, *La théologie de l'Église suivant St. Paul* (Paris: 1948), pp. 283-86; V. Morel, "Le Corps mystique du Christ et l'Église catholique romaine," *Nouvelle rev. théol.*, LXX (1948), 718-19.

<sup>183</sup> L. Bouyer, "Où en est la théologie du Corps mystique." *Rev. des sciences rel.*, 1948, p. 313.

## III

An appreciable series of words compounded in the Greek with *syn* (συν) and having in the Latin translation corresponding verbs with *con* prefixed to them, are found throughout the Epistles of St. Paul. They belong here. These compounded words denote an intimate communion, association and even in some sense identity of action or being of the faithful with Christ. Consequently they are a further elucidation of the *in Christo Jesu* formula, or better still, a practical application of it. Thus those that are in Christ, that is, the faithful cosuffer<sup>184</sup> (to use the literal term in the English as close as possible to the original of St. Paul) with Christ; they codie;<sup>185</sup> they are cocrucified<sup>186</sup> and coburied.<sup>187</sup> To suffer, die and be buried is the share of a Christian here upon earth in conformity with Christ and coming to the Christian as a result of the sacrament of baptism.<sup>188</sup>

But the faithful Christian will also participate in the Lord's resurrection,<sup>189</sup> that he may be associated with Christ in life,<sup>190</sup> in ascension,<sup>191</sup> in glory,<sup>192</sup> in reign,<sup>193</sup> in heirship.<sup>194</sup> These constitute the share of those united perseveringly with Christ in the life to come. At times the direct principal causality of this community of action of the faithful with Christ is ascribed to God Himself who is said to make the good Christians corise with Christ,<sup>195</sup> to coascend into heaven,<sup>196</sup> and to colive with him.<sup>197</sup> Underlying St. Paul's theology on the common fate of Christ and the Chris-

<sup>184</sup> Rom. 8:17.

<sup>185</sup> II Tim. 2:11; Rom. 6:8; cf. Rom. 6:4-5; II Cor. 7:3.

<sup>186</sup> Gal. 2:20.

<sup>187</sup> Rom. 6:4; Colos. 2:12.

<sup>188</sup> F. J. Leehnhardt, *Le baptême chrétien* (Neuchâtel: 1946), pp. 59-62; L. Cerfaux, *Le Christ dans la théologie de saint Paul* (Paris: 1951), pp. 246-53; J. Dupont, ΣΥΝ ΧΡΙΣΤΩΙ, *L'union avec le Christ suivant saint Paul* (Louvain-Paris: 1952).

<sup>189</sup> Rom. 7:4-5; Colos. 2:12.

<sup>190</sup> Rom. 6:8; II Tim. 2:11.

<sup>191</sup> Eph. 2:6.

<sup>192</sup> Rom. 8:17.

<sup>193</sup> II Tim. 2:12.

<sup>194</sup> Rom. 8:17; Eph. 3:6.

<sup>195</sup> Eph. 2:6.

<sup>196</sup> Eph. 2:6.

<sup>197</sup> Eph. 2:5; Colos. 2:13.

tian is his teaching on the oneness of life in Christ and the Christians. The Christian who has truly put on Christ in baptism lives the life of grace which is imparted to him by Christ. "I live, not I," says St. Paul, "but Christ liveth in me."<sup>198</sup>

It will be readily observed that the good Christians are associated with Christ in these states or actions not only individually, but also corporately.<sup>199</sup> Apart from the personal Christ, another Christ is formed of the ensemble of Christians. All who share His life become a collective Christ. The expressions and descriptions used by St. Paul to portray our oneness with Christ have their elucidation and full meaning in the framework of St. Paul's conception of the mystical unity of Christ with His members composing the Church, the most cherished analogy of which is for the Apostle the mystical body.<sup>200</sup>

In the Epistle to the Ephesians the spiritual union of Christ and the faithful in the mysteries of life, death and the resurrection is particularly striking. St. Paul says: "But God, who is rich in mercy, by reason of his great love wherewith he has loved us, even when we were dead by reason of our sins, brought us to life together with Christ (*convivificavit*—συνέζωοποίησεν) . . . and raised us up together (*conresuscitavit*—συνήγειρεν), and made us sit together (*συνεκάθισεν*) in heaven in Christ Jesus."<sup>201</sup> And then again: "Namely, that the Gentiles are joint heirs (*cohaeredes*—συνκληρονόμα) and fellow members of the same body (*concorporales*—σύνσωμα) and joint partakers (*comparticipes*—συνμέτοχα) through the gospel."<sup>202</sup>

The expressions employed by St. Paul are unusual, in any case striking. It would appear as if the Apostle of the Gentiles found

<sup>198</sup> Gal. 2:20.

<sup>199</sup> W. Goossens, *L'Église corps du Christ d'après saint Paul* (Paris: 1949), pp. 90-98. Against the theory of a "collective Christ," cf. W. G. Kuemmel, *Kirchenbegriff und Geschichtsbewusstsein in der Urgemeinde und bei Paulus* (Zürich-Uppsala: 1943), p. 33; E. Sjöberg, *Der Menschensohn in Ethiopischen Henochbuch* (Lund: 1946), pp. 97-101.

<sup>200</sup> L. Cerfaux, *La théologie de l'Église suivant saint Paul* (Paris: 1948), pp. 201-18.

<sup>201</sup> Eph. 2:4-6.

<sup>202</sup> Eph. 3:6; cf. P. Benoit, "L'horizon paulinien de l'épître aux Éphésiens," *Rev. Bibl.*, XLVI (1937), 342-61; 506-25.

human language incapable of expressing the intimate oneness of Christ and the faithful in the mysteries of the Incarnation, Redemption and man's regeneration. And in some cases St. Paul finds himself obliged to coin new words to express to his satisfaction our union with Christ.<sup>203</sup>

Because this doctrine occupies such a prominent role in the writings of the Apostle some call it the central theme<sup>204</sup> and the master-idea<sup>205</sup> with which all other dogmatic and moral teaching is connected. Others, however, believe that this role is to be reserved for his doctrine on the redemption.<sup>206</sup> In any case St. Paul's doctrine of the mystical body of Christ is indissociable from the incarnation of Christ and the doctrine of the redemption,<sup>207</sup> for it cannot be conceived without them. But there is a common denominator to all these doctrines in the person of Christ, who is to be considered as the focal point of the Apostle's theology. He himself says: "We preach not ourselves, but Jesus Christ our Lord";<sup>208</sup> and in another passage: "We preach Christ crucified."<sup>209</sup>

The evangelists and St. Paul, in portraying the Church, do not contradict or exclude themselves, but they rather complement one another. The full concept of the Church, with its diverse aspects, is gained when the Scriptures are taken as a whole. In the Synoptics, we find chiefly the external elements—*the regnum Dei*—delineated; to this external aspect St. John emphatically adds life—supernatural life—*vita*; St. Paul embraces both the external

<sup>203</sup> F. Jürgensmeier, *Der Mystische Leib Christi* (Paderborn: 1934), p. 32: "Die Wortbildungen des 'Mit-Christus-Seins' sind zum Teil von Paulus erst geschaffen: es genügten ihm die vorhandenen nicht, um die unaussprechlich innige und mannigfache Lebensverbindung der Christen mit Christus auszusprechen."

<sup>204</sup> J. Gruden, *op. cit.*, p. 42.

<sup>205</sup> F. Prat, "L'Idée-Mère de la théologie de St. Paul," *Études*, LXXXII (1900), 202-23.

<sup>206</sup> R. Bandas, *The Master-Idea of St. Paul's Epistles or the Redemption* (Bruges: 1926), p. viii (Preface).

<sup>207</sup> R. Bultmann, *Theologie des Neuen Testamentes* (Tübingen: 1948), p. 188: "The Pauline Christology is at the same time a soteriology." Cf. E. Goguel, *Der Römerbrief* (Zürich: 1945), I, 1-8.

<sup>208</sup> II Cor. 4:5.

<sup>209</sup> I Cor. 1:23.



and internal elements in the corporate union designating it as the body of Christ.<sup>210</sup> A synthesis of all that is said concerning the Church in the New Testament is aptly found in the following presentation:

First of all, we take analogies only from those who know the divine side,—that is, Christ Himself and those whom He inspires. Then we put together all the analogies, and carefully refrain from interpreting one of them so as to clash with another. If these analogies are repeated with more and more emphasis, if the mode of their utterance becomes more and more sublime, our thought of the Mystery rises higher and higher. . . . Thus the Kingdom of God is revealed to us as a visible Empire,—which we more or less understand. Anything further told to us can take nothing away from the fact that it is a visible Empire. It is then added that this Kingdom is within us. We therefore know that it transcends all earthly Empires. We do not take our choice between the two statements: they are true *together*. Further, we learn that this Kingdom is Life, into which we are to be supernaturally . . . *born*, in which we are to be incarnationally *nourished*, by which we are to be *transformed* into heights utterly beyond our ken. Still it is the same Kingdom. Yet again, we are told that it is an Organism. It is a Vine, of which we are all branches, useless when separated from it unless we be re-grafted into it. It is a Temple, “not made with hands,” a living Temple, “built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the chief corner stone, in which all the building, being framed together, *groweth* up into a holy temple in the Lord, in whom you also are built together into a habitation of God in the Spirit.” (Ephes. 2:20–22) This was not enough. Beyond mere organic life, beyond all living forms of art, it is a *Body*,

<sup>210</sup> M. Cullmann, *Die Tauflehre des Neuen Testaments* (Zürich: 1948), pp. 28–29, distinguishes between the kingdom of Christ and the mystical body of Christ. The kingdom of Christ was born of the redemption and the *gratia praeveniens*; the Church becomes the body of Christ by a retrenchment of the kingdom of Christ and by rebirth in baptism. A. Fridrichsen, *Den nya Kyrkosynen* (A New Concept of the Church), 1945, [cf. G. Lindeskog, “Zwei Hauptfragen in der modernen schwedischen Exegetik,” *Literaturzeitung*, LXXV (1950), 394–97] explains the relationship between Christ and the Church thus: Christ “represents” the Church. Whatever happens to Him, happens to the Church and to each of its members. “In Christo” signifies the holy part of the community. The interpretation is opposed to an individualistic, mystico-spiritual union. The notion of “representation” is associated with the royal ideology of the Scandinavians: the king or Messiah “represents” in his person the whole nation, as a father represents his clan.

human and divine with all its multiplicity of members under one Head, Christ Jesus, and with one Heart animated by a Holy Spirit. It is even, here on earth, considered as a Human-Divine Personality, the Bride of Christ and the universal Mother. All these "analogies" are crowded upon us in endless profusion in Holy Scripture, and are announced to us in words of such boundless enthusiasm and such sublime exaltation, that we must be blind and deaf to the spiritual world if we do not recognize that we are in the presence of Infinity on earth.<sup>211</sup>

St. Augustine makes full use of all these elements as they are found in the Scriptures.<sup>212</sup> He portrays his Church in its historical and geographical forms—as an *Ecclesia Catholica*, a *civitas*, the kingdom of Christ here upon earth: the Church is visible, sacramental, juridic. Then he borrows from St. John, especially in his excellent treatise on John's Gospel, elements depicting the inner life of grace of the Church: she is a living being, having the power from within herself to grow, assimilate, and to move in order to reach her destiny. Finally, he identifies himself with St. Paul, in designating and describing the Church as the body of Christ, and thus bringing Christ and His members into organic unity.

Bossuet, a great admirer and follower of St. Augustine, asks, "What is the Church?" and responds: "The Church is a congregation of the children of God, His Kingdom, His temple, His throne, His sanctuary, His tabernacle. Let us say something more profound: the Church is Jesus Christ; but Jesus Christ spread and communicated."<sup>213</sup> In another passage he says: "You ask me what the Church is: the Church is Jesus Christ spread and communicated, it is entirely the whole Jesus Christ, it is Jesus Christ in His perfection, it is Jesus Christ in His plenitude."<sup>214</sup> These descriptions of the Church are digested from the pages of the Bishop of Hippo, whom Bossuet calls the Doctor of Doctors.

<sup>211</sup> F. C. Kolbe, *The Four Mysteries of the Faith* (London: 1926), pp. 78-79.

<sup>212</sup> *Enar. in Ps. 30, sermo 2, 1* (PL 36, 239).

<sup>213</sup> Bossuet, *Pensées chrétiennes et morales, Oeuvres complètes*, ed. Lachat (Paris: 1879), X, 586.

<sup>214</sup> Bossuet, "Lettres à une demoiselle de Metz," IV, *Oeuvres complètes*, XXVII, 310.

If posterity has hailed St. Augustine with the glorious title of another St. Paul,<sup>215</sup> especially due to his doctrine on grace, then also in this matter, it can justly be said that what one Paul wrote under the inspiration of the Holy Ghost concerning the faithful as members of Christ and temples of the Holy Ghost—the other Paul repeated and amplified, illustrated and embellished.<sup>216</sup>

It is St. Paul, therefore, who presents the Church in its finished form as the mystical body of Christ. This aspect of the Church of Christ is a portrayal primarily of the spiritual and supernatural elements of the Church of Christ.<sup>217</sup> The Church considered as the mystical body of Christ is not an exhortative fancy or a passing notion, but a doctrine that is repeated, depicted, insisted upon, made a motive of morality and sanctity, and constitutes an integral part of a vast edifice of religious thought. This insistence, together with certain spiritual realities involved in the

<sup>215</sup> Cf. O. Bardenhewer, *Patrologie* (2 ed.; Freiburg im Br.: 1901), p. 436.

<sup>216</sup> K. Adam, *Saint Augustine, the Odyssey of His Soul* (London: 1932), p. 46: "In this Augustine was the inspired pupil of an inspired master, the great Apostle of the Gentiles."

<sup>217</sup> Cf. F. Prat, *La théologie de saint Paul* (23 éd.; Paris: 1934), I, 360 ff.; A. Wikenhauser, *Die Chrystusmystik des hl. Paulus* (Münster: 1938); *id.*, *Die Kirche als der mystische Leib Christi nach dem Apostel Paulus* (Münster: 1940); K. Schmidt, *Die Kirche des Urchristentums* (Tübingen: 1927); W. Köster, *Die Idee der Kirche beim Apostel Paulus* (Münster: 1928); Tr. Schmidt, *Der Leib Christi; eine Untersuchung zum urchristlichen Gemeindegedanken* (Leipzig: 1919); C. Feckes, *Das Mysterium der heiligen Kirche* (3 Aufl.; Paderborn: 1951), pp. 17 ff.; E. Mura, *Le corps mystique du Christ* (2 éd.; Paris: 1937), II, 49 ff.; C. Lattey, "Theses Paulinae," VII, *Verbum Domini*, IV (1924), 196–200; 241–44; C. Lo Giudice, "De Unione Fidelium cum Christo in Epistola ad Galatas," *Verbum Domini*, XX (1940), 44–52; 81–84; F. Prat, "L'Idée-Mère de la théologie de S. Paul," *Études*, LXXXIII (1900), 202–23; A. Dondeyne, "Doctrina Scripturae de Christo Capite," *Collationes Brugenses*, LXXXIII (1933); L. Cerfaux, *La théologie de l'Église suivant saint Paul* (Paris: 1948); *id.*, *Le Christ dans la théologie de saint Paul* (Paris: 1951), pp. 264 ff.; *id.*, "L'Église et le regne de Dieu d'après saint Paul," *Eph Lov.*, II (1925), 182 ff.; F. Amiot, *L'enseignement de Saint Paul* (Paris: 1946); L. Malevez, "L'Église, corps du Christ, sens et provenance de l'expression chez saint Paul," *Rech. de science rel.*, XXXIV (1944), 83–88; E. Percy, *Der Leib Christi in den paulinischen Homologumena und Antilegomena* (Lund.: 1942); W. Goosens, *L'Église corps du Christ d'après saint Paul* (Paris: 1949); T. Soiron, *Die Kirche als Leib Christi nach der Lehre des hl. Paulus* (Düsseldorf: 1951); J. A. Robinson, *The Body. A Study in Pauline Theology* (Chicago: 1952); E. Best, *One Body in Christ. A Study in the Relationship of the Church to Christ in the Epistles of the Apostle Paul* (London: 1955); P. Benoit, "Corps, tête et plérôme dans les épîtres de la captivité," *Revue biblique*, LXIII (1956), 5–44.

body of Christ, as grace and charity, make St. Paul's portrayal of it more than a mere and empty figure of speech,<sup>218</sup> more than a simple analogy—it is, if I may so call it, a “sacramental” analogy,<sup>219</sup> rendering accessible, to some degree, by visible signs, sacred truths.<sup>220</sup> It represents and at the same time leads us into the mysterious realm of spiritual realities.<sup>221</sup>

It is no wonder, then, that such an outstanding doctrine of the oneness of all in Christ, preached by St. Paul with so much unction, and calculated to enkindle zeal, was accepted by Christianity as a precious bequest. It was a favorite theme of the early Church. The Apostolic and subsequent Fathers and ecclesiastical writers<sup>222</sup> recur to it again and again. A Clement,<sup>223</sup> an Ignatius,<sup>224</sup> an Irenaeus,<sup>225</sup> a St. Hippolytus of Rome,<sup>226</sup> an Origen,<sup>227</sup>

<sup>218</sup> St. Thomas, *Summa theol.*, IIIa, q. 8, a. 1, ad 2m; *ibid.*, a. 4 c.: “similitudinariæ.”

<sup>219</sup> Cf. Gruden, *The Mystical Christ*, p. 58 ff.

<sup>220</sup> Piątkiewicz, *Mistyczne ciało Chrystusa a charaktery sakramentalne* (Kraków: 1903), p. 13.

<sup>221</sup> W. O'Connor, “The Mystical Body of Christ,” *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, XLVI (1935), 143: “a reality behind the metaphor;” p. 149: “Behind these symbols and figures stands a reality. . . .” W. J. Sparrow Simpson, *St. Augustine's Episcopate* (London: 1944), p. 109: “And this to Augustine was no mere metaphor. The intimate relation between Christ and the Christian Church was a fact of intense reality.” Cf. Prat, *The Theology of St. Paul* (tr.), II, 350.

<sup>222</sup> Cf. Petavius, in his tract on the *Incarnation*, l. XII, c. 17, *Opus de Theologicis Dogmatibus* (Bruxellis: 1859), VII, 101–7; H. Korn, *Die Nachwirkungen der Christumystik des Paulus in den apostolischen Vätern* (Borna-Leipzig: 1928); E. Mersch, *Le Corps mystique du Christ* (Louvain: 1933), vols. I and II; J. C. Gruden, *The Mystical Christ*, pp. 103 ff.; J. Zeiller, “La Conception de l'Église aux quatre premiers siècles,” *Rev. d'histoire ecclésiastique*, XXIX (1933), 571–85; 827–48; R. Frick, *Die Geschichte des Reich-Gottesgedankens bis zu Origines und Augustin* (Giessen: 1928); S. Tromp, “De nativitate Ecclesiae ex Corde Jesu in Cruce,” *Gregorianum*, XIII (1932), 489–527; H. Schumacher, *Kraft der Urkirche. Das ‘neue Leben’ nach den Dokumenten der ersten zwei Jahrhunderte* (Freiburg im Br.: 1934); G. Bardy, *La théologie de l'Église de saint Clément de Rome à saint Irénée* (Paris: 1945); *id.*, *La théologie de l'Église de saint Irénée au concile de Nicée* (Paris: 1947); K. Hörmann, *Leben in Christus: Zusammenhänge zwischen Dogma und Sitte bei den Apostolischen Vätern* (Vienna: 1952).

<sup>223</sup> *Ep. I ad Corin.*, XLVI (PG I, 304).

<sup>224</sup> *Ep. ad Trallianos*, XI (PG 8, 800); cf. M. Villain, “Une vive conscience de l'unité du Corps mystique: Saint Ignace et Saint Irénée,” *Rev. Apol.*, LVI (1938), 257–71.

<sup>225</sup> *Adv. Haer.*, III, XVI, 6 (PG 7, 925); III, XVIII, 1 (PG 7, 932); III, XXIV, 1 (PG 7, 966); IV, XXXV, 7 (PG 7, 1212). Cf. L. Spikowski, *La*



a Tertullian,<sup>228</sup> a St. Cyprian,<sup>229</sup> St. Hilary,<sup>230</sup> St. Athanasius,<sup>231</sup> St. Gregory Nazianzen,<sup>232</sup> St. Gregory of Nyssa,<sup>233</sup> St. John

*théologie de l'Église dans saint Irénée* (Strasbourg: 1926); P. Gaechter, "Unsere Einheit mit Christus nach dem hl. Irenaeus," *Zeit. f. kath. Theol.*, LVIII (1934), 503-33; A. Verriale, "Le plan du salut d'après Saint Irénée," *Rech. de science rel.*, XXIV (1934), 493-524; A. D'Alès, "La doctrine de la récapitulation en Saint Irénée," *Rech. de science rel.*, VI (1916), 185-211; E. Scharl, *Recapitulatio mundi. Der Recapitulationsbegriff des hl. Irenäus* (Freiburg im Br.: 1941); M. Villain, "Une vive conscience de l'unité du Corps mystique: saint Ignace et saint Irénée," *Rev. Apol.*, LVI (1938), 257-71.

<sup>226</sup> *Hippolyts Schrift über die Segnungen Jacobs von Constantin Diobouniotis und N. Beis. Hippolyts Danielkommentar in Handschrift Nr. 573 des Meteoronklosters Constantin Diobouniotis. Mit Vorwort von G. Nath. Bonwetsch. T. U. Reihe 3, Bd. 8, 1* (Leipzig: 1911), p. 42, l. 14: "πάντων . . . τῶν ἁγίων κεφαλὴ, ὁ χριστὸς ἦν." Cf. A. Hamel, *Kirche bei Hippolyt von Rom* (Gütersloh: 1951), p. 58: "Durch die gemeinsame Bezogenheit auf Christus werden die Heiligen aus ihrer Vereinzelung herausgehoben und zu einer Einheit, dem Leib des Logos. Die Kirche ist also kein nur kollektivistisch konstituiertes Gebilde, sondern eine durch ihre jenseitige Grundlage unteilbare personale Grösse."

<sup>227</sup> *Contra Cel.*, VI, 48 (PG 11, 1373; GCS II, 119, P. Koetschau); *Commentary on St. Matthew* 22, 39 (PG 13, 1604; GCS III, 7). Cf. H. Von Balthasar, "Le Mysterion d'Origène," *Rech. de science rel.*, XXVI (1936), 513-62; XXVII (1937), 29-64.

<sup>228</sup> *De poenit.*, X (PL 1, 1264). Cf. A. D'Alès, *La théologie de Tertullien* (2me éd.; Paris: 1905); K. Adam, *Der Kirchenbegriff Tertullians* (Paderborn: 1907).

<sup>229</sup> *De unitate Ecclesiae*, 6 (PL 4, 519; CSEL 3, ed. G. Hartel, I, 215 f.); cf. E. Mersch, *Le Corps mystique du Christ*, II, 16; T. Zapelena, "Petrus origo unitatis apud S. Cyprianum," *Gregorianum*, XV (1934), 500-523; XVI (1935), 196-224; G. Nicotra, "Interpretazione di Cipriano al Cant. 4, 12," *Scuola Cattolica*, LVIII (1940), 380-87; *id.*, "Dottrina di Cipriano sull'efficacia dei Sacramenti," *Scuola Cattolica*, LXVIII (1940), 496-504; 583-87.

<sup>230</sup> *De Trin.*, II, 24 (PL 10, 66); VIII, 13 (PL 10, 246); VIII, 14 (PL 10, 247). Cf. J. Beumer, "De eenheid der menschen met Christus in de theologie van den H. Hilarius van Poitiers," *Bijdragen der Nederlandsche Jezuïeten*, V (1942), 151-67.

<sup>231</sup> *II Contra Arianos*, 70 (PG 26, 296); *Oratio de incarnatione Verbi Dei*, 8 (PG 25, 109). Cf. H. Sträter, *Die Erlösungslehre des hl. Athanasius* (Freiburg im Br.: 1894); V. Cremers, *De Verlossingsidee bij Athanasius den Groote* (Turnhout: 1924); L. Bouyer, *L'Incarnation et l'Église-corps du Christ dans la théologie de saint Athanase* (Paris: 1944).

<sup>232</sup> *Oratio* 7, 23 (PG 35, 785); *Oratio* 2, 3 (PG 35, 409).

<sup>233</sup> J. B. Aufhauser, *Die Heilslehre des hl. Gregor von Nyssa* (Münster: 1910); H. von Balthasar, "La philos. relig. de saint Gregoire de Nyse," *Rech. de science rel.*, XXIX (1939), 513-49; H. Malevez, "L'Église du Christ: étude de théol. hist. et théor.," *Rech. de science rel.*, XXV (1935), 260-91 (for St. Gregory of Nyssa).

Chrysostom,<sup>234</sup> St. Cyril of Alexandria,<sup>235</sup> St. Ambrose,<sup>236</sup> St. Jerome<sup>237</sup> follow in the footprints of the Apostle of the Gentiles.

The spiritual union of the Christian with Christ, God, the Holy Ghost is envisaged already by the Apostolic Fathers as an ontological reality which necessitates a corresponding level of action. And thus moral theology is founded upon dogmatic theology as upon its natural foundation.<sup>238</sup> The Fathers of the post-Apostolic age continue to see in this conception of the Church a motivation for the truths of the highest order. Some see in the Church so conceived an argument for unity; others, a limped fountain of grace; others, an estimation of the high dignity of man. The fact that we are one with Christ, they argue, must be a powerful restraint against sin but also a powerful motive for charity.<sup>239</sup> It is an inducement for self-sanctification and virtue,

<sup>234</sup> *In Gal. Comment.*, III (PG 61, 656); *In Colos. hom.* 8 (PG 62, 353); *In I Cor. hom.* 8 (PG 61, 72 ff.). Cf. S. Tromp, *De corpore Christi mystico et Actione Catholica ad mentem S. Joannis Chrysostomi* (Romae: 1933); *id.*, in *Gregorianum*, XIII (1932), 177-210; 321-72.

<sup>235</sup> *Adv. Nest.*, 4 (PG 76, 193); *In Joh.* 11, 2 (PG 74, 560). Cf. E. Weigl, *Die Heilslehre des hl. Cyrillus von Alexandrien* (Mainz: 1905); H. Malevez, "L'Église du Christ: étude de théol. hist. et théor.," *Rech. de science rel.*, XXV (1935), 260-91 (for St. Cyril of Alexandria); L. Turado, *Doxa en el Evangelio de S. Juan según S. Cirillo de Alejandria* (Romae: 1939); H. du Manoir de Juaye, "L'Église, Corps du Christ, chez Saint Cyrille d'Alexandrie," *Gregorianum*, XX (1939), 83-100; 161-88; 481-506; *id.*, *Dogme et Spiritualité chez Saint Cyrille d'Alexandrie* (Paris: 1945), Part IV, on the Mystical Body.

<sup>236</sup> *Ep.* 76, n. 12 (PL 16, 1259). Cf. J. Niederhuber, *Die Lehre des hl. Ambrosius vom Reiche Gottes auf Erden* (Mainz: 1904); J. Rinna, *Die Kirche als Corpus Christi Mysticum beim hl. Ambrosius* (Roma: 1940).

<sup>237</sup> E. Schwarzbauer, *Die Kirche als Corpus Christi Mysticum beim hl. Hieronymus* (Rome: 1939).

<sup>238</sup> K. Hörmann, *Leben in Christus: Zusammenhänge zwischen Dogma und Sitte bei den Apostolischen Vätern* (Vienna: 1952).

<sup>239</sup> T. Barosse, "The Unity of the Two Charities in Greek Patristic Exegesis," *Theological Studies*, XV (1954), speaking of Origen, he says on p. 361: "Our neighbor is in some way identified with Christ—at least if he is a Christian. He is a member of the Mystical Body; Christ is united to him as the soul is to the body. Just as we cannot act upon the body without reaching the soul through it, so we cannot do good or evil to our neighbor without thereby doing it to Christ." And speaking of another great name among the Greek Fathers, he says on p. 387: "St. John Chrysostom seeks to explain the neighbor's oneness with God by appealing more often to the New Testament doctrine of the Mystical Body . . . the object of our love of neighbor is God Himself in our neighbor: or rather our neighbor in God."

but it also is an incentive to labor for the sanctification of others with apostolic zeal.<sup>240</sup> Christ the head, already glorified, is the guarantee of the resurrection and glorification of His members. "That which Christ is we Christians shall become."<sup>241</sup>

Such was the tradition and this the doctrinal bequest which was offered to St. Augustine when he was received into the Church in 387. Naturally the religious knowledge which he carried as a heritage from his childhood days and the earnest quest he made after it before he was admitted into the Church through baptism did not make him a doctor. His internal growth, development, and formation continue to about 400,<sup>242</sup> around which time he was already in the thick of the fray with Donatism.<sup>243</sup> Much of his doctrine was on the surface of the faith he accepted. For probing and amplifying it and for developing its potentialities to meet new forms of pressure from the enemy, he delved into a more accurate and deeper study of Sacred Scripture<sup>244</sup> and patristic tradition.

It is universally agreed that Augustine surpassed all writers of Christian antiquity in what he has written on the Church. J. Möhler rightly remarks that Augustine's ideas on the Church stand out as vividly and impressively in the Bishop's writings as they do in St. Paul's.<sup>245</sup> Augustine's doctrine on the Church, adds M. Grabmann, holds first place after that of St. Paul.<sup>246</sup> And P. J. Kirsch points out that in depth and fullness of ecclesiological

<sup>240</sup> Cf., e.g., S. Tromp, "De corpore Christi mystico et actione catholica ad mentem S. Joannis Chrysostomi," *Gregorianum*, XIII (1932), 321-72; I. Giordani, *Il messaggio sociale dei primi Padri della Chiesa* (Turin: 1939), tr. A. I. Zizzamia, *The Social Message of the Early Church Fathers* (Patterson, N.J.: 1944); G. del Ton, "L'azione cattolica negli scritti dei Padri apostolici," *La Scuola Cattolica* (Milano: 1940), 358-72; 465-80.

<sup>241</sup> St. Cyprian, *De idol. vanit.*, 15 (PL 4, 603-4): "Quod est Christus, erimus Christiani."

<sup>242</sup> Rauschen-Altaner, *Patrologie* (Freiburg im Br.: 1931), p. 323: "Um das Jahr 400 fühlte er, dass seine innere Entwicklung abgeschlossen war."

<sup>243</sup> Cf. V. Soden, *Urkunden zur Entstehungsgeschichte des Donatismus*, Kleine Texte, 122 (Bonn: 1912); Stach, *Święty Augustyn w Walce z Heretykami* (Lwów: 1930), pp. 7 ff.; W. H. C. Frend, *The Donatist Church* (Oxford: 1952).

<sup>244</sup> *Enar. in. Ps. 30, Sermo 2, 1* (PL 36, 239).

<sup>245</sup> *Symbolik* (3 Aufl.; Mainz: 1884), p. 354.

<sup>246</sup> *Die Lehre des hl. Thomas von Aquin von der Kirche als Gotteswerk* (Regensburg: 1903), p. 6.

attainments no one of the early Fathers and writers approaches to those of the Bishop of Hippo.<sup>247</sup>

The Donatist schism<sup>248</sup> originated in Africa during the persecution of Diocletian in 311. A party of fanatical Christians guided by a certain Donatus, bishop of Numidia, refused to acknowledge the lawfully consecrated Cecilian, bishop of Carthage, under the pretext that the latter received his episcopal order from the hands of "traditores"—i.e., bishops who betrayed the sacred books into the hands of pagan persecutors. In place of Cecilian, Donatus consecrated a certain Majorinus, who was succeeded by Donatus, who by his oratorical powers contributed most to the expansion of the schism, so that it is his name that appears in the designation of the faction.

The division of the Church in Africa was a painful experience for St. Augustine. His own diocese of Hippo was almost entirely in the hands of the "Donatist part" when he was appointed its shepherd.<sup>249</sup> Donatism left a marked impression on his life and works. A goodly portion of his writings is devoted to the controversy with the Donatists, and the rest are not without some influence from it. The repercussions of this controversy were to last down the ages. They set a pattern for apologetical works written in the future to defend the unity of the Church and supplied them with ample ammunition. The Donatist schism was viewed as a prototype of all future schisms. The Catholics looked upon the Protestants as doing what the Donatists did in the early

<sup>247</sup> *Die Lehre von der Gemeinschaft der Heiligen in christlichen Alterthum* (Mainz: 1900), p. 144.

<sup>248</sup> For Donatism, cf. D. Voelter, *Der Ursprung des Donatismus* (Freiburg: 1883); O. Seeck, "Die Anfänge des Donatismus," *Zeitsch für Kirchengeschichte*, X (1889), 526 ff.; L. Duchesne, "Le Dossier du Donatisme," *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'École française à Rome*, X (1890), 589-650; V. Soden, *Urkunden zur Entstehungsgeschichte des Donatismus*, Kleine Texte, 122 (Bonn: 1912); P. Monceaux, *Histoire litt. de l'Afrique chrétienne*, v. IV-VII (Paris: 1912-23); *id.*, "L'épigraphie donatiste," *Rev. de philologie*, XXXIII (1909), 112-21; P. Battifol, *Le catholicisme de saint Augustin* (Paris: 1929), pp. 77-191; 201-348; P. Stach, *Święty Augustyn w Walce z Heretykami* (Lwów: 1930); E. F. Gautier, *Le passé de l'Afrique du Nord* (Paris: 1937); G. G. Willis, *Saint Augustine and the Donatist Controversy* (London: 1950); F. van der Meer, *Augustinus der Seelsorger* (Köln: 1951), pp. 108-51; W. H. C. Frend, *The Donatist Church* (Oxford: 1952).

<sup>249</sup> F. Van der Meer, *Augustinus der Seelsorger*, p. 109.



Church "The arguments used by St. Augustine against his Donatist opponents served the Catholics well. In the theological aspects of the debates the Protestants have not always been too happy."<sup>250</sup> The Anglicans have been reminded more than once that they have followed the path of the Donatists. John Henry Newman's conversion to the Catholic Church was, at least in great part, brought about by his reading of Cardinal Wiseman's article, "The Schism of the Donatists," published in the *Dublin Review*, and by his subsequent study of Donatism.<sup>251</sup>

The Donatist schism, then, was an occasion for the Bishop to investigate more closely and to render an account of the nature of the Church.<sup>252</sup> He stands on common traditional ground with the Donatist faction in assuming the Church to be the mystical body of Christ, a doctrine which was involved in their very objection against the Catholic Church, that she had lost her sanctity, and consequently could no longer be the body of Christ.<sup>253</sup> St. Augustine arguing *ad hominem*, on the grounds that the Church is the body of Christ, urges that precisely on this account it is Christ who as principal agent administers the sacraments, hence sin in the human minister<sup>254</sup> does not nullify the sacrament administered by the latter nor does it taint the Church in whose name and bosom it is administered.

It was not, however, so much in the interest of St. Augustine

<sup>250</sup> W. H. C. Frend, *The Donatist Church*, p. xi.

<sup>251</sup> Cf. W. Ward, *The Life of John Henry Cardinal Newman* (London: 1912), I, 66.

<sup>252</sup> E. Prina, *La Controversia Donatista alla luce della dottrina del Corpo Mistico di Gesù Cristo nelle opere antidonatistiche di S. Agostino* (Roma: 1942).

<sup>253</sup> G. Nicotra, *Dottrina Sacramentaria ed Ecclesiologia presso i Donatisti* (Venezia: 1942). The foundation of the author's solution, namely that only excommunicated sinners were involved in the controversy, is unfounded in the works of St. Augustine. The solution is to be sought not in the commission of certain excommunicatory sins, and therefore not within the framework of the penitential discipline of the early Church (cf. J. Grotz, *Die Entwicklung des Bussstufenwesens in der vornicänischen Kirche* [Freiburg im Br.: 1955]), but in the commission of any life-depriving sin, and therefore in the light of the doctrine of the mystical body.

<sup>254</sup> The theological error, which gave rise to their faction, and which had plagued the African mind since the time of St. Cyprian was that the validity of a sacrament (of baptism) depended on the personal sanctity of the minister.

either to insist on a doctrine which they admitted, or to unfold a notion of a Church which they believed to be their own, as it was to refute the claim that their Donatist Church was the true one and to defend his own. For this purpose, as has already been pointed out above, he assembles such doctrinal elements and signalizes such marks of the Church as bear witness principally, if not exclusively, to the external constitution of the Church.<sup>255</sup>

It is true that the sanctity of the Church of Christ was involved in the controversy, and that St. Augustine ties the sanctity of the Church directly to the head. For the head is the source of sanctification of His members. In this manner the inner nature of the Church was brought into the controversy. But well did St. Augustine feel that he would be dealing with intangibles if he were to depend solely upon the argument from sanctity. He knew that he had to rely upon external criteria in order to show in what Church internal sanctity was found. And thus in the controversy with the Donatists, while the mystical body of Christ is involved, Augustine evolves and brings to the foreground external apologetic criteria.

The antecedents in St. Augustine's life permit us to envisage the natural appeal of a doctrine which was attuned to his soul. St. Paul's presentation of the Church as the body of Christ was a doctrine fitted to find fertile soil in the mind of St. Augustine, if the intellectual and religious vicissitudes of his previous life are taken into consideration. A mind that was Platonic in its formation,<sup>256</sup> prepossessed by Platonic ideas and perfected in the Neoplatonism of Plotinus and Porphyry, was adapted to a spiritual and idealistic conception of the Church. This same notion he was able to adjust in a manner so as to replace the tenets

<sup>255</sup> Some writers seem to insist too much on the influence that this controversy had in the formation and development of the notion of the Church as the body of Christ. Cf., e.g., T. Käppeli, *Zur Lehre des Thomas von Aquin vom Corpus Christi Mysticum* (Freiburg: 1931), p. 29; J. C. Gruden, *The Mystical Christ*, p. 124; E. Mersch, "Deux Traits de la doctrine spirituelle de saint Augustin," *Nouv. rev. theol.*, LVII (1930), 391-410.

<sup>256</sup> L. Grandgeorge, *Saint Augustin et le néo-platonisme* (Paris: 1896); C. Boyer, *Christianisme et néo-platonisme dans la formation de St. Augustin* (Paris: 1921); Ivaldi, "Il platonismo di Plotino, Sant' Agostino, Cartesio, Leibniz," *Luce del Pensiero* 15, 7 (1922); M. P. Garvey, *Saint Augustine: Christian or Neoplatonist?* (Milwaukee: 1939).

of Manicheism, to which he adhered for nine years in his early days. For the two sources, the one of good and the other of evil, of the Manicheans, he discovered in Christianity two similar bodies, the good, constituting the body of Christ (*corpus Christi*), the evil forming the body of the devil (*corpus diaboli*)—although both of these bodies are not conceived as being formed and constituted in the same way.

### CRITIQUE

There can be no doubt that the doctrine of the Church as the body of Christ holds a very important place in the works of the great Bishop of Hippo. Its repeated use, its untiring application, its designed description and exposition causes it to be probably more conspicuous and striking than any other doctrine in his entire works, with the exception of his doctrine on grace. The frequent recurrence and emphatic exposition of the doctrine of the body of Christ are noted by all students of Augustinian ecclesiology or allied subjects. There can be no doubt, therefore, that this doctrine which holds such an important place in his mind enters as an essential constituent into St. Augustine's conception of the Church.<sup>257</sup> The Church as the mystical body of Christ forms an integral and indispensable part of his theological system and a vital factor in his teachings on the Christian religion.

Many writers see in the doctrine of the mystical body of Christ a focal point towards which all other doctrines converge. Thus Vetter,<sup>258</sup> Hofmann<sup>259</sup> and Gruden<sup>260</sup> in the case of St. Augus-

<sup>257</sup> M. Grabmann, "Augustinus," *Lexikon für Theol. und Kirche* (Freiburg im Br.: 1930), I, 832: "Der paulinische Gedanke von der Kirche als dem *corpus Christi mysticum* ist für die augustinische Lehre vom Weiterleben und Weiterwirken Christi in der Kirche für seinen dogmatischen Kirchenbegriff grundlegend." Cf. J. Tixeront, *Historie des Dogmes* (6th ed.; Paris: 1921), II, 384.

<sup>258</sup> J. Vetter, *Der hl. Augustinus und das Geheimnis des Leibes Christi* (Mainz: 1929), p. 8: "Das Geheimnis des *corpus Christi*, das Zentralmysterium der augustinischen Theologie."

<sup>259</sup> F. Hofmann, *Der Kirchenbegriff des hl. Augustinus* (München: 1933), p. 148: "Der hl. Augustinus hat die Idee der Einheit der Gläubigen mit Christus im Heiligen Geiste, die in dem Bilde von '*caput et corpus unus totus Christus*' ihren treffenden Ausdruck findet, in das Zentrum seines Kirchenbegriffes, ja seiner Theologie überhaupt gestellt."

tine, and Anger<sup>261</sup> and Käppeli<sup>262</sup> and Moeller,<sup>263</sup> in the case of St. Thomas maintain that this doctrine is the center of all the teaching of the one or the other doctor. More reserved is Mersch when he says that it is in fact a central doctrine for Augustine's preaching and teaching.<sup>264</sup>

This much can, however, be asserted without any fear of exaggeration, that in the teaching of St. Thomas and especially of St. Augustine a far more important role is accorded to this doctrine, in itself and in its relation to the rest of theology, than has been recognized as a general rule in modern times. Earlier theologians perceived the dynamic power that this doctrine could generate for religious living and sensed at the same time the manifold connections and relations of this to other doctrines, so that it was not a unit standing aloof and by itself, but was one part of a vital organic whole, whose many other parts were so correlated and interdependent, that each of them when considered fully, was found to have a bearing on the doctrine of the body of Christ.

It is evident that the doctrine of the mystical body is linked with, and correlated to, the other great doctrines in St. Augustine's domain of theology. Intimately connected with it are such

<sup>260</sup> Gruden, *op. cit.*, p. 124: ". . . his (St. Augustine's) whole theology centers around the doctrine of the Mystical Body."

<sup>261</sup> Anger-Burke, *The Doctrine of the Mystical Body*, p. xvi: "In that vast synthesis of revealed mysteries there is one master idea, one center to which all other lights converge, one common idea which shines forth everywhere, on all different parts of dogma, which is a guiding thread, which gives to the system unity, cohesion, and, as it were, life. All these separate rays of truth emanate, spring from a common light, a center which we find by following them, and from which we are able to view their infinite variety, as we gaze upon the whole. This central idea, this unifying viewpoint, this common source, in the theology of St. Thomas is the doctrine of the Mystical Body."

<sup>262</sup> T. Käppeli, *Zur Lehre des Thomas von Aquin vom Corpus Christi Mysticum* (Freiburg, Schweiz: 1931), p. 2, where this doctrine is called the heart of his theology.

<sup>263</sup> E. Moeller, "Jesus Christ in the minds of the Moderns," *Lumen Vitae*, VII (1952): *Theology Digest*, II (1954), 143 expresses himself this wise: "The Christology of St. Thomas is in fundamental agreement with that of Chalcedon. It puts the vision of the humanity of Christ, the *instrumentum conjunctum* of salvation, at the center of theology."

<sup>264</sup> E. Mersch, *Le corps mystique du Christ* (2me éd.; Louvain: 1936), II, 256: "il en a fait un centre pour sa prédication et ses enseignement. . . ."



fundamental doctrines as the Incarnation and redemption. The sacraments have no meaning without it. Faith, hope, charity, grace, and justification point toward it. The Church of the Old Testament and the heavenly Church of the future are joined together in the mystical body. It is the medium of life and salvation. It appears that the diverse parts of theology become a coherent whole through this doctrine.

Notwithstanding the multiple correlation of this teaching to other doctrines, it can be disputed whether the doctrine of the mystical body *as such* is the center of St. Augustine's entire theology. By "center" these writers seem to mean that doctrinal object in the Saint's theology toward which all other doctrines converge, or from which they radiate or around which they cluster and which central object, therefore, imparts to them their coherence and unity. Such a doctrine will consequently be of paramount importance in the theology in which it stands as the center, and perhaps constitute the very object of that science.

There seems to be just as much reason, however, to see Christ himself, Christ *as such*, occupying the center of St. Augustine's religious and theological thought.<sup>265</sup> For Christ as the head of the Church is only one element of the doctrine concerning Christ or represents only one of His offices, but He is also and (it happens in the present order of economy of grace) at the same time the Mediator, the Redeemer, the Priest, and the King. It is true that for the Bishop of Hippo the notions of these titles in the present state are interwoven the one with the other, yet they involve distinct doctrines. Common to all of these offices is the person of Christ, the Incarnate Word, from whom they radiate, as it were. So, too, all other doctrines, which do not involve Christ in their conception as immediately as the offices of Christ enumerated above either can be made to revolve about the Person of Christ or even can be resolved into those offices.

Although he contributed incomparably more than any one else ample and precious doctrinal material to the theological structure

<sup>265</sup> The same can be said of St. Thomas whose *Summa* is written in the spirit of St. Augustine; cf. A. Hayen, *S. Thomas et la vie de l'Eglise* (Louvain: 1952), the essential plan of the *Summa* is to make all theology center around God, or more precisely around Jesus Christ.

which was erected by scientific and speculative Scholasticism, St. Augustine must be considered primarily as a practical churchman, who was devoted to instructing the faithful in the teaching of the Gospels and the Church, and in defending staunchly and indefatigably that teaching against heretical errors.

Now, as in St. Paul, so in Augustine, Christ is placed in the center of all religious teaching. Christian religion must have Christ as its starting point, must find in Him the way, and must arrive through Him to God. Christ constitutes the axis around which all revealed doctrine revolves. If the other doctrines are brought into correlation with Christ, as they were correlated in the mind of St. Augustine, the result is a Christocentric theology. Even though some doctrines will be more remote than others in relation to the Christological center, yet they will be found to be so bound up in it as to constitute an integrating and coherent part of it.

There is, therefore, a certain oscillation between Christ and the mystical body of Christ when the focal point of Augustine's theology is sought. Karl Adam places the "mystical oneness of Christ and the Church" as a many-century-long conviction "from Origen to Augustine and Pseudo-Dionysius and thence to Thomas" that "stands in the center of the Church's doctrine."<sup>266</sup> Yet, when he describes this centrality in dogmas of the Christian religion, it is Christ Himself around whom all doctrines are woven and in whom they find unity; for, he says, "all dogmas of the Catholic Church are stamped with the name of Christ."<sup>267</sup>

Marcos del Río makes Christ the center of Augustine's theology by making Him his whole theology. If we contemplate Christ in His totality, as Augustine did, then Christ will always and inseparably be God, God-man, and God-man in His body. Thus considered Christ is Augustine's whole theology, dogma, religion, morality, and mysticism.<sup>268</sup> Cayré, too, says that Christ, who plays a tremendous part in the thought of St. Augustine,

<sup>266</sup> K. Adam, *The Spirit of Catholicism* (New York: 1929), p. 15.

<sup>267</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 16.

<sup>268</sup> Marcos del Río, "El Cristo y la Comunión de los Santos según San Agustín," *Religión y Cultura*, XV (1931), 402: "Contemplando al mismo tiempo en los tres sentidos, non cabe duda de que su estudio comprende toda la ciencia teológica, todo el dogma, la religión, la moral y la mística."

constituted the center for at least a large portion of his theology.<sup>269</sup> Philips makes no restriction: "Christ the mediator is found in the center of his whole theology."<sup>270</sup> Christ pervades both his philosophy and theology: He is everywhere and always present.<sup>271</sup> Or, as Scano expresses himself, "the reality of Christ is objectively, ontologically, the center, the focal point of all religion and of the whole spiritual life." For this reason his is "a theology of the spirit and the heart"—"a theology of life."<sup>272</sup> Christ is the whole preaching and the whole catechizing.<sup>273</sup>

This trend of making Christ in Himself or His body the center of theology can be observed in the course of the history of theological thought. Emil Mersch arrives, by way of a synthesis, at the conclusion that the object and subject (what he calls the "prime intelligible") of theology, especially of dogma, is to be treated from the viewpoint of the mystical body of Christ.<sup>274</sup> In a later article, proceeding along theological and analytical lines, Mersch comes to the conclusion that the "Mystical Christ" was not a fortunate expression, and corrects it by saying that the object of theology is "the whole Christ," the *Christus totus*.<sup>275</sup> In determining this object Mersch bases himself on the earlier Scholastics, for he admits that the teaching of the later ones is not so favorable to his interpretation.<sup>276</sup>

<sup>269</sup> *Oeuvres de saint Augustin*, VI, Introduction générale par F. Cayré et F. van Steenberghen (Paris: 1949), pp. 75-76.

<sup>270</sup> G. Philips, "L'influence du Christ-Chef sur son Corps mystique," *Augustinus Magister* (Paris: 1954), II, 806.

<sup>271</sup> F. J. Thonnard, "La philosophie Augustinienne," *L'année théologique Augustinienne*, XIII (1953), 318.

<sup>272</sup> E. Scano, *Il cristocentrismo e i suoi fondamenti dogmatici in S. Agostino* (Torino: 1951).

<sup>273</sup> D. B. Capelle, "Prédication et catéchèse selon saint Augustin," *Les questions liturgiques et paroissiales*, XXXIII (1952), 55-64.

<sup>274</sup> E. Mersch, "De Christ mystique, centre de la théologie comme science," *Nouvelle revue théologique*, LXI (1934), 461: "de même que, dans sa réalité, le Christ mystique fait toute l'unité des réalités surnaturelles, de même aussi la vérité qui exprime ce qu'il est fait l'unité de toutes les vérités qui forment ce qu'est le surnaturel."

<sup>275</sup> E. Mersch, "L'objet de la théologie et le Christus totus," *Rech. de science rel.*, XXVI (1936), 151: "La formule exacte est celle qu'emploient les anciens scholastiques; l'objet de la théologie, c'est le Christ tout entier, le Christus totus. . . ."

<sup>276</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 150: "Chercher l'objet qui contient en lui tout ce dont parle

This centrality of Christ, as one toward whom all doctrines converge and around whom they are woven because He gives them being, meaning, and coherence, is accepted and taught in the systematic and scientific treatises of the modern theologian,<sup>277</sup> as it was by the Prelate of Hippo. Nevertheless systematic and speculative theology being intent upon an exposition and an analysis of individual doctrines is liable to lack a synthetic view of the whole theological domain and thus lose sight of the correlation of one doctrine to another.

The religionist and the preacher more readily perceive Christ's central place in Christian doctrine and devotion. The movement inaugurated some years ago in Europe to make theology in seminaries and universities more adapted to practical life and more directly ready for the use of the priest as spiritual director of the souls in his parish duties, stresses the centrality of Christ in the whole domain of theology and recognizes Christ to be the very object of theology. The promoters of this movement maintain that if this central place of Christ is overlooked, unity of the revealed word will suffer, and as a consequence psychological perspicacity will suffer.

For Christ is the central point of all revelation, all things lead to Him, and the beginning and the end can be reached from Him: He alone knows the Father and the Holy Ghost: He comes to tell us about the Father and to send us the Holy Ghost: who sees Him sees also the Father, and who is in Him (Christ), in Him will also the Father and the Holy Ghost be.<sup>278</sup>

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la théologie, c'est là, déclare Vasques, un travail qui n'en vaut pas la peine, 'de quo, ut diximus, non est multum curandum.' En parlant ainsi, se n'est pas seulement son avis qu'il exprime, c'est l'attitude générale."

<sup>277</sup> Namely, the mystery of Christ's Incarnation or Redemption or both taken together are presented by theologians as the center of Christian teaching toward which all doctrines converge and with which all are correlated. E.g., L. Lercher, *Institutiones Theologiae Dogmaticae* (Oeniponte: 1925), III, 2 f.; G. Van Noort, *De Vera Religione* (5th ed.; Hilversum: 1929), p. 104; F. Galtier, *De Incarnatione et Redemptione* (Paris: 1947), Proemium p. v: "Incarnationis et Redemptionis mysterium est, quo tota fere vertitur fides christiana."

<sup>278</sup> F. Lakner, *Theorie einer Verkündigungstheologie, Theologie der Zeit* (Wein: 1939), p. 51: "Es ist gleich anfangs zu betonen, dass bei der kerygmatischen Darbietung immer das eine vor Augen zu halten wäre: Christus ist das Subjekt der Verkündigungstheologie und der Verkündigung



This same course of thought is advocated in our own country. John Courtney Murray, treating of a unifying factor of the theology for the layman, follows in the footsteps of Father Mersch in recommending "the whole Christ" for this task. The former says: "In this sense, its subject, its central theme or master idea will be the *Christus totus*, Christ, head and members. In other words, a lay theology should be built on the pre-Thomistic, Augustinian theory and its formula."<sup>279</sup> A theology or a religion which strives not to lose sight of Christ as its center will find support in patristic tradition, especially in the Prince of the Fathers, St. Augustine. In him we can recapture the dynamic spirit of the truths which swayed the hearts of the Christians of the early patristic age without any prejudice to the progress of our modern mentality.<sup>280</sup>

It is perhaps interesting to note how the term "theocentric" (respectively, "Christocentric") has been introduced into theology. It was on the occasion that Copernicus was establishing the theory that the sun was the center of our planetary system and not our earth as was held for centuries before his time. The

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selbst und muss es bleiben. Das wird allzu leicht übersehen und hat zur Folge, dass zum ersten die Einheit des Kerygmas verlorenggeht und damit auch die psychologische Durchschlagskraft; dass zum zweiten die Verkündigung, mag sie auch aus einer geistreichen Meditation erwachsen, doch nicht die Frohbotschaft ist, nicht das 'evangelizo vobis gaudium magnum, Salvatorem Christum Dominum.' Denn Christus ist der Mittelpunkt aller Offenbarung, zu ihm führt alles hin, von ihm aus gelangt man zum Anfang und zum Ende; er allein kennt den Vater und den Geist; er ist gekommen, um uns vom Vater zu sagen und uns den Geist zu senden; wer ihn sieht, sieht auch den Vater, und wer in ihm ist, in dem ist auch der Vater und der Heilige Geist."—Cf. on this topic the following works and articles; H. Rahner, *Eine Theologie der Verkündigung*, (2nd ed.; Freiburg im Br.: 1939); F. Dander, *Christus alles und in allen, Gedanken zum Aufbau einer Seelsorgsdogmatik* (Innsbruck: 1939); F. Lakner, "Das Zentralobjekt der Theologie," *Zeitschrift f. kath. Theologie*, LXII (1938), 1–36; Felipe Pardinas e Yllanes, "Hacia una Teología Cristocéntrica aplicada a la Vida: Christus," *Revista Mensual*, Mexico, III (1938), 833 ff.; J. A. Jungmann, "Christus als Mittelpunkt religiöser Erziehung," *Stimmen der Zeit*, CXXXIV (1938), 218–33; John Courtney Murray, "Towards a Theology for a Layman: The Pedagogical Problem," *Theological Studies*, V (1944), 363 ff.

<sup>279</sup> John Courtney Murray, "Towards a Theology for the Layman: The Pedagogical Problem," *Theological Studies*, V (1944), 363.

<sup>280</sup> Cf. E. Hendrikx, *Augustinus en de re-intergratie van theologie en geloofsverkondiging* (Nijmegen-Utrecht: 1952).

French master of spiritual life, Cardinal de Bérulle, believed that this opinion could be followed in the science of astronomy, in those times, but added: "In any case it is useful and ought to be followed in the science of salvation." God, therefore, should be the center of the whole religious life and not man. Thence, Bremond coined the word "theocentricism" to express the thought of Cardinal Bérulle, in opposition to "anthropocentricism," which presents man as the center.<sup>281</sup>

There is a slight contrast between the Church as conceived by St. Thomas and that conceived by St. Augustine. According to Congar<sup>282</sup> St. Thomas' concept has two central phases, the first one is theocentric and the latter Christocentric. The Angelic Doctor focuses "the attention on the theological or theocentric phase." In other words, Thomas "has thrown into relief the theological or theocentric phase before the "Christ" or "Christocentric one." Congar adds: "And yet, the second aspect is in nowise minimized or blurred by the first, . . . we read on and find in St. Thomas a strong Christological idea of the Church."

It is true that Neoplatonic contemplation, whereby there is effected a union of the subject with God, plays a great role in the religious thought of St. Augustine, yet in whatever sense it is interpreted, it does not displace Christ either from the part He plays in the attainment of that union or from His central position in Augustinian theology. For Jesus Christ is an indispensable and pivotal factor in the integral plan of salvation, which is the final attainment and fruition of God in the beatific vision.

This will be clear from a summary of the process whereby the soul reaches God. God as the supreme good is the end of man. In the attainment and final definitive possession of this end lies the supreme happiness of man. Yet this end cannot be reached without the mediatorship of Jesus Christ. Through the acceptance of His doctrine in faith and through actual incorporation obtained through the sacramental institutions of Christ, man

<sup>281</sup> H. Bremond, *Histoire littéraire du sentiment religieux* III, 23 f. See also H. Théron, "Le théandrisme spirituel de Bérulle," *L'année théol. August.*, XII (1952), 188-90.

<sup>282</sup> Y. M. J. Congar, "The Idea of the Church in St. Thomas," *The Thomist*, I (1939), 340; *id.*, *Esquisses du mystère de l'Église* (Paris: 1953), pp. 69-70.

identifies himself, so to speak, with Him and is on the right path which leads to the attainment of God. Through faith and charity men become one with Christ so as to constitute themselves members of the body of Christ here on earth in the visible Church. Those who will persevere in their union with Christ, those who remain united to this body to the end, will constitute the celestial body of Christ for eternity and will be true and permanent possessors of God in life everlasting.

A subsidiary and casual role ascribed to Christ by A. C. McGiffert is inconsistent with what has been said on Christ's supreme role in the salvation of man through the mystical body and on His centrality in Augustine's theological thought. His words follow:

It is significant that Christ had a comparatively small place in his system. In this he was different from most of the Fathers. His religious experience was an experience of love for God and communion with Him, and he needed no mediator through whom to find his way to God. His doctrine of God as the only real being and the only real good, and as almighty and all-controlling will, was complete without Christ. He did not begin with Christ and discover God in Him and through Him, as so many primitive Christians did. On the contrary he began with God and his faith in Christ was secondary rather than primary. In his earlier works he had little to say about Him. Later he made more of Him and declared over and over again that He was the only way to God, but it is evident that his growing interest and emphasis were due rather to the influence of Christian tradition than to his own religious need. In general it may be said that where he came to reflect upon Christ he thought of Him primarily as the head of the church which, as His body, enjoys the benefits of all He has done. Augustine's own communion with God was immediate and direct, but as a Catholic Christian he recognized the necessity of Christ the head of the church without whom neither church nor sacraments had any value.<sup>283</sup>

The conception of Christ as one with the Church is the key to a right understanding of Augustine's attitude of mind toward

<sup>283</sup> A. C. McGiffert, *A History of Christian Thought* (New York: 1946), II, 104. In fact, according to Richard Niebuhr, *Christ and Culture* (New York: 1951), chap. 6, Augustine is the classic exponent of the Church's faith that Christ is "the transformer of culture."

the Catholic Church. It was a Church conceived in the Incarnation and born of the redemption; it was animated by the divine life of Christ; it was a continuation of His life on earth, or rather, it was one with Him. The Saint could not but envisage Christ, His work, and His life in the Church. The Church as the body of Christ is brought into bold relief in preference to the institutional conception; Christ as the head is brought into sharp focus from the whole concept of the Church as the body. For it is the head that lends its life and dignity to members assumed into union with it. It is the head that assures inestimable value to the Church as a whole.

The attention focused upon Christ the head does not distract our mind from theocentricism or detract from the doctrine of union with God. For the African Bishop is ever mindful in his theology of the mystical body, of the inseparability of Christ's humanity from his divinity, or to use his own phrase, of Christ's "human divinity and divine humanity." In the union of Christ with his members—in Christ's life and sanctification which suffuse themselves through this spiritual organism—lies the explanation of Augustine's glow of devotion, zeal and love for the Church, the like of which we seldom can find.

Just as the doctrine of the mystical body in St. Paul does not belong to any particular letter or any one place but permeates his letters, so, too, in St. Augustine the teaching of the Church as Christ's body pervades the length and breadth of his works. And just as St. Paul does not approach the subject with the intention of introducing and expounding a doctrine but rather supposes it to be a part of Christian knowledge, so too St. Augustine deals with the doctrine as a subject close to the Christian heart, and whilst doing so he does not cease to shed new light upon it. The mystical body is the inestimable and only medium provided for the eternal bliss of man. In the estimation of the African Bishop, the great value of this revealed truth lay in its power to inculcate the dignity of a Christian and to induce him to live in accordance with his high calling. He was a bishop, a preacher, an instructor, an interpreter of the Scriptures for his flock, and, in these capacities, there was hardly a better tool at his disposal than that which was wielded adroitly by the Apostle



of the Gentiles in exhorting, admonishing, and instructing the first Christians. This above all is the reason for his repeated reference to this doctrine in his pastoral works. In his polemical works against the Donatists it is rather presupposed than expounded or defended.

Referring to the body of Christ, he offers an apology for the frequent repetition of this doctrine, saying:

These truths are not new to you. You have always heard them. But it is necessary on occasions to recall them. Even the Scriptures are so closely bound together in their different parts that we find there many repetitions; and, again, repetition is not useless. The cares of this world often choke the good seed. The Savior Himself saw fit to recall to us many times what the world leads us to forget.<sup>284</sup>

In comparing the exposition of the Bishop of Hippo with the inspired text of the Apostle of the Gentiles, St. Augustine's high regard of the word of God can be seen in the fact that he tries to remain faithful in presenting the teaching of St. Paul. The main elements of the former's doctrine are clearly traceable to the writings of the latter. There is, however, one exception. Generally there is a temptation for any one applying the metaphor of St. Paul to carry the figure too far in a material and realistic sense by specifying various groups of Church members as corresponding to certain parts of the body. St. Paul does argue the existence of various offices and various grades of dignity in the Church from the diversity of corporeal members in the physical body; each member of the latter has his own place and his own service to perform according to which its dignity is measured. Yet all members are in one and the same body and the pre-eminence or nobility of any one redounds to the use and glory of the rest.<sup>285</sup> But St. Paul never identifies any office or group of members in the Church, the body of Christ, with any particular part of the physical body, and thereby does not distract our spiritual conception with an admixture of the material and corporeal.

St. Augustine, on the other hand, goes beyond the limits adhered to by St. Paul and makes analogies, comparisons, and ap-

<sup>284</sup> *Enar. in Ps.* 140, 3 (PL 37, 1817).

<sup>285</sup> I Cor. 12:14 ff.

plications of various parts of the body to certain groups of members in the Church. Some resemblance makes them correspond to or be likened to that particular place in Christ's body. The Apostles, because they clung so closely to the sides of Christ, he likens to a garment of the body of Christ;<sup>286</sup> in one place, the evangelists and preachers of the word of God may be considered as the feet of Christ due to their missionary journeys;<sup>287</sup> in another, the poor, in their low position, are likened to the feet in the body of Christ, and our works of mercy towards them are as the wiping and anointing of the feet of the Lord.<sup>288</sup> In other passages the strong are called the bones of the body;<sup>289</sup> the saints—the spiritual—are said to be the mouth, whereas the wicked—the carnal—are marked as the abdominal region;<sup>290</sup> the leaders of the Church, whose task it is to cut off men from error and heresy and to bring them into the body of Christ, are said to be the teeth.<sup>291</sup>

It must be noted, however, that these comparisons are very rare when one considers the bulk of the Saint's writings and the innumerable passages referring to Christ's body. They occur almost exclusively in his exegetical treatises, for the most part in explanation of the psalms, in which it is evident that the author is permitting himself the liberty of the accommodated sense. Yet, because of the tremendous influence which he exercised on Scholastic and post-Scholastic theologians, these rhetorical lapses of St. Augustine gave these men grounds for ever more labored and realistic attempts to find corresponding and appropriate places in the body of Christ for the diverse classes of members in the Church.

Many writers, elaborating on St. Augustine's description, have left no part of the human body unexploited in making it correspond figuratively to some particular group in the Church. Thus

<sup>286</sup> *Sermo* 43, 4, 7 (PL 38, 417): "Vestem putate Apostolos, sub textura unitatis adhaerentes lateribus Christi."

<sup>287</sup> *Enar. in Ps.* 51, 9 (PL 36, 606): "Qui sunt pedes Domini? Evangelistae sancti, de quibus dictum est (Isa. 52:7 et Rom. 10:15): 'Quam speciosi sunt pedes eorum qui annuntiant pacem, qui annuntiant bona.'"

<sup>288</sup> *In Io. Ev. tr.* 50, 6 (PL 35, 1759).

<sup>289</sup> *Enar. in Ps.* 41, 18 (PL 36, 476).

<sup>290</sup> *Enar. in Ps.* 43, 25 (PL 36, 492).

<sup>291</sup> *Enar. in Ps.* 4, 7 (PL 36, 75).

by these comparisons and analogies they have in this regard betrayed the pregnant and sacred metaphor of the Church as the body of Christ to anthropomorphic excesses and to ridiculous trivialities. It will suffice to point out here a few names of writers who commit such exaggeration: Thomas (Waldensis) Netter,<sup>292</sup> Driedo,<sup>293</sup> Sonnio,<sup>294</sup> St. Bellarmine.<sup>295</sup> Yet the judgment which is passed upon these men and their doctrine by Taylor, reviewing the history of the times, is harsh and unfair.<sup>296</sup> It must be borne in mind that these excesses did not affect the whole doctrine as such nor the noble religion and ideology for which it stands (for this they receive no recognition from the aforementioned author), but only the exploitation of it in some particular misguided direction.

<sup>292</sup> Thomas (Waldensis) Netter, *Doctrinale antiquitatum fidei ecclesiae catholicae*, lib. II, art. 2, Cap. XIV (Venetiis: 1571 and 1757), vol. I, col. 306, E.

<sup>293</sup> Joannes Driedo, *De Ecclesiasticis Scripturis et Dogmatibus libri IV* (Lovanii: 1533), l. III, p. 297.

<sup>294</sup> Franciscus Sonnio, *Demonstrationum Religionis Christianae libri duo* (Lovanii: 1556), l. II, p. 450-51: "Siquidem ecclesia cum assimilatur corpori, sua habet membra, suum caput, suos capillos, suam faciam, genas, oculos, . . ."

<sup>295</sup> Concilio XLII, *De Nativitate Beatae Mariae Virginis*, R. Bellarmini, *Opera Omnia* (Parisii: 1873), IX, 378-80: "Ecclesia integrum quoddam et pulcherrimum corpus est, cujus caput Christus, Deus et Homo . . . Cor autem, quod in medio corpore invisum, . . . Spiritus sanctus est . . . Iam vero collum, . . . Virgo Mater est: ipsa est enim capiti proxima . . . Porro humeri Apostoli, et Episcopi ac pastores caeteri dici possunt, . . . Brachia vero . . . Martyres . . . Pectus autem . . . Prophetæ . . . Renes vero illi sunt, qui poenitentiae, jejuniis . . . incumbunt. Viscera virgines sunt . . . Genua, auditores, illi sunt, qui genibus flexis, fundendis precibus incumbunt . . . Denique pedes, . . . matrimonio copulatos designant. Stomachus . . . clerici sunt. . ."

<sup>296</sup> H. O. Taylor, *The Medieval Mind* (5th ed.; London: 1930), II, 305: "The Middle Ages, delivered over to allegory and to an unbridled recognition of the deductions of allegorical reasoning, argued thus: Mankind is a community; mankind is also an organism, the mystical body whereof the head is Christ. Here was an allegory potent for foolishness or for wisdom. It was used to symbolize the mystery of the oneness of all mankind in God, and the organic co-ordination of all sorts and conditions of men with one another in the divine commonwealth on earth; it was also drawn out into every detail of banal anthropomorphic comparison. From John of Salisbury to Dante and Occam and Nicholas Cusanus, no point of fancied analogy between the parts and members of the body and the various functions of the Church and State was left unexploited."

Apart from this accidental lapse which had in its wake worse consequences, St. Augustine takes care in presenting this doctrine not to overstep the bounds of propriety and decorum set by the inspired originator. This, I believe, for a preacher handling a doctrine of this peculiar type, is indicative of a virile and right sense in his religious mentality. His doctrine on the body of Christ is always grave, dignified, absorbing, and inspiring. And yet this same doctrine of St. Paul, admitting of elasticity and applicability, was so molded by the mind of the holy Bishop as to take on a distinctly Augustinian character. It was this Augustinian recasting, with a modest dose of speculation that it entailed, rather than the immediate pages of the inspired source, which entered into the bulk of medieval theology.

As to the extension of the body of Christ, the Bishop of Hippo has not the consistence of a scientific writer who commits himself definitively by drawing up a definition of his concept. It is not at first easy to ascertain, whether, the mystical body is to be limited to the Church here upon earth or to be so extended as to include the Church as it is in heaven without a blemish or a wrinkle. St. Augustine is elastic in his conception, so as to include, in the more extended notion of the Church, those generations also which have preceded the inception of the body of Christ through the Incarnation. Thus all the just of the Old Testament who attained salvation through faith in the coming and person of Jesus Christ, are members of Christ's body. Such are included in the Church, the body of Christ, because there is no other medium of salvation. If, therefore, the just of the Old Testament are described as pleasing to God and saved, they could not attain their salvation except in virtue of Christ's salvific work and through membership in His body.

The extension of the body of Christ may be summarized in the following manner:

1. In the widest sense, as encompassing all who attain salvation, and thus the body of Christ embraces also those who have preceded its historical inauguration in the Person of Christ. In this manner the just of the Old Testament, preceding the Incarnation, passion and death of Christ are members of Christ's body by anticipated application of His merits to them. Possessing the life



of Christ they were already united to Him who was to come.

2. In a narrower sense, the Church of the future or the celestial body of Christ may be identified with His body here upon earth, since the Church upon earth has as its aim the attainment of the heavenly Church. The future stage of the Church which is irrevocably attainable by and through the Church on earth is presented by the Saint as already presently existing, or a part of the one presently existing on earth.

3. In the strictest sense, the body of Christ in the works of St. Augustine is coincident with the visible *Catholica* or juridical Church. It is only in the latter that the body of Christ is fully realized according to all of the constituent elements. Even here, however, not all the members constituting the visible and sacramental Church participate in like degree in the life of the body of Christ.

#### INFLUENCE

St. Augustine occupies without doubt the highest pinnacle of patristic attainment. Through his speculative and creative powers, through his universality and depth, through his prolificness and versatility, he shines forth uniquely among the Fathers.<sup>297</sup> Already his contemporary, St. Jerome hails Augustine as the second founder of the faith.<sup>298</sup> His religious heritage was channeled by the Fathers to the Middle Ages, and from thence it was transmit-

<sup>297</sup> M. Grabmann, *Geschichte der katholischen Theologie* (Freiburg im Breisgau: 1933), p. 16: "Gleichwohl findet sich der spekulativste von allen, und zugleich der universellst und am meisten schöpferisch wirkende Theologe unter den lateinischen Vätern; es ist der hl. Augustinus, in welchem die ganze patristische Entwicklung gipfelt." B. Altaner, *Patrologie* (3 Aufl.; Freiburg im Breisgau: 1951), p. 368: "Augustin ist der grösste Philosoph der Väterzeit und wohl der bedeutendste und einflussreichste Theologe der Kirche überhaupt, dessen überragende Leistungen schon zu seinen Lebzeiten nicht wenige rückhaltlose Bewunderer fanden."

<sup>298</sup> *Ep.* 141 (CSEL 56, 2); *Ep.* 195 inter ep. Aug. (PL 33, 891; CSEL 57, 215): "Catholici te conditorem antiquae rursus fidei venerantur atque suscipiunt." St. Jerome applies another epithet, viz., *post Apostolos ecclesiarum magister* to Eusebius—cf. G. Bardy, "Post Apostolos Ecclesiarum Magister," *Rev. du Moyen Age Latin*, VI (1950), 313–16—but the same dictum was applied from the 9th to the 12th century to St. Augustine. Cf. F. Chatillon, "Le plus bel éloge de saint Augustin," *Rev. du Moyen Age Latin*, V (1949), 234–37.

ted to us. Our present theology and our Christian mentality can be traced back to his genius. He is, at least in great part, the creator of it; <sup>299</sup> he is the great luminary of the Western world.

As St. Augustine drew copiously from Sacred Scripture and the patristic works of his predecessors and contemporaries, leaving them enriched by the fruits of his creative and speculative powers, so subsequent Fathers, up to the very beginning of the period of Scholasticism, made abundant use of the sacred lore contained in his works. The shadow of this towering intellectual giant not only was cast over the patristic attainments of the past, but also was projected far into the future, damping creative endeavor and originality. Subsequent ages were engaged in digesting, assimilating, coordinating, and putting into scientific form and system the products of his genius, the outcome of which in due time would be an imposing edifice of Christian theology.

What a potent factor St. Augustine was in molding the minds of medieval thinkers and what a rich repository his works afforded them from which to draw their doctrine has already been well explored in the realms of philosophy and theology.<sup>300</sup> His overwhelming influence upon the key persons in the thought of that period is easily noticeable. From the forerunners of Scholasticism, the Venerable Bede († 735) and Alcuin († 804)—and then from St. Anselm<sup>301</sup> († 1109), the real pioneer of the scholastic form and method, down to Peter Lombard, author of the

<sup>299</sup> M. Grabmann, *op. cit.*, p. 21: "Der hl. Augustinus, der grösste Philosoph der Väterzeit, der geistesgewaltigste und einflussreichste Theologe der katholischen Kirche, ist der eigentlichste Schöpfer der abendländischen Theologie."

<sup>300</sup> W. Cunningham, *St. Augustine* (London: 1886), p. 15: "The practical cast of his mind, together with the wide range of subjects of which he treats, goes far to account for the extraordinary influence he has exercised in Christendom. The whole life of religious orders claimed him as their patron; its mystics found a sympathetic tone in his teaching; its theology was consciously moulded after his doctrine; its polity was to some extent the actualization of his picture of the Christian Church; it was in its various parts a carrying out of ideas which he cherished and diffused." Cf. J. Mausbach, *Die Ethik des heiligen Augustinus* (2 Aufl.; Freiburg im Br.: 1929), I, 46.

<sup>301</sup> *Monologium* (Introductio) (PL 158, 143): "Nihil potui invenire me dixisse quod non catholicorum Patrum, et maxime beati Augustini scriptis cohaereat." Cf. A. Cicchetti, *L'Agostinismo nel pensiero di Anselmo d'Aosta* (Roma: 1951).

famous *Libri Sententiarum*,<sup>302</sup> and to Abelard<sup>303</sup> and Victor of St. Hugo, who is called the "soul of St. Augustine,"<sup>304</sup> and into the very threshold of the golden age of Scholasticism, the great African Doctor is the guiding star.

In the very golden age of Scholasticism, Alexander of Hales<sup>305</sup> and St. Bonaventure<sup>306</sup> with the Franciscan school,<sup>307</sup> and the older Dominican school are completely immersed in St. Augustine. Even St. Thomas, the prince of Scholasticism, though he parts to a great extent from Augustinian philosophy, is so dependent upon the African Bishop in the domain of theology as to be called "Augustinus contractus."<sup>308</sup> Also steeped in the works of their patron was the less known school of the Augustinians<sup>309</sup> who came to light at a much later date, namely, at the Council of Trent where Jerome Seripando, the Superior General

<sup>302</sup> F. Cavallera, "Saint Augustin et le Livre des Sentences de Pierre Lombard," *Archives de philosophie*, vol. VII, cahier II. Étude sur saint Augustin par R. Jolivet, Ch. Boyer, P. Monnot, F. Cavallera, B. Romeyer, R. de Siney (Paris: 1930), p. 186. Peter Lombard quotes St. Augustine 1100 times, whereas he quotes the rest of the Fathers about 100 times.

<sup>303</sup> De Résumat, *Abélard* (Paris: 1858), II, 356, 494.

<sup>304</sup> *Histoire littéraire de la France*, XII, 62: "anima Sancti Augustini."

<sup>305</sup> B. Vogt, "St. Augustine and the Franciscan School," *Franciscan Educational Conference*, XIII (1931), 2 f.; P. Balduinus, *Introductio historica et doctrinalis in scholam Franciscanam theologicam* (Romae: 1948), p. 82.

<sup>306</sup> E. Longpré, "S. Augustin et la pensée franciscaine," *La France Franciscaine*, XV (1932), pp. 16 ff.; Augustine's name occurs 2625 times in Bonaventure's works. See also P. Robert, "Le problème de la philosophie bonaventurienne," *Laval théol. et phil.*, VI (1950), 145 ff.; VII (1951), 9 ff.

<sup>307</sup> M. Hauzeur, *Anatomia totius Augustissimae Doctrinae S. Augustini, secundum litteram . . . et spiritum* (2 vols., Augustae Eburonum: 1643-45); *id.*, *Collatio Totius Theologiae inter Majores nostros Alexandrum Halensem, St. Bonaventuram, Fr. Joannem Duns Scotum, ad mentem S. Augustini* (2 vols., Liège et Namur: 1652); P. Balduinus, *Introductio historica et doctrinalis in scholam Franciscanam theologicam* (Romae: 1948).

<sup>308</sup> M. Grabmann, *Geschichte der katholischen Theologie*, pp. 25 ff.; Ehrle, "L'Agostinismo e L'Aristotelismo nella scolastica del secolo XIII," *Xenia Thomistica*, III (Romae: 1925), 517-88; F. Cayré, "Saint Augustin et l'esprit de la 'Somme théologique,'" *L'année théologique Augustinienne*, XIV (1954), 9-20; A. Masnovo, "S. Agostino e san Tommaso," *Salesianum*, 1949, pp. 505 ff.; M. D. Chenu, *Introduction à l'étude de saint Thomas d'Aquin* (Paris: 1950), pp. 44-51 describes St. Augustine as "le grand inspirateur de saint Thomas comme de toute la scolastique médiévale. . . Alors pour tous Augustin est, non point un maître mais le maître de la culture chrétienne."

<sup>309</sup> Cf. E. Stakemeier, *Der Kampf um Augustin auf dem Tridentinum* (Paderborn: 1937), p. 15.

of the order, was the most influential factor in drafting the doctrine on justification.<sup>310</sup> It is no wonder then that a writer of the twelfth century lauds St. Augustine as "the greatest teacher of the churches after the Apostles."<sup>311</sup>

So too as regards the doctrine under discussion, Augustine exerts a powerful influence upon writers of the scholastic period.<sup>312</sup> His doctrine on the Church as the body of Christ has found its place in the works of St. Anselm,<sup>313</sup> Peter Lombard,<sup>314</sup> William of Auxerre,<sup>315</sup> Hugo of St. Victor († 1141),<sup>316</sup> Alexander of Hales († 1245),<sup>317</sup> St. Bernard (1090–1153),<sup>318</sup> St. Bona-

<sup>310</sup> S. Ehses, "Der Anteil des Augustinergenerals Seripando an dem Dekret über die Rechtfertigung," *Römische Quartalschrift*, XXIII (1909), 3 ff.; K. Holl, *Augustins innere Entwicklung* (Berlin: 1922), p. 51.

<sup>311</sup> Petrus Venerabilis (1156), *Ep. 229 ad S. Bernardum*, 13 (PL 182, 405): "Maximus post apostolos ecclesiarum instructor."

<sup>312</sup> A. Kavanagh in his work *Lay Participation in Christ's Priesthood* (Washington, D.C.: 1935), overlooks the source of real influence on the scholastic theologians when he makes especially St. Leo and St. Gregory the Great among the Fathers as the channels through which this doctrine of the mystical body of Christ has passed on to later theologians. He says on p. 3: "From the Fathers, especially St. Leo and St. Gregory the Great, it [the doctrine of the Mystical Body] passed on in all its beauty and efficacy to the later theologians." Both mentioned Fathers had drawn from St. Augustine and he is the direct source that supplied them in great part with doctrinal material.

<sup>313</sup> *Meditat.*, I, 5 (PL 158, 713). Cf. J. Beumer, "Zur Ekklesiologie der Frühscholastik," *Scholastik*, XXVI (1951), 364–89: the ecclesiology of the twelfth century is Augustinian in thought as well as terminology.

<sup>314</sup> *Lib. Sent.*, III, d. 13 (PL 192, 781).

<sup>315</sup> *Summa Aurea*, I. III. c. 4; cf. M. Grabmann, *Die Lehre des hl. Thomas von Aquin von der Kirche als Gotteswerk* (Regensburg: 1903), p. 201.

<sup>316</sup> *De Sacr.*, p. II, c. 2 (PL 176, 416): "Ecclesia sancta corpus est Christi uno Spiritu vegetata, et unita fide una, et sanctificata. Hujus corporis membra singuli quidem fidelium existunt; omnes corpus unum, propter spiritum unum, et fidem unam." Cf. M. Grabmann, *Die Lehre des hl. Thomas von Aquin von der Kirche als Gotteswerk* (Regensburg: 1903).

<sup>317</sup> *Universa Theologiae Summa* p. III, qu. 12, memb. 1 et 2 (Cologne: 1622), p. 78. The third and fourth books of the *Summa* have not been incorporated into their excellent edition by the Friars of Quaracchi because of the uncertainty of authorship; it has not yet been established whether Alexander himself or William of Melitona or some other Friar Minor is the author. Cf. *Dict. Théol. Cath.* I, 1, 772–85; X, 1, 538–40. Cf. S. Lisiecki, "Die gratia capitis in Christus nach Alexander von Hales," *Jahrb. für Phil. und spek. Theol.* (Paderborn), XXVII (1912), 343–404.

<sup>318</sup> Grabmann, *op. cit.*, p. 32: "Der hl. Bernard, den Mabillon als "ultimus inter Patres, primis certe non impar," feiert, die einflussreichste religiöse



venture († 1274),<sup>319</sup> Richard of Middleton († 1307 or 1308),<sup>320</sup> St. Albert the Great († 1280),<sup>321</sup> and, finally, of the great St. Thomas, who has given it a conspicuous place in that part of the *Summa* where he treats of the grace of Christ.<sup>322</sup> In fact so conspicuous in Thomas' writings is this doctrine of the mystical body, conveyed in the phraseology of Augustinian tradition, that the doctrine of the juridic, ecclesial body has been almost lost to sight.<sup>323</sup> It is but natural likewise to find this doctrine permeating

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Gestalt des 12 Jahrhunderts, der grösste lateinische Prediger des Mittelalters, ist unter dem Einflusse Augustins der Begründer der mittelalterlichen Christumystik geworden." Cf. Y. M. J. Congar, "L'ecclésiologie de saint Bernard," in *Saint Bernard Théologien (Analecta Sacri Ordinis Cisterciensis, IX, 2, 1953)*, pp. 136-90.

<sup>319</sup> D. Culhane, *De Corpore Mystico, Doctrina Seraphici* (Mundelein: 1934), e.g., pp. 89, 102; cf. R. Silić, *Christus und die Kirche. Ihr Verhältnis nach der Lehre des hl. Bonaventura* (Breslau: 1938); H. Berresheim, *Christus als Haupt der Kirche nach dem hl. Bonaventura. Ein Beitrag zur Theologie der Kirche* (Bonn: 1939).

<sup>320</sup> F. Ott, "Der Kirchenbegriff bei den Scholastikern, besonders bei Richard von Mediavilla," *Franzisk. Studien*, XXV (1938), 351-58.

<sup>321</sup> W. Scheerer, *Des Seligen Albertus Magnus Lehre von der Kirche* (Freiburg im Br.: 1928); A. Lang, "Zur Eucharistielehre des hl. Albertus Magnus: Das Corpus Christi verum im Dienste des Corpus Christi mysticum," *Div. Thom.* (Frib.), X (1932), 257-74; A. Piolanti, *Il corpo mistico e le sue relazioni con l'Eucaristia in S. Alberto Magno* (Romae: 1939).

<sup>322</sup> *Summa theol.*, IIIa, q. 8 et *passim*; cf. J. Bainvel, "L'idée de l'Eglise au moyen âge: St. Thomas," *La Science Catholique* (1899), pp. 575-88; M. Grabmann, *Die Lehre des hl. Thomas von Aquin von der Kirche als Gotteswerk* (Regensburg: 1903); J. Geiselmann, "Christus und die Kirche nach Thomas von Aquin," *Theologische Quartalschrift*, CVII (1926), 198-222; CVIII (1927), 233-55; J. Anger, *La doctrine du corps mystique de Jésus-Christ d'après les principes de la Théologie de Saint Thomas* (Paris: 1929); T. Käppeli, *Zur Lehre des Thomas von Aquin vom Corpus Christi Mysticum* (Freiburg, Schweiz: 1931); W. C. O'Connor, "St. Thomas, the Church and the Mystical Body," *Ecc. Rev.*, C (1939), 290-300; M. J. Congar, "L'idée de l'Eglise chez saint Thomas d'Aquin," *Rev. de sciences phil. et théol.*, XXIX (1940), 31-58; *id.*, "The Idea of the Church in St. Thomas," *Thomist*, I (1939), 331-59: "St. Thomas primarily conceives the Church within the plan and categories of life and not primarily within the plan and categories of the sociological." J. Loosen, "Unsere Verbindung mit Christus bei Thomas und Scotus," *Scholastik*, XVI (1941), 53-78; 193-213; M. Grabmann, *Thomas von Aquin* (8 Aufl.; München: 1949), p. 191: "Seine Auffassung von Christentum und Kirche trägt paulinisch-augustinische Stimmung an sich, gründet in spekulativer Durchdringung der paulinischen Idee von Christus als dem Haupte der Kirche."

<sup>323</sup> A. Darquennes brings to light these concepts in his works: *La définition de l'Eglise d'après saint Thomas d'Aquin* (Louvain: 1943); *Het sociaal*

society and proving itself to be an inspiration to men in the religious life of the centuries under consideration.<sup>324</sup>

The conception of the inner Church as the body of Christ prevailed in theology throughout the flourishing period of Scholasticism and waned with the decline of genuine Scholasticism. Much time and energy of the theologians of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries were frittered away in the nimbleness of dialectics and in exaggerated analysis exercised upon certain points of some speculative doctrine. However, this period was not without some constructive attainments in some particular doctrines of theology.<sup>325</sup> Yet a synthetic grasp of the whole domain of theology was lost, and theology taken as a whole was not benefited to any appreciable extent by the efforts of these men. What was baneful to theology in this period and what finally rendered the school effete was the neglect of positive Scriptural and traditional elements in their investigations and teaching.<sup>326</sup> Among these neglected doctrines was that of the spiritual oneness of the faithful with Christ in the Church. This inspiring doctrine was relegated to the background and its multiple relations to the whole dogmatic system were lost to sight. It no longer held that grasp on the mind and heart of the theologians of this period and consequently no longer exercised that penetrating influence on Christian life which it had in previous centuries.

Yet it would be erroneous to state that this doctrine passed completely from the science of theology in the period under consideration. For it is found in what we may call the first ex professo treatise on the Church, the *De Regimine Christiano* of

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*Korps van Kerk volgens S. Thomas van Aquino* (Bruges-Bruxelles: 1946); *Die juridische Structuur van de Kerk volgens S. Thomas van Aquino* (Louvain: 1949).

<sup>324</sup> Sauer, *Symbolik des Kirchengebäudes und seiner Ausstattung in der Auffassung des Mittelalters* (Freiburg im Br.: 1902), p. 36: "The concept of the Church as the body of Christ is the most profound concept of medieval symbolism, as it is in general of the entire world-view of the time. Christ appears to these men only in union with, and as continuing to live and operate in, the Church."

<sup>325</sup> Cf. M. Grabmann, *Geschichte der katholischen Theologie* (Freiburg im Br.: 1933), pp. 92 ff.

<sup>326</sup> Cf. M. Grabmann, *Die Lehre des hl. Thomas von Aquin von der Kirche als Gotteswerk* (Regensburg: 1903), p. 43.

Archbishop Giacomo Capocci which was published in 1302. Although naturally he treats of much that belongs to the externals of the Church, and even of such matters that were burning questions in his own time and unknown to the patristic age, still he has a predilection for the inner, spiritual Church.<sup>327</sup> Besides Sacred Scripture, the main source of his doctrine are the works of St. Augustine.<sup>328</sup> The Church as the body of Christ constitutes a conspicuous doctrine in the writings of Thomas (Waldensis) Netter (1375-1430)<sup>329</sup> and of Cardinal John Torquemada (Turrecremata) (1388-1468),<sup>330</sup> both of whom were strongly influenced by the same doctrine of St. Augustine. Thomas Waldensis distinguishes a twofold Church, the one invisible which is composed of the just and the predestined, the other visible which is formed of the universal body of men, even sinners, visibly constituting the Church.<sup>331</sup> This distinction was strongly refuted by Anthony of Cordova († 1578) as unorthodox and as savoring of the Lutheran teaching on the Church.<sup>332</sup>

Cardinal Torquemada, who is more critical than the Carmelite Thomas Netter, investigates the doctrine and the terms in scholastic fashion, leaning upon the doctrine of St. Thomas in some questions. The Cardinal argues for the unity of the Church from the doctrine of the mystical body<sup>333</sup> and makes an investigation into the meaning of the word *mystical*.<sup>334</sup> He, too, seems to induce a clear distinction between those who form the Church and

<sup>327</sup> E. A. Ryan, "Three Early Treatises on the Church," *Theological Studies*, V (1944), 125: "Although Capocci obviously understands by the Church on earth a visible society ruled directly by men who hold Christ's place and power, he loves to dwell on the sublime concept of the great invisible society of the elect and the angels."

<sup>328</sup> Cf. H. X. Arquillière, *Le plus ancien traité de l'Église, Jacques de Viterbe, De Regimine Christiano, Étude des sources et édition critique* (Paris: 1926): "Étude critique des sources," pp. 34-48; 57-71.

<sup>329</sup> Cf. H. Hurter, *Nomenclator Literarius* (3 ed.; Oeniponte: 1906), II, 817-18; Zimmermann, *Monumenta histor. Carmel.* (Lérins: 1907), I, 442.

<sup>330</sup> Cf. H. Hurter, *op. cit.*, II, 880-84.

<sup>331</sup> *Doctrinale Antiquitatum Fidei Ecclesiae Catholicae* (Venetiis: 1571 and 1757), lib. II, art. 2, cap. XII and XXVIII.

<sup>332</sup> *Opera in V Libros Digesta* (Venetiis: 1569—Toledo: 1570), lib. IV, fol. 255-56.

<sup>333</sup> *Summa de Ecclesia* (Venetiis: 1561), l. I, fol. 7 (fac. 2)—fol. 8 (fac. 1).

<sup>334</sup> *Ibid.*, l. I, c. 43, fol. 50 (fac. 1 and fac. 2).

those who form the body of Christ, and indicates the positive grounds for such a distinction. For sinners adhering to the Church are in the Church, that is, are members of the Church because they are one in faith with the faithful and communicate externally in the sacraments.<sup>335</sup> Such, he says, are not truly members of the body of Christ.<sup>336</sup> The faithful who have faith and charity, or who are in the state of grace, are solely true members of Christ's body. Hence the distinction which the Dominican Cardinal makes of those belonging to the unity of the Church (*ad unitatem Ecclesiae*) and to the unity of the Body of the Church or of Christ (*ad unitatem corporis Ecclesiae* or *corporis Christi* or *ad corpus mysticum*).<sup>337</sup> The term body (*corpus*) occurs in this author in its Augustinian spiritual meaning, yet it occurs in union with the word *Ecclesia*, namely as *corpus Ecclesiae*. Faith without charity is not sufficient to make one a member of the body of Christ.<sup>338</sup>

The setback which the teaching of the doctrine of the mystical body of Christ suffered in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries seemed to be reversed by its apparent partial reinstatement in the sixteenth century.<sup>339</sup> Yet the strong tendency which was inaugurated in this century of considering the Church in its visible, social, and juridical aspects resulted in due time in a further eclipse of the spiritual aspect of the Church and ultimately

<sup>335</sup> *Ibid.*, I, I, c. 5, fol. 6 (fac. 1 and fac. 2): I, I, c. 8, fol. 10 (fac. 2).

<sup>336</sup> *Ibid.*, I, I, c. 8, fol. 10 (fac. 2). In fact he asserts in another passage that sinners are not even in a full and true sense members of the *unitas Ecclesiae*; *ibid.*, I, c. 57, fol. 69 (fac. 1): "Homines fideles peccatores pertinent aliquomodo ad unitatem Ecclesiae inquantum continentur ei per fidem, quae est unitas materialis, non tamen possunt dici membra proprie, sicut nec membrum mortuum nisi aequivoce." Cf. also *ibid.*, fol. 68 (fac. 2), fol. 69 (fac. 1): in this he follows the distinctions of St. Thomas, *Summa theol.*, IIIa, q. 8, a. 3 ad 2.

<sup>337</sup> *Ibid.*, I, I, c. 57, fol. 69 (fac. 1): "Ad unionem corporis mystici sive ecclesiae numquam proprie pertinent existentes in peccato mortali, tamen refert dicere unitatem ecclesiae et corporis ecclesiae. In unitate enim ecclesiae sunt boni et mali, dummodo habeant rectam fidem. . . . Unitas vero corporis non est nisi per fidem formatam charitate. Secundum ergo propriam rationem corporis mali non sunt de corpore Ecclesiae, quamvis sint de Ecclesia."

<sup>338</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>339</sup> J. Willes, "Zur Idee des Corpus Christi mysticum in der Theologie des 16. Jahrhunderts," *Catholica*, IV (1935), 75-86.



brought the doctrine into relative obscurity and some temporary oblivion.

The occasion of this phase in the career of the doctrine was the kind of attack which the Reformation movement directed against the Church in the sixteenth century. The Reformers, departing from the Church they once professed, went about destroying it by attacking its authority, institution and external constitution. They admitted, fostered and defended the internal, spiritual, and invisible Church—a Church of the stainless, just or predestined—which was in their estimation the body of Christ according to the pattern of St. Augustine.

Ironically, their doctrine of the Church as mystical body evoked and developed, as a reaction among Catholic theologians of this century, the concept of the Church as a juridical body. What happened here had its parallel in the controversy of St. Augustine with the Donatists as to which Church was the true Church. The Donatists accepted with St. Augustine the doctrine that the Church of Christ was the mystical body of Christ. In fact on this account they alleged their Church to be holy and rejected the *Catholica* of St. Augustine on the grounds that it had divested itself of sanctity. While the internal element of sanctity is involved in the controversy, St. Augustine builds his arguments around external elements, viz., unity and catholicity.

The writers of this period who are worthy of mention as contributors to the doctrine under discussion or to points connected with it are the following: James Latomus († 1544);<sup>340</sup> Caspar Schatzgeyer († 1525);<sup>341</sup> John Eck (Maier) († 1543);<sup>342</sup> Nicolaus Herborn, O.F.M. († 1535);<sup>343</sup> John Driedo a Turnhoot († 1535);<sup>344</sup> Michael Vehe, O.P. († 1559);<sup>345</sup> Albert Pighius († 1542);<sup>346</sup> Card. John Gropper († 1559);<sup>347</sup> Francis Sonnio

<sup>340</sup> Cf. H. Hurter, *Nomenclator Literarius* (3rd ed.; Oeniponte: 1906), II, 1447-48.

<sup>341</sup> Cf. Hurter, *op. cit.*, II, 1253-55.

<sup>342</sup> Cf. Hurter, *op. cit.*, II, 1396-1401.

<sup>343</sup> Cf. Hurter, *op. cit.*, II, 1255-57.

<sup>344</sup> Cf. Hurter, *op. cit.*, II, 1265-66.

<sup>345</sup> Cf. Hurter, *op. cit.*, II, 1249-51.

<sup>346</sup> Cf. Hurter, *op. cit.*, II, 1442-44.

<sup>347</sup> Cf. Hurter, *op. cit.*, II, 1419-23.

(† 1576); <sup>348</sup> Anthony Cordova, O.F.M. († 1578); <sup>349</sup> Melchior Cano († 1560); <sup>350</sup> Card. Stanislaus Hosius († 1579); <sup>351</sup> Michael Medina († 1578); <sup>352</sup> William Lindanus (van Linda) († 1588); <sup>353</sup> Francis Toledo († 1596); <sup>354</sup> Thomas Stapleton († 1598); <sup>355</sup> Francis Suarez († 1617); <sup>356</sup> S. Robert Bellarmine († 1621).<sup>357</sup>

It will be of interest to present here in summary form the principal elements in the works of the aforementioned writers in so far as these elements are related to the doctrine of the Church as the mystical body of Christ.

1. The doctrine of the Church as the mystical body of Christ was known, asserted, and treated by these theologians. There was no need of the defense of the doctrine as such because it was common to both religious parties—the Catholic and Protestant theologians—in the religious controversies of this century. The role, however, allowed to this doctrine varies according to each author. In some it is significant, as for instance in the writings of Vehe and Hosius. In others, as Schatzgeyer and Eck, it remains unevolved and rather an echo of the tradition of past centuries. In others, again, as Driedo, Anthony of Cordova, and Lindanus, a balanced proportion of both aspects seems to be fairly blended. In any case the spiritual conception of the Church is the one which is taken for granted and assumed as the starting-point for further discussion.

2. Although the aspect of the Church as the mystical body is the starting-point, the tendency and the purpose of these controversialists was to establish the identity of their Church. The reformers defended their Church as the true Church of Christ and

<sup>348</sup> Cf. Hurter, *op. cit.*, I, 13.

<sup>349</sup> Cf. Hurter, *op. cit.*, I, 1 f.

<sup>350</sup> Cf. Hurter, *op. cit.*, II, 1370-72.

<sup>351</sup> Cf. Hurter, *op. cit.*, I, 15.

<sup>352</sup> Cf. Hurter, *op. cit.*, I, 18-20.

<sup>353</sup> Cf. Hurter, *op. cit.*, I, 63 f.

<sup>354</sup> J. Udvady, *Doctrina Francisci Toledo de Corpore Christi Mystici* (Coloczae: 1939).

<sup>355</sup> Cf. Hurter, *op. cit.*, I, 58 f.

<sup>356</sup> F. Spanedda, *L'Ecclesiologia di Francisco Suarez* (Sassari: 1937).

<sup>357</sup> Cf. Hurter, *op. cit.*, I, 273-82. Cf. F. Manelis, *De regia Christi potestate ad mentem S. Roberti Bellarmini* (Villaniviskis: 1940); S. Tromp, "De biformi conceptu 'Christi mystici' tum 'Corporis Christi mystici' in Controversiis S. Roberti Bellarmini," *Gregorianum*, XXIII (1942), 274-90.

refuted the Church of the Catholics. Now for the Reformers the Church was the body of Christ, spiritual and invisible, although some aspects of visibility were admitted later. The Church of the Catholics was also taught to be the body of Christ, perceptibly vested with many visible elements, which were defended as essentially belonging to her very constitution. It is evident that the controversy would be nugatory and futile if it evolved about establishing the fact, which was always taken for granted, that the Church was the mystical body of Christ. Besides, insistence on this aspect, inasmuch, as it is spiritual and invisible, prescinding from other properties of the Church, would have plunged the controversy into the realm of intangibles and imponderables. The question was which of these two contending churches was the true body of Christ.

The Catholic defendants, therefore, took a very concrete and realistic stand in concentrating their efforts to prove that the mystical body of Christ was the visible Catholic Church because it was invested with certain unmistakable properties, and even certain signs or evidences by which one could be led to know it as the true body of Christ.<sup>358</sup> This course of polemics led to a deeper study of the Church's external constitution, social, and hierarchical nature. The points that receive much attention and hold a conspicuous place in the religious controversy of this century are precisely those that belong to the juridical and external aspect of the Church. The visibility of the Church (against the invisible Church of the Protestants) is common to every treatise; the hierarchical order of the Church, especially the

<sup>358</sup> The argument for the knowability of the Church from the four properties of the Church according to the Constantinopolitan Symbol (holy, catholic, one, and apostolic) was introduced by Vehe, *Assertio Sacrorum Quorundam Axiomatum* . . . (Lipsiae: 1535), c. 2, fol. B<sup>3</sup>-B<sup>4</sup> (although he speaks of *notae*, he really means *proprietates*) and was followed up by Gropper, *Enchiridion Christianae Institutionis* (Parisiis: 1545), fol. 22 (he likewise uses the word "note" for "property"). As to the cognoscibility of the Church *via notarum*, S. Frankl, *Doctrina Hosii de Notis Ecclesiae in Luce Saeculi XVI Considerata* (Romae: 1934), p. 172, claims Hosius to have been (*magna cum probabilitate*) the first in the 16th century to have established the four *notes* (in the specific sense); whereas G. Thils, *Les notes de l'Église dans l'apologétique depuis la Réforme* (Gembloux: 1927), pp. 121 ff., detects the inception of the four notes in Herborn (in 1529). It must be added, however, that among Herborn's notes *ordo* supplants the traditional, and now universally accepted, *sanctitas*.

legitimate supremacy of the Roman Pontiff, recurs again and again; and much space is allotted to the properties and notes or evidences by which a true church may be discerned from a false one. These considerations revolving about the Church inasmuch as it is an empiric and juridic entity, assumed a growing preponderance in the writings of the defenders of the Catholic Church, so that towards the close of the century the Church looms more and more before us as a hierarchy, a society, an institution.

3. It is interesting to note how the writers of this period defined the Church. A definition in this case, no doubt, reflects the priority of the elements entering into the notion—visible or spiritual—of the Church. It will be evident, however, from a study of their definitions that these are not such in the strict sense of the word, since they are given rather in a descriptive form. However, for the purpose of this study, these descriptions are equivalent to definitions. Thus some authors define or describe the Church according to its internal nature as the mystical body of Christ, as, for example, Blancicampianus,<sup>359</sup> Gropper,<sup>360</sup> Hosius;<sup>361</sup> others according to its external nature, as a visible society, as, for example, Eck,<sup>362</sup> Pighius,<sup>363</sup> St. P. Canisius,<sup>364</sup> St. Bellarmine;<sup>365</sup> still

<sup>359</sup> Fridericus Nausea Blancicampianus, *In Catholicum Catechismum* (Viennae: 1542), fol. 19 (fac. 2).

<sup>360</sup> Card. Joannes Gropper, *Enchiridion Christianae Institutionis* (Parisii: 1545), fol. 27: "Ecclesia est corpus Christi mysticum, seu congregatio fidelium in unitate fidei et caritatis vinculo, sub uno capite Christi militantis ipsique (ex quo totum corpus per nexum conjunctionesque) subministratum et constructum crescit in augmentum Dei [Eph. 4:16] per vivam fidem et caritatem cohaerentium."

<sup>361</sup> Card. S. Hosius, *Confessio Catholicae Fidei Christiana*, c. 20, *Opera Omnia* (Coloniae: 1584), I, 28: "Ecclesia Catholica est unum corpus, et habet diversa membra, sicut etiam Paulus meminit (Rom. 12:4-5; I Cor. 12:12 ff.): anima autem, quae corpus hoc vivificat, est Spiritus Sanctus, caput vero illius est Christus." Cf. also *ibid.*, c. 53, *Opera Omnia*, I, 167. Then in his work *De Oppresso Verbo*, *Opera Omnia*, II, 48: "Sic itaque collige, Christiane lector, Catholicam Ecclesiam Christi corpus esse mysticum, cujus et caput et fundamentum est ipse Christus." His works are genuinely permeated with the doctrine of the mystical body and they prove him to be the most outstanding exponent of it during this period. So S. Frankl *op. cit.*, p. 108: "... theoriam corporis Christi mystici ideam centram totius theologiae Hosianae esse ex scriptis ejus manifeste apparet." Also J. Smoczyński, *Eklezjologia Stanisława Hozjusza* (Pelplin: 1937), p. 104.

<sup>362</sup> John Eck (Maier), *Apologia pro Principibus Catholicis* (Ingolstadii: 1542), fol. X.

<sup>363</sup> Albertus Pighius, *Hierarchiae Ecclesiasticae Assertio* (Coloniae: 1558), I, II, fol. 58 B.



others furnish us with both definitions in their works, as, for example Anthony of Cordova,<sup>366</sup> Thomas Stapleton.<sup>367</sup> It is to be noted that the definitions in the sense described have been culled from their works not, as exclusive, but as reflecting the more prominent concept, where it was possible to single it out. For, as previously stated, the century under review is engaged in the defense of a visible Church, but the echo of tradition that the Church is the body of Christ reverberates in the works of this period.

4. The traditional influence of St. Augustine is felt in the writings of the Catholic writers of this period perhaps even more keenly, as far as the doctrine under discussion is concerned, than in the Scholastic period. The Prelate of Hippo has laid down a pattern not only of the spiritual concept of the Church, but also of the juridical; he has also bequeathed to the sixteenth century a blueprint for its defense. The position of St. Augustine in relation to the Donatist schism was parallel to the position of the sixteenth century Catholic controversialists in relation to the Reformers. The Donatists held the Church to be the body of Christ, which would admit of no contamination by sin, as did the Reformers whose mystical body was essentially built only of the just or predestined. It will be remembered that against the

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<sup>364</sup> S. Petrus Canisius, *Opus Catecheticum sive De Summa Doctrinae Christianae* (Coloniae: 1577), c.III, q.9. p. 131: "Ecclesia est omnium Christi fidem atque doctrinam profitentium universitas, quam Princeps Pastorum Christus tum Petro Apostolo, tum hujus successoribus pascendam tradidit atque gubernandam."

<sup>365</sup> S. Robertus Bellarminus, *De Controversiis Christianae Fidei*, II, l. 3, c. 2 (ed. Neapoli: 1857), p. 75: "Nostra . . . sententia est Ecclesiam . . . esse coetum hominum ejusdem christianae fidei professione et eorumdem sacramentorum communione colligatum, sub regimine legitimorum pastorum, ac praecise unius Christi in terris vicarii, Romani Pontificis."

<sup>366</sup> Anthony (Cordubensis) of Cordova, *Opera in Quinque Libros Digesta* (Venetiis, 1569-Toledo: 1570), lib. IV, fol. 215 f., where it is described as the mystical body of Christ; *ibid.*, lib. IV, fol. 217 where it is described as a visible and hierarchical society.

<sup>367</sup> Thomas Stapleton, *Principiorum Fidei Doctrinalium Demonstratio Methodica* (Parisiis: 1582), contr. 1, lib. 4, cap. 6, p. 113, where an exposition is given of the Church as a juridical society; *Principiorum Fidei Doctrinalium Relectio* (Antverpiae: 1596), q. 3, art. 6, p. 60: "Ecclesia in se ipsa considerata ut totum quiddam, est una ut corpus perfectum, quia Christi corpus mysticum est."

Donatists St. Augustine developed his polemics around such a nature of the Church as was visible and cognizable by definite criteria: then this concrete, visible Church was held to be identical with the body of Christ.<sup>368</sup> The anti-Reformation defense by the Catholic apologists of the sixteenth century was fashioned after the African Bishop's anti-Donatist defense. Twelve hundred years had elapsed, but the schism, they believed, was of the same type, so the mode of procedure and arguments against them were ready-made from the fourth century.

It will suffice to mention here a few of the Catholic theologians of the sixteenth century whose dependence on the doctrine of St. Augustine is apparent either from their writings or from their explicit acknowledgment of that fact. Among these are Driedo,<sup>369</sup> Sonnio,<sup>370</sup> Lindanus,<sup>371</sup> Stapleton,<sup>372</sup> Hosius,<sup>373</sup> Toledo,<sup>374</sup> and

<sup>368</sup> E. Mersch, *Le corps mystique du Christ* (2me. éd.; Louvain: 1936), II, 256, is of the opinion that St. Augustine presses directly the doctrine of the mystical body against the Donatists: "l'ecclésiologie, que saint Augustin oppose au donatisme est . . . une doctrine du corps mystique." If he did he would be opposing a doctrine of the mystical body against a doctrine of the mystical body. It was common to him and them.

<sup>369</sup> Cf., e.g., J. Driedo, *De Ecclesiasticis Scripturis et Dogmatibus libri IV* (Lovanii: 1533), lib. 4, pp. 516 f. and compare with St. Augustine, *Ep.* 141, n. 5 (PL 33, 579; CSEL 44, ed. A. Goldbacher, 238); *De baptismo contra Donat.*, V, 8, 9 (PL 43, 181; CSEL 51, ed. Petschenig, 269); *Sermo* 32 (PL 38, 462 f.).

<sup>370</sup> F. Sonnio, *Demonstrationum Religionis Christianae libri duo* (Lovanii: 1556), l. II, pp. 490-91 which is to be compared with St. Augustine's *De bapt. contra Donat.*, VII, 99 (PL 43, 241; CSEL 51, ed., Petschenig, 370 f.).

<sup>371</sup> Cf., e.g., W. Lindanus, *De Vera Christi Ecclesia* (Coloniae: 1572), c. 48, p. 293 f. and compare with St. Augustine, *Epist.* 185, 50 (PL 33, 315); again cf. *op. cit.*, in the Preface: "amemus pacem . . . non diligit unitatem" and see how it is taken almost verbally from St. Augustine's *De bapt. contra Donat.*, III, 16, 21 (PL 43, 148; CSEL 51, ed. Petschenig, 212).

<sup>372</sup> Cf. T. Stapleton, *Principiorum Fidei Doctrinalium Demonstratio Methodica* (Parisiis: 1582), contr. 1, l. 1, c. 8, pp. 10-12 and compare with St. Augustine's *De bapt. contra Donat.*, VII, 99 (PL 43, 241; CSEL 51, ed. Petschenig, 370 f.).

<sup>373</sup> Card. S. Hosius, steeped in the doctrine of the Bishop of Hippo, refers to him constantly. *Confutatio*, l. III, *Opera Omnia*, I, 532: ". . . quod satis fuit Augustino, satis esse debet cuivis homini catholico." Cf. S. Rescius, *Stanisłai Hosii Vita* (Pelplin: 1938), p. 18; J. Umiński, "Zagadnienie wpływu św. Augustyna na St. Hozjusza," *Coll. Theol.*, XI (1930), 524-30.

<sup>374</sup> "Toledo" *Cath. Enc.* XIV, 761: "He proclaims himself a disciple of St. Augustine and St. Thomas, . . ."

even St. Robert Bellarmine.<sup>375</sup> Moreover some of these explicitly avow that they perceive the similarity of the strife between the Donatists and St. Augustine, on the one hand, and the Reformers and themselves, on the other. Lindanus reproached the Lutherans with these words: "What St. Augustine has written of yore about the Donatists, squares with you most perfectly."<sup>376</sup> Stapleton,<sup>377</sup> in line with others,<sup>378</sup> asserts that the doctrines of the Reformers have already been refuted in the refutation of the Donatists and other bygone heresies.

5. St. Augustine's writings gave rise to a problem which revolves about the doctrine of the body of Christ and which, together with that doctrine, has passed down through centuries to this very period. It is the problem of sinners belonging to the mystical body of Christ. It will be remembered that this was the starting-point and the crux in the Donatist controversies; it too was the pivotal point in the sixteenth century doctrinal strifes but in the sense that all who do not possess "fiducial" faith or who are not predestined are equivalent to such sinners, for they cannot constitute the mystical body of Christ. The solution of the Bishop of Hippo, if formed from a superficial reading of his writings without a more penetrating and sustained study of the multitude and complexity of his statements, would lead one to the assumption of a twofold body not completely identical or not perfectly coincident, one with the other. In other words, the solution amounts to this: sinners belong to the juridical, visible, sacramental Church, but not to the body of Christ. This is the *prima facie* solution which offers itself to the casual reader. This,

<sup>375</sup> S. Robertus Bellarminus, *De Controversiis Christianae Fidei*, I. III, c. 2, *Opera Omnia* (Neapoli: 1856), II, 75; the reference, however, is faulty.

<sup>376</sup> W. Lindanus, *De Vera Christi Ecclesia* (Coloniae: 1572), c. 48, p. 295: "Quod enim de Donatistis olim divus Augustinus scripsit, in vos quadrat verissime."

<sup>377</sup> T. Stapleton, *Principiorum Fidei Doctrinalium Demonstratio Methodica* (Parisiis: 1582), contr. I, l. I, c. 4, p. 6; c. 6, p. 8.

<sup>378</sup> P. Polman, *L'élément historique dans la controverse religieuse du XVI-e siècle* (Gembloux: 1932), p. 494: "... les polémistes catholiques cherchaient à montrer que les doctrines de leur adversaires avaient été depuis longtemps déjà et plusieurs fois réprouvées. ... Cette comparaison entre les hérésies anciennes et le protestantisme jouit d'une grande vogue."

too, is the solution that has been followed, either in reality or in appearance, by many writers after the African Bishop's times up to the sixteenth century.<sup>379</sup>

In the sixteenth century itself this vexing problem exists but its solution is sought rather in the manner and degree of inherence in the body of Christ, since it was staunchly contended against the Reformers that sinners belong to the Church and that the spiritual Church or mystical body of Christ was the same as the juridical Church. It was taught that sinners are joined to the Church by faith (Driedo, Vehe and many others), by remaining in unity with the Church (Pighius), by a profession of the true faith and the communion of the same sacraments (Sonnio, Anthony of Cordova). Thomas Stapleton portrays the members of Christ according to three degrees of inherence: 1) those who are joined to Christ through faith; 2) those who are united to Christ by faith and by charity; 3) those who become one with Christ by faith, charity and final perseverance.<sup>380</sup>

And yet the Augustinian antinomy of the inclusion and the exclusion of sinners from the one and the same Church finds its expression in this century as well. The same Stapleton, in another work, following in the path of St. Augustine, asserts a twofold unity of the Church or a twofold society, the one composed of the just alone, the other of the just and sinners.<sup>381</sup> The same antinomy is reflected in Cardinal Hosius' distinction of being a *membrum Christi*, i.e., through faith and charity, and being *in Christi corpore Ecclesia*, which is equivalent to *membrum Ecclesiae* and

<sup>379</sup> For authors who have been influenced by St. Augustine in this respect and in the manner stated, see: for early Scholasticism, A. Landgraf, "Sünde und Trennung von der Kirche in der Frühscholastik," *Gregorianum*, XI (1930), p. 246, where he concludes his article with the following words: "Unsere Untersuchung dürfte ergeben haben, dass nach der schliesslich vorherrschenden Lehre der Frühscholastik die Sünde wohl vom mystischen Leib Christi, nicht aber von der juridischen Gesellschaft der Kirche trennt"; for the golden period of Scholasticism, cf., e.g., D. Culhane, *De Corpore Mystico, Doctrina Seraphici* (Mundelein: 1934), pp. 35 ff.; for the later Scholastic period, see what has been said above concerning Netter and Turrecremata.

<sup>380</sup> *Principiorum . . . Relectio*, q. 1, a. 2, pp. 6-7.

<sup>381</sup> *Principiorum . . . Demonstratio Methodica*, contr. 1, l. 1, c. 8, pp. 10-



is predicated of sinners.<sup>382</sup> St. Robert Bellarmine gives expression to it in his famous distinction of those who belong to the *corpus Ecclesiae* and those who belong to the *anima Ecclesiae*.<sup>383</sup>

6. The reason for the introduction of the new terms by Cardinal Hosius, St. Robert Bellarmine and others is the transformation in the meaning which the Augustinian *corpus* experienced in the sixteenth century. This was a transformation from a spiritual conception in the fourth century to a juridic conception twelve centuries later. This is a point which frequently is not adverted to and as a result the word *corpus* is construed in Augustinian and patristic fashion. Yet it can be established, at times with probability, at other times even with certainty, that the designation "body" in the phrase "body of Christ" was used to designate the Church as a society, with all that it contained, inasmuch as this constituted a moral body, and therefore not precisely in contradistinction to the empirical Church. "Body" understood in this manner was equivalent to the external Church, not prescinding, of course, from the spiritual elements. It is in this sense that it occurs in Driedo, Pighius, Sonnio, Anthony of Cordova, Medina. Especially Stapleton<sup>384</sup> and St. Robert Bellarmine<sup>385</sup> give concrete evidence of this use of the term "body" by proving the visibility and other experimental characteristics of the Church from the fact that the Church is defined as a *corpus*.

This insistence on the external constitution and the juridical

<sup>382</sup> Cf. *Confessio*, c. 43, *Opera Omnia Hosii*, I, 42; *Confutatio*. l. III, *ibid.*, I, 537.

<sup>383</sup> *De Controversiis Christianae Fidei*, l. III, c. 2, *Opera Omnia Bellarmini* (Neapoli: 1856), II, 75.

<sup>384</sup> *Principiorum . . . Methodica*, contr. 1, l. 4, c. 6, p. 114: "Ecclesia quum sit Corpus, non membrum, per ea cognoscitur quae corpori, ut tali conveniunt, non quae membris ut talibus conveniunt. . . . Ex quo fit, ut Ecclesia definita tanquam corpus, per illa corporis propria definiatur, visibilitatem, multitudinem, perpetuitatem; quia Ecclesia corpus est visibile, crescens per omnes gentes; et perpetua successione perdurans, quasi his tribus dimensionibus constans. Longitudo et latitudo hujus corporis in ipsa amplissima ejus multitudine longe lateque diffusa conspiciatur."

<sup>385</sup> *Op. cit.*, l. III, c. 2, p. 75: ". . . Ecclesiam esse corpus vivum. . . . Corpus sunt externa professio, et communicatio Sacramentorum." Cf. also Concio XLII, *De Nativitate Beatae Mariae Virginis*, *Opera Omnia Bellarmini* (Parisiis: 1873), IX, 378-80.

elements of the Church was continued by later theologians and apologists for polemical reasons. The strife with the followers of the Reformation was destined to last for centuries and a distinctive apologetic trend was introduced into Catholic mentality and literature. Characteristic of this trend is, for instance, the great influence exerted by St. Robert Bellarmine in his excellent polemical work *Disputationes de rebus fidei hoc tempore controversis*,<sup>386</sup> written against Protestantism, whereas some of his other works, among them a Commentary on the *Summa* of St. Thomas and manuscripts on the mystical body, did not even find their way into print. It was his definition of the Church, as a hierarchical society, which became predominant in the works of later theologians.<sup>387</sup> It was the substance of his treatises that entered into the formation of the first manuals on the Church.<sup>388</sup>

If we contemplate in this light the vicissitudes accompanying the notion of the Church, we shall not be prone to criticize the Church herself for having drifted too much toward the external and juridical concept, to the prejudice of the internal and spiritual aspect.<sup>389</sup> Just as Donatism caused the treatment of the visible Church and its distinguishing criteria to be brought to the foreground in the time of St. Augustine, so Protestantism, professing in truth an invisible Church, occasioned by way of reaction and defense a strong trend towards the visible Church. A heresy, or a controversy, remarks St. Augustine, is of this advantage to the Church that it gives occasion to a more diligent study of

<sup>386</sup> M. Grabmann, *Geschichte der katholischen Theologie*, p. 158: "Die ausgebreitete Gelehrsamkeit, Klarheit, Bündigkeit, Gediegenheit des Werkes sind selbst von den Gegnern anerkannt, und es bildete lange Zeit den Angelpunkt der Kontroverse zwischen den Katholiken und Protestanten."

<sup>387</sup> *Op. cit.*, I. III, c. 2, II, 75.

<sup>388</sup> E.g., C. Regnier, *De Ecclesia* (Paris: 1789); L. Bailly, *Tractatus de Ecclesia Christi* (Paris: 1783).

<sup>389</sup> A. Harnack: *What is Christianity*, tr., p. 279: "Only let us be clear about two facts: firstly, that the outward Church is more and more forcing the inward Augustinianism into the background, and transforming and modifying it, without, however, being able wholly to destroy it." The statement of L. Trese, *A Man Approved* (New York: 1952), p. 103, that "for nineteen hundred years the doctrine (of the mystical body) went all but unnoticed," is, in the light of what has been said, grossly erroneous, being contradicted by patristic and scholastic tradition.

the denied or controverted teaching, to a better understanding of it and to more insistent teaching of the truth.<sup>390</sup>

So in connection with the doctrine of the Church as the body of Christ, pressure of Protestantism, and later, of Jansenism, and to some extent, of the growing political power of states, subjected to a more careful scrutiny the outward organization of the Church. These studies and labors resulted in the accumulation of a fund of material that was soon to mature into extensive and comprehensive treatises on apologetics. In fact it seemed that theologians and apologists who followed in the wake of the sixteenth century were so intent upon this external and visible Church that they lost sight of the Church as the mystical body of Christ.

Indeed, the juridic concept obtained in Catholic theology for a long time, while the Church as the body of Christ could not but continue to prevail in the Protestant mentality. It was only when the dust subsided on the religious battlefields, after century-long acrimonious controversies between Christians divided into two camps, that voices in the Catholic Church were raised in favor of the reinstatement of the spiritual and internal consideration of the Church to the high place it once rightly enjoyed in religion and theology. J. A. Möhler, who drew his inspirations from the Fathers, spearheaded this doctrinal movement in the beginning of the nineteenth century.<sup>391</sup> He was followed by such theologians as J. Perrone,<sup>392</sup> C. Passaglia,<sup>393</sup> C. Schrader,<sup>394</sup> J. B. Franzelin,<sup>395</sup> and M. J. Scheeben<sup>396</sup>—names which exerted a wide

<sup>390</sup> *De civ. Dei*, XVI, 2 (PL 41, 477; ed. Dombart-Kalb, II, 122); *ibid.*, XVIII, 51, 1 (PL 41, 613; ed. Dombart-Kalb, II, 335); *Confes.*, VII, 19 (PL 32, 746; ed. Skutella, 148).

<sup>391</sup> Cf. J. Gruden, *The Mystical Christ*, p. 21; H. de Lubac, *Méditation sur l'Église* (3 éd.; Paris: 1954), pp. 78–79.

<sup>392</sup> *Praelectiones theologicae*, II, 32–33; cf. E. Hocedez, *Histoire de la théologie au XIXe siècle* (Paris: 1952), p. 358.

<sup>393</sup> *De Ecclesia Christi*, (Romae: 1856).

<sup>394</sup> *Theses theologicae, series septima* (Romae: 1869).

<sup>395</sup> Franzelin, *De Ecclesia Christi* (Romae: 1907), p. 308: "Hic modus considerandi Ecclesiam non solum apud ss. Patres et doctores communis est, sed etiam populo christiano familiaris, eoque manifestior ejus praestantia, ut fere dici possit christiana definitio Ecclesiae." Cf. G. Courtade, "J. B. Franzelin, les formules que le Magistère de l'Église lui a empruntées," *Mélanges Jules Lebreton*, II, *Rech. de science rel.*, XL (1952), 323–25.

and powerful influence on the Catholic thought of those times.

A brilliant revival was soon forthcoming. The Vatican Council gave its powerful ecumenical sanction to this concept by drafting it into its schema on the Church,<sup>397</sup> with the intention of defining the doctrine although, because of the premature dissolution or indefinite adjournment of the Council, it was not defined. The recent popes dwell upon, or at least allude to this concept of the Church.<sup>398</sup> Theologians in their doctrinal manuals now give greater prominence to it.<sup>399</sup> A flood of special books and a tor-

<sup>396</sup> *The Mysteries of Christianity*, tr. by C. Vollert (St. Louis: 1947); cf. A. Kerkvoorde, "La théologie du Corps mystique au XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle," *Nouv. rev. théol.*, LXII (1945), 415-30; C. Lialine, "Une étape en ecclésiologie," *Irénikon*, XIX (1946), 138.

<sup>397</sup> Schema of the Vatican Council, *Collectio Lacensis*, VII, 567; cf. K. Martin, *Die Arbeiten des Vatikanischen Concils* (Paderborn: 1873), pp. 30-31; 59-60. According to the original order it was planned to begin in the very first part of the schema with the exposition of the Church as the mystical body of Christ. Cf. also L. Beauduin, *L'unité de l'Église et le concile du Vatican* (Lille: 1948), pp. 13-56.

<sup>398</sup> For example, cf. the Apostolic Letter of Pope Pius IX "Iam vos omnes," addressed to all the Protestants, 13, IX, 1868, *Col. Lac.*, VII, 248 f.; the Encyclicals of Pope Leo XIII: "Satis Cognitum," 1896, *Acta Sanctae Sedis*, XXIII, pp. 709-11; "Divinum Illud," 1897, *ibid.*, XXVIII, pp. 644-58; Benedict XV in his *Motu proprio*, "Dei Providentes" (1917) *Acta Apostolicae Sedis* IX (1917), 529; the Encyclicals of Pope Pius XI, "Quas Primas," 1925, *ibid.*, XVII, pp. 593-610; "Misericordissimus Redemptor," 1928, *ibid.*, XX, pp. 165-78; "Mortalium Animos," 1928, *ibid.*, XX, pp. 5-16; "Caritate Christi," 1932, *ibid.*, XXIV, pp. 175-94; "Ad Catholici Sacerdotii," 1935, *ibid.*, XXVIII (1936), 12; the Encyclicals of Pope Pius XII: "Summi Pontificatus," 1939, *ibid.*, XXXI, 427 f.; the zenith in this glorious series is attained by the encyclical of Pope Pius XII, "Mystici Corporis," July 20, 1943, *ibid.*, XXXV, pp. 193 ff.; Enc. "Mediator Dei" in 1947, *ibid.*, XXXIX (1947); Enc. "Humani Generis," Aug. 12, 1950, *ibid.*, XXXXII (1950), 570 f.; cf. also S. Tromp, "Annotations: 'Firmissimam constantiam' (Epistola Encyclica SS. D. N. Pii Pp. XI)," *Periodica*, XXV (1936), 1-38; S. Tromp, "Annotations: 'Mit Brennender Sorge' (Epistola Encyclica SS. D. N. Pii Pp. XI)," *Periodica*, XXV (1936), 462-65.

<sup>399</sup> E.g., cf. M. d'Herbigny, *Theologica de Ecclesia*, 2 vols. (Paris: 1920); H. Dieckmann, *De Ecclesia*, 2 vols. (Friburgi Br.: 1925); L. Lercher, *Institutiones Theologiae Dogmaticae* (3 ed.; Oeniponte: 1942), IV/1, 3 ff.; P. Galtier, *De Incarnatione et Redemptione* (Paris: 1947), pp. 447-84; S. Tromp, *Corpus Christi quod est Ecclesia* (2 ed.; Romae: 1946); C. Journet, *L'Église du Verbe Incarné. Essai de théologie spéculative*. I La hiérarchie apostolique (Paris: 1941), *id.*, *L'Église du Verbe Incarné. Essai de théologie spéculative*. II Sa structure interne et son unité catholique (Paris: 1951); M. Premm, *Kath. Glaubenskunde* (Wien: 1952), II, 432 f.



rent of articles have poured from the press on this topic in the various languages of the world. Much recent doctrinal, devotional, spiritual and ascetical literature owes its growth to this doctrine;<sup>400</sup> liturgy and liturgical movements are based upon the Church and Christ conceived united as body and head.<sup>401</sup> The doctrine of the mystical body has been explored not only in itself but also in its relations to the whole domain of Christian thought and morals.<sup>402</sup>

No doubt, too, the turbulent conditions of the times have furnished a soil adapted for a flourishing regrowth of this doctrine. Individualism,<sup>403</sup> selfishness, and hatred sweeping the world and wreaking havoc upon it have their counterpart and remedy in the corporateness, love and union typified in, and effected by, the mystical body of Christ.<sup>404</sup> It is in itself an eloquent answer

<sup>400</sup> Cf. the long survey of literature on this topic prepared by J. Bluett, "The Mystical Body of Christ: 1890-1940," *Theological Studies*, III (1942), 261-89; E. Przywara, "Corpus Christi Mysticum," *Zeitsch. für Asceze und Mystik*, XV (1940), 197-215; A. Goodier, "The Mystical Body," *The Month*, CLIX (1932), 289-97; J. Gruden, *The Mystical Christ* (St. Louis: 1936); E. Mersch, *Le corps mystique du Christ* (2me éd.; Louvain: 1936), 2 vols.; F. Grivec, *Mistično telo Kristusovo* (Ljubljana: 1928); *Cerkev* (2nd ed.; Ljubljana: 1943); *Ecclesia corpus Christi* (Ljubljana: 1942); C. Feckes, *Das Mysterium der heiligen Kirche* (3 Aufl.; Paderborn: 1951); L. J. Trese, *Many Are One* (Chicago: 1952) pp. 33 ff.; M. Zündel, *La pierre vivante* (Paris: 1953); M. J. Congar, *Esquisses du Mystère de l'Église* (Paris: 1953); *id.*, *Jalons pour une théologie du laïc* (Paris: 1953); J. L. Murphy, *In Image of Christ* (Milwaukee: 1954); F. Jürgensmeier, *The Mystical Body of Christ*, tr. by H. Strauss (New York: 1955).

<sup>401</sup> V. Michel, "The True Christian Spirit," *Ecc. Rev.*, LXXXII (1930), 128-42; G. Ellard, "The Liturgical Movement," *Thought*, VII (1932), 474-92; P. Bussard, "The Church, the Mystical Body of Christ," *Orate Fratres*, IX (1935), 449-54, according to which the definition proposed for liturgy would be: "The actuation of the Mystical Body as such." J. A. Jungmann, *Liturgical Worship*, tr. (New York: 1942). For a copious enumeration of recent articles on this topic cf. J. Bluett, "Current Theology, The Mystical Body of Christ: 1890-1940; III. The Mystical Body and the Liturgy," *Theological Studies*, III (1942), 287-89; Encyclical of Pope Pius XII, "Mediator Dei" *Acta Apostolicae Sedis*, XXXIX (1947).

<sup>402</sup> E. Mersch, *La théologie du corps mystique*, 2 vols. (2me éd.; Paris: 1949); *id.*, *Morale et corps mystique* (2me éd.; Paris: 1949); H. de Lubac, *Catholicism: A Study of Dogma in Relation to the Corporate Destiny of Man* (London: 1950).

<sup>403</sup> The trend of thought which was ushered in during the period of the Renaissance has matured into individualism and subjectivism. Cf. E. Moore, *Christian Thought since Kant* (New York: 1912), p. 87; R. Guardini, *The Church and the Catholic* (New York: 1935), p. 1.

<sup>404</sup> W. C. O'Connor, "The Mystical Body of Christ," *Irish Ecclesiastical*

to those who maintain that Christianity cannot be the ideal religion for mankind because, as they allege, it apparently is not interested in the welfare of all men but in the salvation of the individual who must exert all of his faculties in behalf of himself.<sup>405</sup> The Catholic doctrine, if accepted and fostered in its fullness with all that it entails, and if allowed to permeate society and nations, could become a potent cure for the ills and disruption not only in the domain of religion but also in the world of international, political, social, and economic relations.

This doctrine, founded upon the contents of Sacred Scripture, developed ingeniously in the writings of St. Augustine, exposed systematically in the works of the theologians of the Middle Ages, and revived in our own times contains the essential elements of the notion of the Church. From the preponderance of the empirical, social, and juridical elements of organization and power into which the genuine notion of the Church has been exaggerated by virtue of the circumstances exposed above, theologians are again achieving a balanced proportion of the spiritual and the visible in the notion of the true Church of Christ. This presupposes at all times the harmony and compatibility of these

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*Record*, XLVI (1935), 139: "The doctrine of the Mystical Body of Christ seems to be coming to the fore as the necessary antidote to the exaggerated individualism responsible ultimately for the war and the depression." Cf. also G. Ellard, "The Liturgical Movement in America," *Thought*, VII (1932), 474.

<sup>405</sup> Thus, G. Séailles, *Les affirmations de la conscience moderne* (3me. éd.; Paris: 1906), p. 108: "... the Christian who withdraws from the converse of men, exclusively preoccupied with his own salvation, which is a matter between God and himself. . . ."; p. 56: "Our morality is less and less Christian just because it is more and more social"; p. 108: "The Christian, like the Stoic, is sufficient unto himself." Also M. Giron, "Le sentiment religieux et l'école libératrice," *L'École libératrice*, Feb. 2, 1935: "The point in question is whether education should prepare the individual to ignore everything that exists in this world. If so, it will result in the development of an egoism gone mad. Man will have only one concern left to him, his individual salvation." In the same tone O. Hamelin, *Le système de Renouvier* (Paris: 1927), pp. 444-45 asserts that Christ promised salvation not to communities but to individuals and that "all that is social in the efforts of humanity" is, according to Christian belief, "condemned to perish"; "the entirely individualist point of view" which the Christian therefore adopts involves "a contempt of justice." "It is impossible to be just without admitting an interest in the social life of the group to which one belongs and in its future." Cf. H. de Lubac, *Catholicism: A Study of Dogma in Relation to the Corporate Destiny of Mankind* (London: 1950), pp. viii-xi.

two aspects in the one Church: even if they appear to be disparate and hardly reconcilable,<sup>406</sup> they are nevertheless the same Church, without contradiction or opposition. In fact, it is maintained, that, according to the will of the Founder of the Church, these two aspects are indispensable, indissoluble, and complementary to each other.<sup>407</sup> Pope Pius XII, speaking to the seminarians of Rome on June 24, 1939, said: "It is wrong to distinguish a juridic Church and a Church of charity. . . . The juridically established Church, which has for its head the sovereign pontiff, is also the Church of Christ, the Church of charity, and of the whole Christian family."

Such is the place of St. Augustine in the doctrine on the Church as the mystical body, such is his contribution to it and such its history. We live in a period of history when men feel the need of but one Church as never before and when the meaning of the Church is being intensively investigated and revealingly unfolded. It may turn out that in the history of the development of dogma the twentieth century will be, as a theologian called it, "the century of the Church."<sup>408</sup> We shall, however, never come to a point where we can say that we know all about the Church that can be known. Like every mystery we shall not exhaust its comprehensibility, and we shall not plumb its depths.<sup>409</sup> What we have already discovered points the way to new findings.<sup>410</sup> The Church is a living reality which will continue to unfold itself to those seeking ever more to know it and to those finding time to reflect on it.<sup>411</sup> In all study and reflection one truth ought to loom before us—a truth which Augustine so trenchantly expressed when he said: "The possession of Christ is the Church; the possession of the Church, peace."<sup>412</sup>

<sup>406</sup> H. Stirnimann, "Die Kirche und der Geist Christi," *Divus Thomas*, XXXI (1953), 5.

<sup>407</sup> G. Manser, "Rechtskirche und Liebeskirche," *Divus Thomas*, VI (1928), 3-13; 196-210.

<sup>408</sup> H. de Lubac, *Méditation sur l'Église* (3me éd.; Paris: 1954), p. 20.

<sup>409</sup> J. Lebreton, "L'Église corps du Christ," *Rech. de science rel.*, XXXI (1946), 241-44.

<sup>410</sup> *De Trin.*, XV, 2 (PL 42, 1057-58); *Sermo* 169, 18 (PL 38, 926).

<sup>411</sup> A. Brien, "La pédagogie du sens de l'Église," *Nouvelle revue théologique*, LXXIV (1952), p. 574.

<sup>412</sup> *Sermo*, Morin IX, 5, *Miscel. Agost.*, I, 623.

## CHAPTER 2

### THE CHURCH A HIERARCHICAL BODY

IT IS striking that the hierarchical element does not occupy a more important place in the writings of St. Augustine.<sup>1</sup> If we compare the amount that refers to the hierarchy with the amount written on other great topics which were treated by him so extensively and abundantly, then it is true that there is relatively little written on this subject in his many works. Furthermore, there is little, if any, emphasis placed by the Bishop on this particular consideration of the Church's constitution, whereas many other doctrines are strongly accentuated, repeated, developed, and defended.

The reason for this is the spiritual temper of St. Augustine, expressed in his predilection of the spiritual elements of the Church. The hierarchical organization was long established in the African Church and the Church at large. It was an essential part of the one Catholic Church as well as of the schismatic sects of Africa. Consequently the hierarchical organization did not enter into any controversy during the lifetime of the Bishop of Hippo. There were dissensions as to who was the legitimate bishop of a diocese but there were none as to the question whether there should be bishops or not. The sparse, casual but certain references to the existence and nature of the hierarchical organization of the Church in the writings of St. Augustine, are an indication of an existing order which was taken for granted. The clergy belongs to the constitutional elements of the Church. It is necessary for the attainment of salvation as is also the mystical body. On one occasion the Bishop found it necessary to address an angry question to the Donatists: "do you believe you

<sup>1</sup> R. Seeberg, *Dogmengeschichte* (3 Aufl.; Leipzig: 1926), II, 505: "Das eigentlich Hierarchische tritt merkwürdig zurück."



may be saved without having bishops and clergy, though not without the Christian religion?"<sup>2</sup>

From even a leisurely perusal of the pages of the Bishop of Hippo, especially of his Letters, it becomes evident that those who constitute the Church of Christ are not all of equal order and of the same condition.<sup>3</sup> The Church is divided into two classes of men, who form it. The one group is called *populus* or *laici*, the other *clerus*, or *clerici*. Thus appealing rhetorically in a sermon St. Augustine addresses separately by name different classes of men: "I say to all, to men and women, to minors and elders, to laymen and to clerics (*laicis et clericis*)."<sup>4</sup>

Yet, notwithstanding this and other similar testimonies H. Reuter,<sup>5</sup> dares to doubt and even to deny the existence of this separation and inequality in the Church. He contends that Augustine is an advocate of the equal station of all the faithful in the church. He adduces in favor of this assertion two arguments: the first in which he claims the term *clerus* to be a rarity in the writings of the Saint;<sup>6</sup> the second in which he points out certain texts which are supposedly opposed to a clerical order and which he urges to be indicative of a universal priesthood, namely, that no particular body of men but all Christians are priests.<sup>7</sup> If it is true that all Christians participate in equal manner in the state of priesthood, as Luther<sup>8</sup> said and as is the modern Protestant teach-

<sup>2</sup> *Contra Cresc.*, II, 11, 13 (PL 43, 474).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. some of the other older works on various phases of the hierarchical constitution of the Church according to St. Augustine: T. Specht, *Die Lehre von der Kirche nach dem hl. Augustin* (Paderborn: 1892); J. Martin, *Saint Augustin* (Paris, 1923); J. Czuj, *Hierarchja Kościelna u Św. Augustyna* (Lublin: 1925); D. Zähringer, *Das kirchliche Priestertum nach dem hl. Augustinus* (Paderborn: 1931).

<sup>4</sup> *Sermo* 211, 5, 4 (PL 38, 1056).

<sup>5</sup> *Augustinische Studien* (Gotha: 1887), p. 243; a work which A. Harnack judged to be the most learned disquisition of its time on St. Augustine. It has exerted a powerful influence up to our times in determining the interpretation of St. Augustine among Protestant scholars.

<sup>6</sup> *Loc. cit.*, p. 243: ". . . der Terminus *clerus* auffällig selten bei ihm uns begegnen"; then follows an enumeration of the passages in which it occurs.

<sup>7</sup> *Loc. cit.*, p. 244: "Die Idee des allgemeinen Priestertums wird völlig rückhaltlos und unzweideutig von Augustin verkündigt."

<sup>8</sup> *De Captivitate Babylonica Ecclesiae, De Ordine* (*Opera Latina Lutheri*, ed. H. Schmidt [Francofurti: 1886] V, 10): "All Christians are priests and all priests are Christians. Anathema to him who distinguishes the priest from the simple Christian."

ing,<sup>9</sup> there can be no room for a lay and clerical classification of the faithful.

A closer examination, however, exposes the fallacy of Reuter's contentions. With regard to the first claim, even if the terminology denoting the clerical state were rare in the books of the Saint, the very fact that it did occur and carried with it its specific meaning, would already be a decisive argument in favor of the existence of that state. Precisely the manner in which these general terms of classification and the other specific ones of the various grades in the hierarchical order haphazardly and casually occur are indications and proofs of an established order, admitted by all and questioned by no heretical or schismatical group. The weakest point in the whole contention reveals itself when the aforementioned author, undertaking to corroborate his assertion by enumerating the passages in which the terms *laicus* and *clericus* occur, points out some of them, but neglects or overlooks many others.

These two distinct classes recur again and again though under diverse terms or phraeseologies, and, for the most part, in expository and not controversial works. Thus the clerical state is designated as *clerus*, *militia clericatus*, *clerici*,<sup>10</sup> *ordo clericorum*,<sup>11</sup> *ordinati in ecclesiastici ordinis ministerii gradibus*, *praepositi*, *praepositura Ecclesiae*.<sup>12</sup> The others are called *laici*,<sup>13</sup> *plebs*,<sup>14</sup> *populus*,<sup>15</sup> *congregatio laicorum*.<sup>16</sup> Hence in the Church, which

<sup>9</sup> Cf., e.g., J. Lightfoot, "The Christian Ministry," in *Dissertations on the Apostolic Age* (London: 1892), passim; R. Moberly, *The Ministerial Priesthood* (New York: 1903), passim; Hall, art. "Priesthood" in *New Schaff-Herzog Encyc. of Religious Knowledge* (ed. by S. Jackson, New York: 1911), IX, 251.

<sup>10</sup> *Ep.* 60, 1 (PL 33, 228; CSEL 34, ed. A. Goldbacher, II, 222); *Ep.* 185, 10, 45-46 (PL 33, 812; CSEL 57, ed. A. Goldbacher, IV, 39-40); *Sermo* 96, 7, 9 (PL 38, 588).

<sup>11</sup> *Ep.* 60, 1 (PL 33, 228; CSEL 34, ed. A. Goldbacher, II, 222); *Ep.* 228, 2 (PL 33, 1014; CSEL 57, ed. A. Goldbacher, IV, 485).

<sup>12</sup> *Enar. in Ps.* 77, 19 (PL 36, 824). *Sermo* 91, 5 (PL 38, 569); *Contra Ep. Parm.*, III, 2, 16 (PL 43, 94-95; CSEL 51, ed. M. Petschenig, 119).

<sup>13</sup> *Ep.* 228, 2; (PL 33, 1014; CSEL 57, ed. A. Goldbacher, IV, 39-40). *Sermo* 96, 7, 9 (PL 38, 588); *Sermo* 137, 7 (PL 38, 758).

<sup>14</sup> *De bono conuj.*, 24, 32 (PL 40, 394; CSEL 41, ed. J. Zycha, 227).

<sup>15</sup> *Contra ep. Parm.*, II, 7, 12 (PL 43, 57; CSEL 51, ed. M. Petschenig, 57).

<sup>16</sup> *Contra Ep. Parm.*, III, 2, 16 (PL 43, 94; CSEL 51, ed. M. Petschenig, 119); *De anima*, III, 12, 18 (PL 44, 520).

he calls a spiritual kingdom (*civitas*) and compares to the powers inherent in a civil kingdom, there is the power of ruling (*imperandi*) and the duty of obeying (*oboediendi*).<sup>17</sup>

It is well to observe St. Augustine's terminology which is indicative of the natures of both states. For the clerical state he employs the word "order" (*ordo, ordo clericorum*) which has become a technical term in sacramentology. For the lay state he uses the word "congregation" (*congregatio, congregatio laicorum*). The general definition of order, which has been adopted by the Scholastic writers, is the one St. Augustine gives in a well-known passage of his "City of God" on peace; he says: "Order is the distribution which allots things equal and unequal, each to its own place."<sup>18</sup> Thus the term "ordo," so applied to consecrated ministry, signifies not only a class which is distinct from the laity, but also a diversity of ecclesiastical offices with grades of ministry.

The term "hierarchy" does not occur in St. Augustine, but from what has been said it is evident that his clerical order is a hierarchical one. Hierarchy in a general way means, according to St. Thomas, "a plurality made into unity. One hierarchy is one principality—that is, one multitude ordered in one way under the rule of a head."<sup>19</sup> A sacred principality refers to constituted authorities in a religious society in which there are officials who unify and govern the faithful.

Nor can the other claim, namely of a universal priesthood, which would reduce all in the Church to the same level, stand the test of a closer examination. St. Augustine is no innovator when he calls the faithful in some sense a priesthood, for in this he expresses a truth contained in Sacred Scripture,<sup>20</sup> and follows

<sup>17</sup> *De civ. Dei*, XIX, 13 (PL 41, 640; ed. Dombart-Kalb, II, 377): "Pax civitatis ordinata imperandi atque oboediendi concordia civium, pax coelestis civitatis ordinatissima et concordissima societas fruendi Deo et invicem in Deo, pax omnium rerum tranquillitas ordinis"—J. Czuj, *Hierarchja Kościelna u św. Augustyna* (Lublin: 1925), p. 31.

<sup>18</sup> *De civ. Dei*, XIX, 13 (PL 41, 640; ed. Dombart-Kalb, II, 377); tr. *Basic Writings of St. Augustine* (New York: 1948), II, 488.

<sup>19</sup> *Summa theol.*, Ia, q. 108, a. 2, and a. 1; cf. J. Anger, *The Mystical Body of Christ*, tr. by J. Burke (New York: 1931), p. 170.

<sup>20</sup> I Peter 2:5, 9: "Be you also as living stones built up, a spiritual house, a holy priesthood, to offer up spiritual sacrifices, acceptable to God by Jesus Christ. . . . But you are a chosen generation, a kingly priesthood, a

a teaching recognized by Fathers before his time.<sup>21</sup> And yet he expressly qualifies this general priesthood of the laity so as to differentiate it from the special priesthood of the ordained. He distinctly teaches that when others than bishops and presbyters are called priests, either by him or in tradition, it is because they constitute the members of the one Priest, namely, Christ.<sup>22</sup> This explanation is typical of his doctrine on the Church as the body of Christ and is indicative of the permeating power and general applicability of that doctrine.<sup>23</sup> Besides, a priest is one who offers sacrifice; since Christian life should be a life of sacrifice, by sacrificing ourselves, we become in some sense priests. "We ourselves are the whole sacrifice."<sup>24</sup> Self-offering is the sacrifice which God wants of all.<sup>25</sup>

Wherever the words *clericus* and *laicus* or their equivalents are used, they denote a separation of the members of the Church into two diverse classes, namely those administering and those administered to; those ruling spiritually and those others who

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holy nation, a purchased people; that you may declare his virtues, who hath called you out of darkness into his marvelous light." Cf. W. A. Kavanagh, *Lay Participation in Christ's Priesthood* (Washington, D.C.: 1935); P. Dabin, *Le sacerdoce royal des fidèles dans la tradition ancienne et moderne* (Paris: 1950).

<sup>21</sup> So St. Cyril of Jerus., *Catech.*, XVIII, 33 (PG 33, 1056); *Catech.*, XXI (PG 33, 1088); St. Basil, *De baptismo*, II, q. 8, 3 (PG 31, 1601); St. Justin, *Dialogus cum Tryphone Judaeo*, c. 116-17 (PG 6, 745); St. Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.*, IV, 8, 3 (PG 7, 995); Origen, *In Leviticum*, hom. IX, 1 (PG 12, 508); St. John Chrys., *Catech.*, 11 ad illuminandos (PG 8, 292); *In Epist. II ad Cor.*, hom. III, 7 (PG 61, 417-18); *In Epist. II ad Cor.*, hom. XVIII, 3 (PG 61, 527); St. Clement Alex., *Stromata*, VI, 13 (PG 9, 328; GCS, ed. O. Stählin, II, 485), VI, 13 (PG 9, 327); from Latin tradition: St. Ambrose, *De Sacramentis*, l. IV, cap. 1, n. 3 (PL 16, 436); *In Apoc. exp.* I in v. 6 (PL 17, 767); Tertullian, *Adv. Marcion.*, I, 14 (CSEL 37, III, 308).

<sup>22</sup> *De civ. Dei*, XX, 10 (PL 41, 676; ed. Dombart-Kalb, II, 433): ". . . non utique de solis episcopis et presbyteris dictum est, qui proprie jam vocantur in Ecclesia sacerdotes: sed sicut omnes christos dicimus propter mysticum chrisma, sic omnes sacerdotes, quoniam membra sunt unius sacerdotis." Cf. P. Dabin, *Le sacerdoce royale des fidèles dans la tradition ancienne et moderne* (Paris: 1950), pp. 89-115. The Maurist ed. (PL 41, 676) reads: ". . . sicut omnes Christianos dicimus . . ."

<sup>23</sup> W. A. Kavanagh, *op. cit.*, p. 68: "The predominant note that pervades all these passages quoted from Saint Augustine is, that he speaks of this priesthood of all Christians as a consequence of the Mystical Body."

<sup>24</sup> *De civ. Dei*, X, 6 (PL 41, 283; ed. Dombart-Kalb, I, 411).

<sup>25</sup> *Sermo* 48, 2 (PL 38, 317): "Quaerebas quid offeres pro te, offer te. Quid enim Dominus quaerit a te, nisi te?"



obey. If, however, treatises or even passages dealing *ex professo* with this point are not found in the works of the Doctor, as Reuter would seem to require to establish the hierarchical nature of the Church, it is because this particular topic did not enter into the matter of discussion with any of his adversaries, under whose pressure his doctrine chiefly took external shape and found expression. Thus with the Manicheans the structure of the Church does not come at all into dispute, whereas the flourishing Donatist schism and the stubborn Pelagian heresy—with both of whom St. Augustine was engaged in a lifelong strife—supposed and admitted the hierarchical order of the Church.

Wherefore in order to discover what the external nature of the Church of St. Augustine was, we can either study the organization of the Church of Africa at the time of St. Augustine from historical sources external to him, or assemble words and petty references casually scattered throughout his works. Is it not a certain sign of existence of a clerical state and hierarchical order if these are mentioned in Augustine's writings or are presupposed by him, and yet are never called into question by his adversaries? Furthermore, is not St. Augustine himself, as the alert Bishop of Hippo, in his station, words and deeds, a most potent argument for the existence and acknowledgment of a state which was distinct from the laity and hierarchical in character?

The distinctness of both states is further illustrated by the manner of formation of the clerical order.<sup>26</sup> The transition from the congregation (*congregatio*) of the lay state into the order of clerics (*ordo clericorum*),<sup>27</sup> or the promotion<sup>27</sup> from among the people into the clergy, is brought about by a certain religious action which is called "ordination" (*ordinatio*),<sup>28</sup> and its performance "to ordain," (*ordinare*).<sup>29</sup> This action consists of the imposition of the hands.<sup>30</sup> Nor is this doctrine new or peculiar to St. Augustine for such was the traditional teaching of the earlier

<sup>26</sup> Cf. D. Zähringer, *Das kirchliche Priestertum nach dem hl. Augustinus* (Paderborn: 1931), pp. 201 ff.

<sup>27</sup> *Ep.* 78, 3 (PL 33, 268; CSEL 34, ed. A. Goldbacher, II, 334).

<sup>28</sup> *De bono conjugali*, 24, 32 (PL 40, 394; CSEL 41, ed. J. Zycha, 227).

<sup>29</sup> *Contra ep. Parm.*, 2, 13, 28 (PL 43, 71; CSEL 51, ed. M. Petschenig, 79).

<sup>30</sup> *Ep.* 78, 3 (PL 33, 268; CSEL 34, ed. A. Goldbacher, II, 334).

Latin Fathers.<sup>31</sup> This act of ordination is compared with baptism, and together with it, is called a sacrament; both of these, baptism and ordination, although administered externally and sensibly, affect the recipient internally; wherefore, just as the sacrament of baptism cannot be readministered, so also the sacrament of ordination can be given but once.<sup>32</sup> St. Augustine consistently and coherently extended the principle of the relation of baptism to the Church to cover also the other sacraments.<sup>33</sup> And thus, even if an ordained person does not administer to a congregation, or, if by his own fault he has been deprived of ecclesiastical ministry, he remains spiritually marked by the order he received even unto judgment.<sup>34</sup> It is, therefore, this rite and its consequent indelible character which draw the line of demarcation between the two states, i.e., that of the laity and that of the clergy.

Clerics are ordained for the ecclesiastical ministry. It is for this purpose that they are *elected* from among the people.<sup>35</sup> It is an honor to be thus chosen; yet it is nevertheless a burden which clerics take upon themselves for the good of the people.<sup>36</sup> They serve the people when they labor for the good of the Church. It is their duty to build up the Church increasing the

<sup>31</sup> Cf. P. Schanz, *Die Lehre von den heiligen Sakramenten der katholischen Kirche* (Freiburg im Br.: 1893), p. 663. See also: J. Coppens, *L'imposition des mains et les rites connexes dans le Nouveau Testament et dans l'Église ancienne* (Paris: 1925), pp. 141 ff.; A. Tymczak, *Quaestiones disputatae de Ordine* (Premislae, 1936), pp. 40 ff.

<sup>32</sup> *Contra ep. Parmen.*, 2, 13, 28 (PL 43, 71; CSEL 51, ed. M. Petschenig, 79): "Utrumque (baptismus et ordinatio) sacramentum est et quadam consecratione utrumque homini datur, illud cum baptizatur, istud cum ordinatur, ideoque in catholica, utrumque non licet iterari."

<sup>33</sup> C. H. Turner, in H. B. Swete, *Essays on the Early History of the Church and the Ministry* (London: 1921), p. 160.

<sup>34</sup> *De bono conjugali*, 24, 32 (PL 40, 394; CSEL 41, ed. J. Zycha, 227): "Quemadmodum si fiat ordinatio cleri ad plebem congregandam, etiamsi plebis congregatio non subsequatur manet tamen in illis ordinatis sacramentum ordinationis; et si aliqua culpa quisquam ab officio removeatur, sacramento Domini semel imposito non carebit, quamvis ad iudicium permanente."

<sup>35</sup> *Enar. in Ps. 77*, 19 (PL 36, 824): "... autem sors graece dicitur. . . . Nam et Cleros et Clericos hinc appellatos puto, qui sunt in ecclesiastici ministerii gradibus ordinati, quia Matthias sorte electus est, quem primum per Apostolos legimus ordinatum."

<sup>36</sup> *Sermo* 355, 4, 6 (PL 39, 1573).

members of the body of Christ by baptism and conversion. They have the pastoral care of souls. They administer in the Church. In other words, they teach and preach, guide and govern.

By the very fact that the clerics are called and selected from the people, it is evident that the members of this state, have been raised to some higher dignity and to some superior station than that from which they originally emerged. The saintly Bishop describes under various terms and images the superiority and authority of the clerical state over the laity. Thus he characterizes antithetically the relation of both classes, at least as far as the bishops are concerned on the side of the clergy, as *praepositi et plebes, pastores et greges*.<sup>37</sup> Thus, while a member of the laity is said to be "excommunicated" from the unity of the Church for the commission of certain sins, members of the clerical state are said to be "degraded" from their station for misdemeanor.<sup>38</sup>

Yet in the clerical state not all are entrusted with the same or with equal office, nor are all of equal station or dignity. The clergy stands in different grades, so that promotion from one grade to another follows in its due time and order. Each grade of the clerical state has its own ecclesiastical office and ministry.<sup>39</sup> Their several distinctions and dignities deserve from them separate and graded places of honor in the Church, so that the very seats and places which they occupy in the Church should be distinctive of their office. The Bishop expresses a beautiful thought saying that when the first place is granted to a superior he gains no good from this but he who neglects to recognize the *praepositus* in this way cannot avoid doing wrong.<sup>40</sup>

The term *praepositus* in St. Augustine's works means the per-

<sup>37</sup> *De sancta virgin.*, 48, 48 (PL 40, 425; CSEL 41, ed. J. Zycha, 294).

<sup>38</sup> *Ench.*, 80 (PL 40, 271).

<sup>39</sup> *Ep.* 142, 4 (PL 33, 584; CSEL 44, ed. A. Goldbacher, III, 249): "Agite fideliter, et hilariter ecclesiastica officia quae ad vos pertinent, pro gradibus vestris, et ministerium vestrum sinceriter adimplere propter illum Deum, sub quo conservi sumus, et cui rationem de nostris actibus reddituros nos esse cogitamus."

<sup>40</sup> *Sermo* 91, 5, 5 (PL 38, 569): "Oportet enim ut servo Dei habenti aliquem honorem in Ecclesia deferatur primus locus: quia si deferatur, malum est illi qui non defert: non tamen bonum est illi cui defertur. Oportet itaque ut in congregatione Christianorum praepositi plebis eminentius sedeant, ut ipsa sede distinguatur, et eorum officium satis appareat."

son who is at the head of the Christian community fulfilling the functions of administering the sacraments and preaching the word of God.<sup>41</sup> It designates the bishop as well as the other members of the clerical state. A presbyter, a deacon, and even one ordained in the lower orders can be said to be a *praepositus*.<sup>42</sup> In fact the term is also extended to embrace superiors who rule communities of monks;<sup>43</sup> in the case of nuns the corresponding *praeposita* occurs.<sup>44</sup>

It is worth observing that Augustine makes an original division of the just in the Church by classifying them into three categories:<sup>45</sup> 1) into shepherds or clerics who supervise the fold of the Church; 2) into the continent or virgins who live an unmarried life in the world; 3) into the married faithful who live in the world but for God. Noe, Daniel, and Job are Old Testamental types of these categories of just Christians (Ezechiel 14:14). Noe who steered the ark in the deluge to safety, represents those who govern the Church.<sup>46</sup> Daniel, who chose to serve God in celibacy, typifies the unmarried chaste in the Church who consecrate themselves in virginity to God.<sup>47</sup> Job, who was in marital state, persevered in trusting God amid misfortune and tribulation;<sup>48</sup> he is the figure of the married in the world who remain faithful to God amid their trials and temptations.

<sup>41</sup> G. Folliet, "Les trois catégories de Chrétiens," *L'année théologique Augustinienne*, XIV (1954), 94.

<sup>42</sup> *In Io. Ev. tr.* 41, 9 (PL 35, 1697): "Ideo et Paulus quando elegit ordinandos vel presbyteros vel diaconos, et quicumque ordinandus est ad praeposituram Ecclesiae. . ."

<sup>43</sup> *Regula* 7, 11 (PL 1382, 1384); *De opere monachorum*, 16, 19 (CSEL 41, 564).

<sup>44</sup> *Ep.* 211, 11 (PL 33, 962; CSEL 57, 365).

<sup>45</sup> G. Folliet, "Les trois catégories de Chrétiens," *L'année théologique Augustinienne*, XIV (1954), 77-93; G. Folliet, "Les trois catégories de Chrétiens," *Augustinus Magister* (Paris: 1954), II, 631-44.

<sup>46</sup> *De Urbis excidio*, 1, 1 (PL 40, 717): "Sed in Noe significantur boni praepositi qui regant et gubernant Ecclesiam, quomodo Noe in diluvio gubernavit arcam." *Quaest. Evang.*, II, 44 (PL 35, 1357); *Enar. in Ps.* 132, 5 (PL 37, 1731).

<sup>47</sup> *Enar. in Ps.* 132, 5 (PL 37, 1731-32); *De Urbis excidio* 1, 1 (PL 40, 717): "In Daniele significantur omnes sancti continentes." *De pecc. mer. et remis.*, II, 10, 12 (PL 44, 159; CSEL 60, 83): "In Daniele justos continentes."

<sup>48</sup> *De Urbis excidio*, 1, 1 (PL 40, 717): "In Job omnes conjugati juste et bene viventes." *De pecc. mer. et remis.*, II, 10, 12 (PL 44, 159; CSEL 60, 83); *Quaest. Evang.*, II, 44 (PL 35, 1357); *Enar. in Ps.* 132, 5 (PL 37, 1732).



In the works of St. Augustine we find references, when speaking of the clerical state, to a superior and inferior order.<sup>49</sup> To the former belong bishops, presbyters, and deacons. The other grades constitute the inferior order. Only with regard to acolytes is there uncertainty whether they formed a grade properly speaking in the clerical state or not, although the term itself occurs in the writings of the Bishop.<sup>50</sup>

#### CLERICS OF THE LESSER ORDER

These are mentioned rather than described at any length, although at times some notice is furnished about their duties. The subdiaconate is named; for its attainment ordination is necessary.<sup>51</sup> The lector's office is to read publicly the canonical Scriptures.<sup>52</sup> In several passages we have mention of one acolyte Albinus who has the charge of forwarding letters.<sup>53</sup> In a sermon *De Pastoribus in Ezechiel* we find a description of the duties of an ostiary, who stood or sat at the entrance to the Church, allowing only the rightful ones to go in.<sup>54</sup>

We see, therefore, that the information gathered from casual allusions and brief descriptions of these orders by St. Augustine is in the spirit of much earlier patristic traditions.<sup>55</sup> These minor orders, as found in St. Augustine are in complete harmony with the catalogue of all orders which Pope Cornelius I (251-53) mentions in a letter written to Fabius, Bishop of Antioch, about the schismatic Novatian and the number of Roman clergy, some

<sup>49</sup> *Ep.* 43, 3 7 (PL 33, 163; CSEL 34, ed. A. Goldbacher, II, 90): "Neque enim de presbyteris aut diaconis aut inferioris ordinis clericis, sed de collegis [episcopis] agebatur."

<sup>50</sup> *Ep.* 194, 1 (PL 33, 874; CSEL 57, ed. A. Goldbacher, IV, 176); *Ep.* 192, 1 (PL 33, 868; CSEL 57, ed. A. Goldbacher, IV, 166); *Ep.* 193, 1 (PL 33, 870; CSEL 57, ed. A. Goldbacher, IV, 168).

<sup>51</sup> *Ep.* 63, 1 (PL 33, 231; CSEL 34, ed. A. Goldbacher, II, 226).

<sup>52</sup> *Ep.* 64, 3 (PL 33, 234; CSEL 34, ed. A. Goldbacher, II, 231).

<sup>53</sup> *Ep.* 191, 1 (PL 33, 861; CSEL 57, ed. A. Goldbacher, IV, 163); *Ep.* 193, 1 (PL 33, 870; CSEL 57, ed. A. Goldbacher, IV, 168).

<sup>54</sup> *Sermo* 46, 13, 31 (PL 38, 288): "Ovis Dei gregem suum quaerit: puta ovem de Oriente venisse in Africam, quaerit gregem suum, incurrit in te, in basilicam tuam intrare vult; commoveris ignota facie, vel tu vel minister tuus, stans vel sedens ad ostium, interrogat ovem quaerentem gregem suum, imo gregem Dei: cum grege suo intrare vult, ubi eum esse putat: Quaeris Paganus es, an Christianus? . . ."

<sup>55</sup> Cf. A. Tymczak, *Quaestiones disputatae de Ordine* (Premislae: 1936), pp. 26 ff.

150 years before St. Augustine's time. The Bishop of Rome states that Novatian should have known that there can be only one bishop; besides there were forty-six presbyters, seven deacons, seven subdeacons, forty-two acolytes, and fifty-two exorcists, lectors, and ostiaries.<sup>56</sup>

## CLERICS OF THE SUPERIOR ORDER

## Subdeacons

In enumerating the clerical orders of the higher rank Augustine either descends from the highest to the lower ones: bishops, presbyters, and deacons, or inversely he "gradually ascends" from the lowest to the higher ones.<sup>57</sup> However, he is not constant in associating the subdeacons with clerics of the superior order. Sometimes his enumeration terminates with the deacons,<sup>58</sup> sometimes it descends one grade lower to the subdeacons.<sup>59</sup> Outside of mentioning those subdeacons who lived a monastic life<sup>60</sup> with him and whose poverty he vindicated in one of his sermons,<sup>61</sup> Augustine has little to say about this order.

## Deacons

Deacons are presented as "attached" to bishops,<sup>62</sup> exercising the office of catechizing,<sup>63</sup> and dispensing the eucharistic food.<sup>64</sup> The diaconate is attained by ordination.<sup>65</sup>

<sup>56</sup> Eusebius, H. E. VI, 43 (PG 20, 617; GCS II, 2 ed. [Schwartz] p. 618).

<sup>57</sup> *Sermo* 356, 9 (PL 39, 1578): "gradatim ascendere."

<sup>58</sup> *De mor. Ecc.*, I, 32, 69 (PL 32, 1339): "Quam multos episcopos optimos viros, sanctissimosque cognovi, quam multos presbyteros, quam multos diaconos. . . ."

<sup>59</sup> *Sermo* 356, 3 and 13 (PL 39, 1575 and 1580): "presbyteri, diaconi, subdiaconi."

<sup>60</sup> Cf. F. M. Mellet, *L'itinéraire et l'idéal monastique de saint Augustin* (Paris: 1934); A. Zumkeller, *Das Mönchtum des hl. Augustinus* (Würzburg: 1950), pp. 104 ff.; *id.*, "Augustinus und das Mönchtum," *L'année théologique Augustinienne*, XIV (1954), 97-112.

<sup>61</sup> *Sermo* 256, 8 (PL 39, 1577).

<sup>62</sup> *Ep.* 151, 11 (PL 33, 651; CSEL 44, ed. A. Goldbacher, III, 390): "Sanctus diaconus . . . fuerat episcopo quem pro illis miseramus ad-junctus. . . ."

<sup>63</sup> *De cat. rud.*, I, 1 (PL 40, 309).

<sup>64</sup> *Sermo* 304, 1, 1 (PL 38, 1395): "Beati Laurentii triumphalem diem, hodiernum nobis Ecclesia Romana commendat. . . . In ipsa enim Ecclesia, sicut soletis audire, diaconi gerebat officium. Ibi sacrum Christi sanguinem ministravit: ibi pro Christi nomine suum sanguinem fudit."

<sup>65</sup> *Sermo* 356, 4 (PL 39, 1576).

## Presbyters

The presbyterate, which is likewise conferred by specific ordination,<sup>66</sup> ranks immediately below the episcopal office. St. Augustine speaking of himself observes that he was made presbyter, and that through this grade he arrived at the episcopacy.<sup>67</sup> With the latter it has even some offices in common, for the presbyter also "ministers the sacrament and the word of God to the people."<sup>68</sup> If precedence (*praepositura*) is attributed to clerics of the inferior order, a fortiori must it be the part of those who are but one degree below the bishop.<sup>69</sup> The presbyter is also endowed with some power of excommunication over those who are inferior to him,<sup>70</sup> although he himself is entirely dependent upon his bishop even to the degree of suspension from his office.<sup>71</sup>

## Bishops

## 1) Metropolitan Bishops

We find mention of the Metropolitan of Caesarea, Deuterius, to whom from the very order of the words and from the official titular employed, a specially honorable place is assigned.<sup>72</sup>

## 2) Primate Bishops

More frequent are the references to primates, the first among bishops because they occupied the first seat of their respective provinces. The bishop of the diocese of Hippo, which belongs

<sup>66</sup> *Ep.* 21, 3 (PL 33, 88; CSEL 33, ed. A. Goldbacher, I, 51).

<sup>67</sup> *Sermo* 355, 1, 2 (PL 39, 1569): "Presbyter factus sum, et per hunc gradum perveni ad episcopatum."

<sup>68</sup> *Ep.* 21, 3 (PL 33, 89; CSEL 33, ed. A. Goldbacher, I, 51).

<sup>69</sup> *De fide et op.*, 17, 32 (PL 40, 219; CSEL 41, ed. J. Zycha, 77): "Episcopi, vel inferioris ordinis Ecclesiarum praepositi. . . ."

<sup>70</sup> *Ep.* 108, 19 (PL 33, 417; CSEL 34, ed. A. Goldbacher, II, 632-33): "Jam talem diaconum nostrum, et ipsum a suo presbytero excommunicatum, decessor tuus rebaptizavit et vestrum diaconum fecit." "Propter reprobos et perversos mores excommunicatus a presbytero suo. . . ."

<sup>71</sup> *Ep.* 77, 2 (PL 33, 266; CSEL 34, II, 330).

<sup>72</sup> *De gestis cum Emerito*, 1 (PL 43, 697; CSEL 53, ed. M. Petschenig, 181): "Gloriosissimis imperatoribus, Honorio duodecimo et Theodosio octavo consultibus duodecimo calendas octobris, Caesareae in ecclesia Majori, cum Deuterius episcopus metropolitanus Caesareensis una cum Aypio Thagastensi, Augustino Hipponensi, . . . et caeteris episcopis. . . ."

to the province of Numidia, speaks of his primate, whom he has had come to Hippo to confer the episcopal order upon a presbyter destined to rule the neighboring diocese of Fussala.<sup>73</sup>

### 3) Bishops

In general bishops are successors to the apostles. Each bishop is constituted by God Himself<sup>74</sup> the governor (*praepositus* or *rector*) of his particular Church.<sup>75</sup> He is created by a special ordination, a constituent of which is the imposition of the hands. The bishop ordinarily<sup>76</sup> is selected from among the presbyters, hence in honor and authority the episcopal order ranks higher than that of the presbyterate. "The episcopate is superior to the presbyterate,"<sup>77</sup> writes the Bishop of Hippo to the presbyter St. Jerome. A denial of this superiority is enumerated among the heretical opinions<sup>78</sup> of Arius "who, since he was a presbyter, was reported to have been doleful, because he could not be ordained bishop."<sup>79</sup>

Here again Reuter thinks to find ground on which he can alienate St. Augustine from the present Church's stand with regard to the authority and dignity of the episcopacy. Quoting St. Augustine he admits the episcopal rank to be in some sense an *altior locus* but even so he considers these words to be rather a singular passage, not consistent, as he thinks, with many other assertions. For he goes on to say: "The subjection to these

<sup>73</sup> *Ep.* 209, 3 (PL 33, 953; CSEL 57, ed. A. Goldbacher, IV, 348): ". . . et habebam de quo cogitabam paratum presbyterum, propter quem ordinandum, sanctum senem qui tunc primatum Numidiaie gerebat de longinquo ut veniret rogans litteris impetravi."

<sup>74</sup> St. Augustine follows and quotes the sentence of St. Cyprian referring to the bishop's authorization by God. *De bap. contra Donat.*, 2, 2, 3 (PL 43, 128; CSEL 51, ed. M. Petschenig, 177).

<sup>75</sup> Such a particular Church is called by St. Augustine a *paroecia* from which Latin term our word parish originates; thus he calls his own church *paroecia Hipponensis*, *Ep.* 209, 2 (PL 33, 953; CSEL 57, ed. A. Goldbacher, IV, 348).

<sup>76</sup> St. Augustine seems to indicate that also clerics of the lower orders were raised to the episcopal dignity. Cf. *Ep.* 209, 3 (PL 33, 954; CSEL 57, ed. A. Goldbacher, IV, 348).

<sup>77</sup> *Ep.* 82, 3, 33 (PL 33, 290; CSEL 34, ed. A. Goldbacher, II, 385).

<sup>78</sup> *Lib. de Haer. ad Quodvultdeum*, 53 (PL 42, 40): "Dicebat [Aerius] etiam presbyterum ab episcopo nulla differentia debere discerni."

<sup>79</sup> *Ibid.*



[bishops] seems . . . hardly ever to be the principal duty of the catholic Christian.”<sup>80</sup>

It is undeniable that from the *Letters* and *Sermons* of the holy Doctor assertions may be culled which at times seem to place the bishop on the same footing with the rest of the faithful. Yet, in such instances St. Augustine himself very often furnishes the reason which will sufficiently account for his statement not tallying with those in which he ascribes special and superior rights to bishops. He maintains that the bishop is the pastor of his flock. Yet when Christ Himself, the Supreme Pastor of the whole Christian flock and of each separate member, comes into consideration, every faithful member including the bishop can truthfully be enumerated among His sheep.<sup>81</sup> St. Augustine, the Bishop, makes himself equal, in a way, with the members of his diocese, be they clergy or laity, for in the sight of the God who is to judge them they are all equally sinners. Nay, the Bishop considers himself to be at a disadvantage compared to the faithful over whom he presides for his responsibility is greater than theirs.<sup>82</sup> Augustine never addresses his audience as “my people,” but as “the people of God,” “the flock of Christ,” “the celestial people of Jerusalem,” “members of Christ.” The bishop, united with the faithful, is a *conservus* and a *condiscipulus* in relation to Christ, the *Dominus* and *Magister*.<sup>83</sup>

Are we to conclude, with Reuter, from such professions occurring in exhortative sermons to the people, that the episcopal

<sup>80</sup> H. Reuter, *Augustinische Studien*, p. 240: “Der Episcopat ist freilich ein ‘altior locus,’ aber nicht ein ‘fastigium superbientis’ (De Gestis cum Emerito). Die Unterwerfung unter denselben erscheint, abgesehen von der oben beigebrachten Stelle, kaum jemals als die prinzipale Pflicht des katholischen Christen (wohl aber an manchen Stellen ein ganz anders, wie demnächst nachgewiesen werden soll).”

<sup>81</sup> *Enar. in Ps.* 126, 3 (PL 37, 1669): “Tamquam vobis pastores sumus, sed sub illo Pastore vobiscum oves sumus.”

<sup>82</sup> *Sermo* 144, 1 (PL 38, 796): “Quamquam et nos qui vobis videmur loqui de superiore loco, cum timore sub pedibus vestris sumus; quoniam novimus quam periculose ratio de ista quasi sublimi sede reddatur.” Cf. also *Sermo* 46, 1 (PL 38, 271).

<sup>83</sup> Cf. M. Jourjon, “L’évêque comme membre du peuple de Dieu selon saint Augustin,” *Bulletin des Facultés de Lyon*, LXXIII (1951), 21-40; A. Mandouze, “Notes sur l’organisation de la vie chrétienne à l’époque de saint Augustin,” *L’année théol. August.*, XIII (1953), 202-4.

state has no jurisdictional precedence over the laity, when he so explicitly even here attests that he speaks to them *de superiore loco*?

A virtue that stands out conspicuously in St. Augustine's writings is humility. He is ever mindful of it, and never tires of inculcating it. He considers humility to be the very foundation upon which the edifice of Christian perfection is to be built. He sees humility strikingly exemplified in the life of Christ; Augustine's own life is a good example of humility. If we seek heroic virtues in saints, then no doubt humility was the heroic virtue of St. Augustine who by nature was proud and ambitious.<sup>84</sup> It is on account of the humility of an ascetical and zealous Bishop that the rights and privileges of his own high station are, to a great extent, overlooked, but the duties and burdens fully recognized.

Such professions, therefore, in which the bishop addressing the faithful seems to be forgetful of his exalted rank, are far from a denial of the episcopal position, when considered in their two-fold aspect and relation, namely the bishop in reference to his flock, and the bishop before his God. Inasmuch as the bishop is their shepherd he is their superior; inasmuch as he is a Christian—a member of Christ—he belongs together with them to the sheep of which Christ is the shepherd.<sup>85</sup> For, according to St. Augustine, the bishop is invested with authority whereby he presides over, governs, and teaches the faithful, who on the other hand are bound to their bishops by obedience. It is this obedience which the Bishop of Hippo in his *Sermons* and *Letters* gently but earnestly inculcates upon his subjects.<sup>86</sup> "To us belongs the care,

<sup>84</sup> F. Van der Meer, *Augustinus der Seelsorger* (Köln: 1951), pp. 19 f.

<sup>85</sup> *Sermo* 349, 1 (PL 38, 1483): "Vobis enim sum episcopus, vobiscum sum christianus." *Sermo* 47, 2 (PL 38, 296): "Quod ergo praepositi sumus, inter pastores deputamur, si boni sumus: quod autem christiani sumus, et nos vobiscum oves sumus." Cf. also *Sermo* 46, 1 (PL 38, 271).

<sup>86</sup> *Sermo* 34, 2 (PL 38, 1484): "Sicut enim nobis cum grandi timore ac solitudine cogitandum est, qualiter pontificatus officium sine reprehensione possimus implere: ita et a vobis observandum est, ut ad omnia quae vobis fuerint imperata, humilem studeatis habere oboedientiam." *Ep.* 134, 3 (PL 33, 511; CSEL 44, 86), ad Proconsulem: "Rectorem te quidem praecelsae potestatis videmus, sed etiam filium christianae pietatis agnoscimus. Subdatur sublimitas tua, subdatur fides tua; causam tecum tracto communem, sed tu in ea potes quod ego non possum: confer nobiscum consilium, et porrige

to you obedience; to us pastoral vigilance, to you the humility of the flock.”<sup>87</sup> This obedience he is able to command, when necessity demands, invoking his episcopal authority.<sup>88</sup>

St. Augustine also furnishes us with a series of statements from which information may be gathered as to the extent of the powers and duties of a bishop.<sup>89</sup> Of these ministries some pertain to bishops exclusively, others only in a higher degree or in a more authoritative measure, since members of the other orders below the episcopal rank participate in them. As already remarked, bishops are at the head of each Church, wherefore theirs is the task of ruling it. They are the *praepositi*, because they preside over the Church: <sup>90</sup> they are the *rectores* who are likened to Noe steering his ark because they, as it were, govern the course of the Church; <sup>91</sup> they are the *custodes* and the *pastores*, who guide and watch over the faithful.<sup>92</sup> Consequently they have an *episcopalis auctoritas* <sup>93</sup> to which belongs the *praepositura*, *gubernatio*, *praesse*, *regere*, *superintendere* in the Church. All these designations in one grammatical form or another are the property of St. Augustine. Bishops are doctors <sup>94</sup> who not only teach the people, but also defend the traditional deposit of doctrine against those who contradict it and try to ensnare the faithful.<sup>95</sup> They are the dispensers of the mysteries of God,<sup>96</sup> the ministers of the sacraments.<sup>97</sup> In the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass they make offerings for the people,<sup>98</sup> and advocate the people’s cause and wants

auxilium.” *Ep.* 134, 4 (PL 33, 512): “nisi de tua christiana oboedientia praesumamus.”

<sup>87</sup> *Sermo* 144, 1 (PL 38, 796).

<sup>88</sup> *Ep.* 133, 3 (PL 33, 510; CSEL 44, ed. A. Goldbacher, III, 83).

<sup>89</sup> Cf. J. Czuj, “Idea biskupstwa u św. Augustyna,” *Przeg. Teol.*, II (1921), 237-45.

<sup>90</sup> *De civ. Dei.*, XX, 9, 2 (PL 41, 673; ed. Dombart-Kalb, II, 430): “. . . sedes praepositorum et ipsi praepositi intelligendi sunt, per quos nunc Ecclesia gubernatur.” *Sermo* 47, 2 (PL 38, 296); *Sermo* 46, 1 (PL 38, 271).

<sup>91</sup> *Enar.* in Ps. 132, 5 (PL 37, 1731); *Sermo de Urbis excidio*, 1, 1 (PL 40, 717).

<sup>92</sup> *Enar.* in Ps. 126, 3 (PL 37, 1669).

<sup>93</sup> *Ep.* 186, 2 (PL 33, 816; CSEL 57, ed. A. Goldbacher, IV, 47).

<sup>94</sup> *Enar.* in Ps. 126, 3 (PL 37, 1669).

<sup>95</sup> *Sermo* 94 (PL 38, 580).

<sup>96</sup> *Ep.* 69, 1 (PL 33, 239; CSEL 34, ed. A. Goldbacher, II, 244).

<sup>97</sup> *Ep.* 228, 2 (PL 33, 1014; CSEL 57, ed. A. Goldbacher, IV, 45).

<sup>98</sup> *Sermo* 227, 1 (PL 38, 1100).

in their prayers.<sup>99</sup> Bishops possess the rights of administering church goods,<sup>100</sup> and of exercising a special episcopal judgment.<sup>101</sup>

### THE ROMAN BISHOPS

St. Augustine has long become the common and universal boast of Christianity, though it be a divided Christianity. The Catholic Church sees in him one of the foremost witnesses of her traditional teaching. She has given him the title *Doctor gratiae*; upon him, down the course of ages, she has ever lavished her praises.<sup>102</sup> On the altar in the apsis of St. Peter's Basilica in Rome, he is represented in company with three other great Doctors of the early Church, holding uplifted the *cathedra Petri* to symbolize the support accorded by him, in doctrine and practice, to the Roman See. Pope Pius XI, commemorating the 1500th anniversary of the death of St. Augustine by an Encyclical Letter to the whole Catholic Church, emphatically refers to him, as *ours*.<sup>103</sup>

The early Protestant reformers, too, have turned to him as their forerunner, alleging their own doctrine to be his. Luther as a young professor of Sacred Scripture asserted that his teaching was in harmony with that of St. Augustine; throughout his life his intellectual eye was focused upon the works of the Bishop of Hippo.<sup>104</sup> Calvin, like Pope Pius XI, states that Augustine is "wholly ours" and maintains that he (Calvin) could compose his creed from the Saint's works.<sup>105</sup> St. Augustine is commonly

<sup>99</sup> *In Ep. Io. tr.* 1, 8 (PL 35, 1984).

<sup>100</sup> *Ep.* 125, 2 (PL 33, 474; CSEL 44, ed. A. Goldbacher, III, 4).

<sup>101</sup> *Ep.* 105, 8 (PL 33, 339; CSEL 34, II, 600); *Ep.* 88, 3 (PL 33, 303); *Ep.* 89, 3 (PL 33, 310; CSEL 34, II, 420).

<sup>102</sup> Pius XI, Enc. "Ad Salutem humani generis," *Acta Apostolicae Sedis*, XX (1930), 202: "Laudari Augustinum, vel a Romanis Pontificibus, desitum numquam est in Ecclesia." Cf. Roślan, Papieże o Św. Augustynie, *Przegląd Powszechny*, CLXXXIV (1929), 38 ff.

<sup>103</sup> Pius XI, Enc. "Ad salutem humani generis," *Acta Apostolicae Sedis*, XX (1930), 201 ff.; cf. E. Krebs, *Sankt Augustin* (Köln: 1930), p. 3.

<sup>104</sup> Luther stated: "Theologia nostra et S. Augustini prospere procedunt et regnant." *Briefwechsel* (bearbeitet und mit Erläuterungen versehen von L. Enders, 11 Bde. [Frankfurt a. M.: 1884-97]) I, n. 41; cf. *ibid.*, I, n. 39. Cf. I. Paquier, "Luther et l'Augustinisme," *Revue de Philosophie*, XXX (1923), 197-208; F. Held, "Augustins Enarrationes in Psalmos als exegetische Vorlage für Luthers erste Psalmlesung," *Theol. Stud. u. Kritik*, CII (1930), 12 f.

<sup>105</sup> Calvin states: "Augustinus ipse adeo totus noster est, ut, si mihi confessio scribenda sit, ex ejus scriptis contextam proferre abunde mihi



praised by all the leaders and writers of the Reformation, and likewise all commonly profess their adherence to his doctrine. Implicitly contained in the attitude of these men is the fact that the Bishop of Africa did not acknowledge any prerogatives of power and authority to the Bishops of Rome, otherwise it would be difficult to acquiesce to their procedure.

Anglican views on papal authority are far apart from those of the Roman Catholics. Roman Catholics claim a primacy of jurisdiction for the Roman Bishop over the universal Church, and that by divine law;<sup>106</sup> the Anglican Article 37 does not recognize such jurisdiction. The Anglicans realize that the Church ought not to be divided, but even divided, it continues to be the true Church of Christ. Roman Catholics maintain that it is impossible for the true Church of Christ to be a divided Church, and assume that their communion is the whole and sole true Church. Whoever, therefore, is in communion with the Church of Rome, is in communion with the one and sole Catholic Church.<sup>107</sup> "The divisibility of the Church, says Chapman, is the cardinal doctrine of Anglicanism and its most fundamental heresy."<sup>108</sup>

The most important books in the Anglican controversy on the Roman claims have been written in the last fifty years or more.<sup>109</sup>

sufficiat." *Corpus Reformatorum* (Opera, quae supersunt omnia. Ediderunt: G. Braun, E. Cumez, E. Reuss; *Corpus Reformatorum*, XXIX-LXXXVII [Brunsvigiae: 1863-1900]), LXXXVI, 266. So also Melancthon, *Corpus Reformatorum* (Opera, quae supersunt omnia. Ed. C. Bretschneider Bendsel, *Corpus Reformatorum*, I-XXVIII [Halis Saxorum: 1834-1860]), XXI, 748; XXVIII, 388.

<sup>106</sup> Vatican Council; sess. IV, Constitutio dogmatica I de Ecclesia Christi c. 1 and 2, canon: ". . . esse ex ipsius Christi Domini institutione seu jure divino, ut beatus Petrus in primatu super universam Ecclesiam habeat perpetuos successores. . . ." *Col. Lac.* VII, 482 f., *ASS*, VI (1870), 40 f.; "Pastor Aeternus," 3, cf. C. Butler, *The Vatican Council* (London: 1936), II, 284.

<sup>107</sup> Clement VI (1342-52) from his Letter "Super quibusdam" to the Catholics of Armenia; C. Baronius, *Annales Ecclesiastici* (Barri-Ducis: 1864), ad 1351, n. 3 and 15 (XXV, 503a and 508a).

<sup>108</sup> J. Chapman, *Bishop Gore and the Catholic Claims* (London: 1905), p. 20.

<sup>109</sup> C. Gore, *Roman Catholic Claims* (London: 1888; 11th ed. 1921); J. Chapman, *Bishop Gore and the Catholic Claims* (London: 1905) a reply to the 9th ed. of Bishop Gore's work; L. Rivington, *The Primitive Church and the See of Peter* (London: 1894); F. W. Puller, *Primitive Saints and*

St. Augustine's name which has been held in high esteem up until this time could not be omitted in these disputes. Dom Chapman sums up some of the more important opinions, when he writes: "St. Augustine is quoted, as a Protestant in the Thirty-nine articles. 'The advocates of the Papal Infallibility are obliged to give up St. Augustine,' said reckless Janus. 'England,' wrote Dr. Pusey, 'is not at this moment more independent of any authority of the Bishop of Rome than Africa was in the days of St. Augustine.' Father Puller has followed of late years by warning 'honorable men' to 'refrain from pretending that the Church of North Africa, in the time of St. Augustine, believed in the principles laid down by the Vatican Council'; it would be 'an impertinence and an act of folly.' " <sup>110</sup>

These protests against linking St. Augustine and the Africa of his time with the authority of the Roman Bishops seem to have had no effect. Soon St. Augustine's name lapsed into disuse and disfavor in the Anglican Church, assumedly because it was realized that his writings not only do not further the cause of the Anglican Church but are contrary to it. Burnaby, in his refreshing and stimulating work on St. Augustine, frankly admits that the "English theology of the last half-century . . . has been too much disposed to dismiss Augustine, with a regretful admiration for the author of the *Confessions*, as the fatal genius whose example has led the Christian Church into the diverging byways of Papal ecclesiasticism. . . ." <sup>111</sup> Others recognize Augustine's genius and merits, but disregard texts and facts dealing with his relationship to the Roman See; they take for granted that he gave no support to her claims of jurisdiction over the rest of the Churches. Simpson asserts, "Augustine holds that the authority of the Church is decisive" <sup>112</sup> without determining who exercises it and how. Willis, in his study of the Donatist schism, does not

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*the See of Rome* (3rd ed.; London: 1900); E. Denny, *Papalism* (London: 1921); J. Chapman, *Studies on the Early Papacy* (London: 1928); T. G. Jalland, *The Church and the Papacy* (London: 1949).

<sup>110</sup> J. Chapman, *Studies of the Early Papacy* (London: 1928), p. 133.

<sup>111</sup> J. Burnaby, *Amor Dei, A Study of the Religion of St. Augustine* (London: 1947), Preface, p. v.

<sup>112</sup> W. J. Sparrow Simpson, *St. Augustine's Episcopate* (London: 1944), p. 112.

even take this question into consideration but presupposes throughout his book that Augustine did not recognize a jurisdictional primacy of the See of Rome.<sup>113</sup>

Not only religious bodies but also individuals of diverse creeds drink deeply of Augustine, express their admiration of him, are profuse in their eulogies.<sup>114</sup> Yet, surely, these religious bodies and individuals cannot all rightfully claim him to be one with them in faith without a contradiction. As St. Augustine disowned the Donatists, branding them as schismatics, a *pars*, so he disavows by the same token any separatism in the Church. With all the power and genius at his command he was engaged in defending the unity of the *Catholica* for more years of his pastoral ministry than any other doctrine. Does the unity of the Church, according to St. Augustine, consist in and result from unity of doctrine and communion, or does it also involve an authority, an external unifying principle,—let us say—a head with jurisdiction over the universal Church?

Many historians and students of St. Augustine's religion—as for instance Langen,<sup>115</sup> Robertson,<sup>116</sup> Sheldon,<sup>117</sup> Caspar,<sup>118</sup> Kidd,<sup>119</sup> Pickman,<sup>120</sup> Willis,<sup>121</sup> are of the opinion that St. Augus-

<sup>113</sup> G. G. Willis, *Saint Augustine and the Donatist Controversy* (London: 1950), see, for instance, pp. 99, 120, 178.

<sup>114</sup> E.g., Arnauld, Bossuet, Fénelon, Leibnitz, E. Kant, F. Schlegel, A. Möhler, F. Villemain, J. Mommsen, A. Stöckl, E. Renan, F. and P. Böhringer, H. Reuter, Loofs, O. Pfeiderer, R. Eucken, W. Thimme, A. Harnack, etc. Cf. J. Czuj, "Św. Augustyn w opinii potomnych," in S. Bross, *Św. Augustyn* (Poznań: 1930), 27 ff.

<sup>115</sup> J. Langen, *Geschichte der römischen Kirche bis zum Pontifikate Leos, I* (Bonn: 1881), pp. 860 ff.; *id.*, "Augustin," *Herzog's Realencyklopädie für protestantische Theologie*, I, 624 (1st ed.).

<sup>116</sup> *Regnum Dei* (London: 1901), p. 291: "To give effect to the ideas of the *De civitate Dei*,—if only to put them to the test of practical application,—an episcopal federation, working together only by conciliar action, was wholly powerless; a papacy was needed, and Augustine knew of none."

<sup>117</sup> *History of Christian Doctrine* (New York: 1901), p. 270, referring to St. Augustine and his period asserts: "The episcopacy was deemed . . . a principal bond of church unity. . . . The Roman Bishop held simply the rank of a leading patriarch. While accorded a certain primacy in honor, he was not accorded a constitutional supremacy over the whole Church."

<sup>118</sup> *Geschichte des Papsttums* (Tübingen: 1930), I, 339 ff.

<sup>119</sup> *The Roman Primacy to 461* (London: 1936); so, for instance, on pp. 84, 87, 154 are passages referring to St. Augustine's Church without any supremacy of the Roman Bishops.

<sup>120</sup> *The Mind of Latin Christendom* (New York: 1937), I, 254; 562 ff.

tine's notion of the Church corresponded to what we would call episcopalian or metropolitan structure, that is to say that the power of ruling the Church was invested in all bishops or at least metropolitan bishops, each one of whom exercised his power without the intervention of others, or responsibility to others. This conception, no doubt, excludes the power of jurisdiction of any one bishop over the others. Thereby the aforementioned authors exclude the monarchic form of government in the constitution of the Church, and since only Roman bishops can come into consideration here, it is precisely to them that they deny a primacy of jurisdiction in interpreting the works and times of St. Augustine. It is, therefore, the intention to give here but a brief presentation of St. Augustine's doctrine on the Roman See.<sup>122</sup>

We must begin with the apostles. It is evident that the apostles as the coadjutors of Christ in the work of the foundation and expansion of the Church occupy an enviable place in the heart and mind of the Bishop. Among the apostles, however, following the narrations of Holy Scripture, particular attention is allotted to St. Peter.<sup>123</sup> He is termed in divers phrases the "first"

<sup>121</sup> *Saint Augustine and the Donatist Controversy* (London: 1950), p. 104: "Rome and Carthage, Alexandria and Constantinople, are but four cases of metropolitical sees acquiring an importance quite their own and establishing a *de facto* leadership in ecclesiastical politics, especially if their occupants are men of outstanding ability."

<sup>122</sup> The statements made by the Fathers on the primacy of St. Peter have been collected in the following works: Th. Raynaud, *Corona aurea supra mythram Rom. Pontif.: Opera* (Lugd.: 1665), X, 3 ff.; Fr. Thomas Mamachi, *Originum et antiquitatum christianarum, libri 20* (Romae: 1775), I, 130 ff., 409 ff.; Hieremias a Benettis, *Privilegiorum in persona S. Petri Rom. Pontifici a Christo Domino collatorum vindiciae* (Romae: 1756), II, 176 ff., 252 ff.; C. Schrader, *De unitate Romana commentarius*, I (Friburgi: 1862), 4 ff., II (Vindebonae: 1866), 77 ff.; Charles F. B. Alnatt, *Cathedra Petri: The Titles and Prerogatives of S. Peter and of His See and Successors as Described by the Early Fathers, Ecclesiastical Writers and Councils of the Church* (2 ed., London: 1879); C. Gore, *Roman Catholic Claims* (11th ed.; London: 1921); J. Chapman, *Bishop Gore and the Catholic Claims* (London: 1905); Soothwell-Loomis, *The See of Peter* (New York: 1927); E. Giles, *Documents Illustrating Papal Authority* (London: 1952).

<sup>123</sup> E. M. Pickman, *The Mind of Latin Christendom* (New York: 1937), pp. 562-63, strongly insinuates, although he does not directly say so, that it was not St. Peter's privilege to be endowed with the primacy. Among other things he chiefly stresses the fallibility of St. Peter on the circumcision of Gentiles, which the Gospels so readily reveal and St. Augustine with the Church as readily admits. Pickman says: "Is this not a clear warning to Rome that Peter, on whose authority she relies, is, like any of the other



apostle.<sup>124</sup> No one would dare to contradict this, and everyone knows it. Augustine asks: "Who does not know that blessed Peter is the first apostle?"<sup>125</sup> From some of these passages it would appear that he is honored with this title by reason of being the first in the order of calling to the apostleship. Thus in a *Sermo* preached on the Feast of Sts. Peter and Paul, the former is called the first apostle in contrast to the latter who was the last apostle.<sup>126</sup>

This signification, however, can by no means be considered as ordinary, and as interpretative of the many phrases investing St. Peter with a certain primacy other than that of the priority of calling. He is the "first and principal in the order of the apostles."<sup>127</sup> Now if we accept the use of *ordo* in the specific sense in which St. Augustine himself defines it,<sup>128</sup> and which is ever predominant in his mind, we must deduce from St. Peter's state of being first "*in ordine*" a supremacy over his colleagues, the other apostles. St. Augustine sees Peter "holding the chief place in the apostleship,"<sup>129</sup> "in whom the primacy of the Apostles shines";<sup>130</sup> and "on account of the primacy which he held among the disciples"<sup>131</sup> Peter's rank among them is designated as "the chief apostolate."<sup>132</sup>

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disciples of Christ, to serve the Church in all humility for Christ's sake and not for his own? Peter's authority is as nothing compared to that of Christ, and the heirs of his authority, though they be the Romans, are as fallible as he or any other."

<sup>124</sup> *In Io. Ev. tr.* 124, 5 (PL 35, 1975): "primus apostolus"; *Sermo* 295, 4, 4 (PL 38, 1350): "in apostolis primus"; *Ep.* 254, 2 (PL 33, 1086; CSEL 57, 639): "primus apostolorum"; *Sermo* 147, 1, 1 (PL 38, 797): "primus omnium apostolorum"; *Sermo* 76, 1, 1 (PL 38, 479): "in apostolorum ordine primus."

<sup>125</sup> *In Io. Ev. tr.* 56, 1 (PL 35, 1788).

<sup>126</sup> *Sermo* 298, 1, 1 (PL 39, 1365); *Sermo* 299, 2 (PL 39, 1368).

<sup>127</sup> *Sermo* 76, 3, 4 (PL 38, 481): "In ordine apostolorum primus et praecipuus."

<sup>128</sup> *De civ. Dei*, XIX, 13, 1 (PL 41, 640; ed. Dombart-Kalb, II, 377): "Ordo est parium dispariumque rerum sua cuique loca tribuens dispositio."

<sup>129</sup> *Sermo* 76, 3 (PL 38, 480).

<sup>130</sup> *De bapt. contra Donat.*, II, 2 (PL 43, 127; CSEL 51, 174).

<sup>131</sup> *Enar. in Ps.* 108, 1 (PL 37, 1432): "Propter primatum quem in discipulis habuit"—the word *primatus* is equivalent to *principatus*, the meaning of which will be more exactly determined when speaking of it in connection with the "Roman Church."

<sup>132</sup> *De bapt. contra Donat.*, II, 2 (PL 43, 127; CSEL 51, 174).

This elevation may have come to St. Peter from Christ on account of the natural disposition and endowments of the man, yet this is not saying all, or even the principal thing. For it was by a special "grace" that he was elevated to his singular position. "By nature he was one man, by grace one Christian, by more abundant grace one and the same first Apostle."<sup>133</sup> By grace St. Augustine always understands a gift to which one has no title or right. Hence St. Peter's selection to the position which he occupies in the college of the apostles necessitates the intervention of God. Of course, all the apostles were chosen by the grace of God to the apostolate of Christ's Church, but Peter was chosen by a special grace from among the apostles to the chief apostolate.

That St. Peter's prerogative of primacy among the apostles was not restricted only to his person, but redounded also to the *cathedra* which he occupied is apparent from a passage in which St. Peter and St. Cyprian are compared:

I suppose there is no slight to Cyprian in comparing him with the Apostle Peter in respect of his crown of martyrdom; rather I ought to be afraid lest I am slighting Peter. Who can be ignorant that the chief apostolate is to be preferred to any episcopate? But even if the dignity of their sees differs, the glory of martyrdom is one. . . .<sup>134</sup>

It is to be observed that St. Cyprian's name is frequently mentioned in the Donatist controversy. He was appealed to by the Donatist controversialists; he was beloved by St. Augustine; he was dear to the hearts of the African Christians, for he was a bishop and a martyr from that part of the Christian world. To the Donatists, referring to St. Cyprian in support of their views, St. Augustine speaks always of him in terms of admiration and affection but reminds them of Cyprian's charitableness and love of unity in disputed matters. The Bishop of Hippo also discusses the authority of the Bishop of Carthage in his dispute over rebaptism with Stephen, Bishop of Rome. St. Cyprian is proved to be wrong and St. Stephen right. No schism was consummated be-

<sup>133</sup> *In Io. Ev. tr.* 124, 5 (PL 35, 1973): "Natura unus homo erat, gratia unus christianus, abundantiore gratia unus idemque primus apostolus."

<sup>134</sup> *De bapt. contra Donat.*, II, 2, 2 (PL 43, 127; CSEL 51, ed. M. Petschenig, 174). Tr. by E. Giles, *Documents Illustrating Papal Authority* (London: 1952), doc. 172, pp. 190-91.

tween these two men because they realized that the body of Christ cannot be divided. St. Augustine points out further to his separated brethren of Africa that, notwithstanding their national sympathy with St. Cyprian, the latter's episcopal authority cannot be put on the same level with that of St. Stephen any more than it can with that of St. Peter. In mild form and gentle manner he carries out this comparison in the quoted passage.

The trend of argumentation may be paraphrased in the following manner: St. Peter and St. Cyprian may be compared without slight to either with regard to their martyrdom—the glory that belongs to them on this account is one and the same; yet St. Peter's dignity not only as an apostle but also as the chief apostle is superior to the dignity of a bishop. Now just as these persons—St. Peter and St. Cyprian—differ in their station *abundantiore gratia, tam excellenti gratia*, so do also their respective sees differ by the "grace" that is attached to them permanently (*distat cathedrarum gratia*), due to their occupants. This notion of a particular "grace" as being connected with the Roman see recurs in the correspondence of the African bishops—among whom the master mind is St. Augustine—directed to the incumbent of the Roman *cathedra*. They attribute to the Roman Bishop the prerogative to preach and teach *majore gratia*.<sup>135</sup> One must then conclude that the special and peculiar grace inherent in the *cathedra Romana* is due to it, not precisely because it is an apostolic see, but because it is the see of St. Peter.

Further connection of the Apostle St. Peter with the whole Church is evinced from St. Augustine's remarks and comments on the two well-known scriptural passages of which St. Peter is the central figure: St. Matthew 16:18 and St. John 21:17.

#### ST. PETER THE ROCK-FOUNDATION

Let us observe that with regard to the first of these texts—viz., Matt. 16:18: "Thou art Peter and upon this rock I will build my Church"—a controversy is raging for the last sixty years as to

<sup>135</sup> *Ep.* 175, 3 (PL 33, 761; CSEL 44, ed. A. Goldbacher, III, 658): "Majore gratia de Sede apostolica praedicas"; cf. also *Ep.* 176, 1 (PL 33, 763; CSEL 44, ed. A. Goldbacher, III, 664): "Quia te Dominus gratiae suae praecipuo munere in Sede apostolica collocavit. . . ."

whether those words have been uttered by Christ or not.<sup>136</sup> For centuries patristic tradition has never raised any doubt about their genuineness; the Reformers have always accepted them as authentic; Catholics are unanimous in maintaining that they came from the mouth of Christ. But towards the end of the nineteenth century Protestant scripturists and historians voiced their objections against accepting the text as genuine, contending that it does not stem from Jesus but that it was introduced into the Gospel at some early period in order to glorify St. Peter for some selfish purposes. The older critics ruthlessly claim that the text is an interpolation to further the Roman pretensions; more recent scholars suavely charge St. Matthew himself with introducing words of the early Christian community into his gospel text. The reasons which they adduce are principally two: first, that the text in question occurs only in St. Matthew and not in the corresponding passages of St. Mark 8:27-30 and Luke 9:18-21; second, it does not fit in the framework of the Gospels, for the appearance of the word "Church" makes it alien to the kingdom of God preached by Jesus Christ.

Opposed to the acceptance of the genuineness of the Petrine text are H. J. Holzmann, A. Loisy,<sup>137</sup> B. S. Easton,<sup>138</sup> A. Dell, H. Gressman, R. Ritzenstein,<sup>139</sup> A. Harnack<sup>140</sup> and K. G. Goetz.<sup>141</sup>

<sup>136</sup> For exegesis and recent studies, cf. J. P. Geiselman, *Der petrinische Primat, Mt. 16, 17 ff., seine neueste Bekämpfung und Rectfertigung* (Münster: 1927); B. Bartmann, "Der Felsenbau Jesu (Mt. 16:18 in der neuesten Literatur der Gegner)," *Theologie und Glaube*, XX (1928), 1-17; R. Graber, *Petrus der Fels* (Buch und Kunstverlag Ettal; s. l.: 1949); A. Oepke, "Der Herrnspruch über die Kirche, Mt. 16:17-19 in der neuesten Forschung," *Studia Theologica* (Lund), II (1948), 110 ff.; *The Church* (Bible Key Words from Gerhard Kittel's Theol. Wörterbuch z. N. T.; London: 1950); O. Cullmann, *Petrus: Jünger, Apostel, Märtyrer* (Zürich: 1952), pp. 176 ff.

<sup>137</sup> A. Loisy *L'Évangile et l'Église* (Paris: 1902), p. 111: "Jesus a annoncé le royaume de Dieu et c'est l'église qui est venue."

<sup>138</sup> B. S. Easton, "The Church in the New Testament," *Anglican Theological Rev.*, XXII (1940), 167.

<sup>139</sup> Cf. O. Cullmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 183 ff.

<sup>140</sup> A. Harnack, "Der Spruch über Petrus als den Felsen der Kirche," *Sitzungsberichte der Berl. Akad. der Wissensch.* (Berlin: 1918), 637 ff.

<sup>141</sup> K. G. Goetz, *Petrus als Gründer und Oberhaupt der Kirche und Schauer von Gesichtern nach den altchristlichen Berichten und Legenden* (Leipzig: 1927), p. 16.



In more recent years this theory denying that Jesus Himself spoke the words: "Thou art Peter and upon this rock I will build my Church," has been reinstated and defended by R. Bultmann,<sup>142</sup> and is accepted by W. G. Kümmel,<sup>143</sup> J. Haller,<sup>144</sup> H. Strathmann,<sup>145</sup> E. Stauffer,<sup>146</sup> M. Goguel,<sup>147</sup> G. Johnston,<sup>148</sup> J. W. Manson.<sup>149</sup>

In favor of the genuineness of the text from the older writers stand the conservative Th. Zahn and A. Schlatter; likewise the liberal A. Schweitzer.<sup>150</sup> Some more modern authors defending the words as stemming from Jesus maintain nevertheless that Jesus did not mean by the word "Church" what we mean by it. The word being of Semitic origin and anchored in Jewish tradition means something akin to the people of God<sup>151</sup> and not a new religious society to be founded by Christ. The foremost exponents of this theory are F. Kattenbusch<sup>152</sup> and K. L. Schmidt.<sup>153</sup> In a similar vein, R. Newton Flew,<sup>154</sup> N. A. Dahl,<sup>155</sup>

<sup>142</sup> R. Bultmann, "Die Frage nach der Echtheit von Matth. 16, 17-19," *Theol. Blätter*, XX (1951), 265 ff.

<sup>143</sup> W. G. Kümmel, *Die Eschatologie der Evangelien* (Leipzig: 1936), p. 16; *Kirchenbegriff und Geschichtsbewusstsein in der Urgemeinde und bei Jesus*. Symbolae Biblicae Upsalienses (Uppsala and Zürich: 1943).

<sup>144</sup> J. Haller, *Das Papsttum, Idee und Wirklichkeit* (2 Aufl.; Stuttgart: 1951), I, 4 f., and 473 f.

<sup>145</sup> H. Strathmann, "Die Stellung des Petrus in der Urkirche. Zur Frühgeschichte des Wortes an Petrus Mt. 16, 17-19," *Zeitschr. f. system. Theol.*, XX (1943), 223 ff.

<sup>146</sup> E. Stauffer, "Zur Vor- und Frühgeschichte des Primatus Petri," *Zeitschr. f. Kirchengeschichte*, LXII (1943-44), 22.

<sup>147</sup> M. Goguel, *L'Eglise primitive* (Paris: 1947), p. 191.

<sup>148</sup> G. Johnston, *The Doctrine of the Church in the New Testament* (Cambridge: 1943), p. 49.

<sup>149</sup> T. W. Manson, *The Teaching of Jesus* (Cambridge: 1931), p. 211; *id.* *The Sayings of Jesus* (London: 1949), pp. 201-3.

<sup>150</sup> Cf. Cullmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 183-84.

<sup>151</sup> According to J. Y. Campbell, "The Origin and Meaning of the Christian Use of the Word EKKLESIA," *Journal of Theological Studies*, XLIX (1948), 133, it does not mean a divinely chosen people but an assembly of some kind.

<sup>152</sup> F. Kattenbusch, "Die Quellort der Kirchenidee," *Festgabe für A. F. Harnack* (Tübingen: 1921), pp. 143 ff.

<sup>153</sup> K. L. Schmidt, "Das Kirchenproblem im Urchristentum," *Theol. Blätter*, VII (1927), pp. 293 ff.; *id.* "Die Kirche des Urchristentums," *Festgabe für A. Deissmann* (Tübingen: 1927), p. 259; *id.*, Kittel, *Theol. Wörterb. z. N.T.*, III (Stuttgart: 1936), 502-39; Eng. tr. *The Church* (London: 1950), p. 177, n. 2.

A. J. Cadoux,<sup>156</sup> Hopwood.<sup>157</sup> We may further add to this class admitting the genuineness of Matthew 16:18, H. D. Wendland, G. Gloege, W. Michaelis, J. Schneewind, F. Leenhardt, R. Otto, A. Fridrichsen, O. Linton, J. Jeremias.<sup>158</sup> O. Cullmann accepts the Petrine words as pronounced by Christ, but maintains that they have originated under different circumstances of time and place than described in St. Matthew.<sup>159</sup> Moreover, the Greek word for Church, *ekklesia*, does not represent a Christian product, but belongs to the Jewish domain.<sup>160</sup> These interpretations and other statements regarding the role of St. Peter in the early Church have occasioned a flood of responses from Catholic scholarship.<sup>161</sup>

And thus Protestant scholars of our times divide themselves almost equally, the one half accepting the Petrine text as originat-

<sup>154</sup> R. Newton Flew, *Jesus and His Church: The Idea of the Ecclesia in the New Testament* (2nd ed.; London: 1943).

<sup>155</sup> N. A. Dahl, *Das Volk Gottes. Eine Untersuchung zum Kirchenbewusstsein des Urchristentums* (Oslo: 1941), p. 90.

<sup>156</sup> A. J. Cadoux, *The Theology of Jesus* (London: 1940), p. 225.

<sup>157</sup> P. G. S. Hopwood, *The Religious Experience of the Primitive Church* (Edinburgh: 1936), p. 235.

<sup>158</sup> F. M. Braun, *Aspects nouveaux du problème de l'Eglise* (Fribourg: 1942); *Neues Licht auf die Kirche, Die protestantische Kirchendogmatik in ihrer neuesten Entfaltung* (Einsiedeln: 1946), p. 85; J. R. Nelson, *The Realm of Redemption: Studies in the Doctrine of the Church in Contemporary Protestant Theology* (London: 1951), p. 34.

<sup>159</sup> O. Cullmann, *Königsherrschaft Christi und Kirche* (Zürich: 1941), p. 22; *Petrus: Jünger, Apostel, Märtyrer* (Zürich: 1952), pp. 206 ff. In like manner, J. Lowe, *St. Peter* (Oxford: 1956), p. 55.

<sup>160</sup> O. Cullmann, *Petrus: Jünger, Apostel, Märtyrer* (Zürich: 1952), p. 210.

<sup>161</sup> P. Benoit, *Revue biblique*, LX (1953), 565-79; F. M. Braun, "L'apôtre Pierre devant l'exégèse et l'histoire," *Rev. Thom.*, LIII (1953), 389-403; L. Cerfaux, "Saint Pierre et sa succession," *Rech. de sciences religieuses*, XLI (1953), 188-202; Y. M. J. Congar, "Du nouveau sur la question de Pierre? Le saint Pierre de M. O. Cullmann," *La vie intellectuelle*, XXV (1953), 17-43; J. Cambier, "Dialogue avec M. Cullmann," *Eph. theol. Lovan.*, XXIX (1953), 646-53; G. Dejaifve, "M. Cullmann et la question de Pierre," *Nouv. rev. theol.*, LXXV (1953), 365-79; J. Daniélou, "Un livre Protestant sur saint Pierre," *Etudes*, CCLXXVI (1953), 206-19; P. Gaechter, *Petrus und seine Nachfolge*, *Zeit. f. kath. Theol.*, LXXV (1953), 331-37; C. Journet, *Primauté de Pierre dans la perspective protestante et dans la perspective catholique* (Paris: 1953); tr. *The Primacy of Peter* (Westminster, Md.: 1954); O. Karrer, *Um die Einheit der Christen. Die Petrusfrage. Ein Gespräch mit Emil Brunner, O. Cullmann, H. v. Campenhausen* (Frankfurt: 1953).

ing from Christ, the other half rejecting it as not coming from Christ but from the early Christian community.<sup>162</sup>

St. Augustine, who had a discerning eye for Sacred Scripture, does not raise any doubt concerning the passage on the grounds that it occurs only in the Gospel of St. Matthew.<sup>163</sup> He takes it for granted and uses it extensively. Nor is he perturbed over the fact that the Petrine text hardly, if ever, occurs in the Christian tradition of the first two centuries.<sup>164</sup> He had ample tradition to follow in the two succeeding centuries (the third and fourth) in interpreting St. Peter as the rock or foundation upon which the Church of Christ was to be built.<sup>165</sup> The Greek Fathers abound in this interpretation of Matt. 16:18.<sup>166</sup> It is known in the Oriental Church.<sup>167</sup> Almost all the Latin Fathers immediately

<sup>162</sup> Cf. A. Oepke, "Der Herrenspruch über die Kirche, Mt. 16:17-19 in der neuesten Forschung," *Studia Theologica*, II (1948), 111, n. 1.

<sup>163</sup> For the validity of the "argumentum ex silentio," cf. Stanislaus von Dunin-Borkowski, "Methodologische Vorfragen zur altchristlichen Verfassungsgeschichte," *Zeitschr. f. kath. Theol.*, XXVIII (1904), 243; "Die urchristliche Verfassung," *ibid.*, XXIX (1905), 34-37; also Oepke, *op. cit.*, p. 149.

<sup>164</sup> E. Massaux, *Influence de l'Évangile de St. Matthieu sur la littérature chrétienne avant S. Irénée* (Paris: 1950).

<sup>165</sup> Cf. J. Ludwig, *Die Primatworte Mt. 16:18-19 in der altkirchlichen Exegese* (Münster: 1952).

<sup>166</sup> E.g., Origen, *Hom. 5 in Exod.*, n. 4 (PG 12, 329); *id.*, *In Io. V.*, 3 (PG 14, 188); *In Ep. ad Rom.* l. 3, c. 2, n. 5 (PG 11, 311); St. Gregory of Nyssa, *Or. 2, de S. Stephano* (PG 46, 733); St. Basil, *Adv. Eunomium* l. 2, n. 4 (PG 29, 580); St. Gregory of Nazianz, *Or. 32*, n. 18 (PG 36, 193); *id.*, *Or. 9*, n. 1 (PG 35, 820); St. John Chrysostom, *In illud: Vidi Dom.*, hom. 4, n. 3 (PG 54, 123); *C. lud. et theat.* (PG 46, 265); *In illud: Hoc scitote* (PG 46, 275). On the doctrine of St. John Chrysostom, cf. Jugie, "Saint Jean Chrysostome et la primauté de saint Pierre," *Echos d'Orient*, XI (1908), 5-15; *id.*, "Saint Jean Chrysostome et la primauté du pape," *ibid.*, 193-202; N. Marini, *Il primato di San Pietro e de suoi successori in San Giovanni Crisostomo* (Roma: 1919); J. Chapman, "St. Chrysostom on St. Peter," *Dublin Review*, CXXXII (1903), 1-27; H. Hlebowicz, *Jedność Kościoła Chrystusa według św. Jana Chryzostoma* (Wilno: 1932).

<sup>167</sup> E.g., Aphraates, *Aphraatis demonstratio 7 de poenitentibus*, n. 15 (ed. Parisot; *Patrologia syriaca*, ed. R. Graffin [Paris: 1904]), I, 1, 335; *Hom. 23 in Aphrahats des persischen Weisen Homilien* (übers. von G. Bert; Leipzig: 1888), p. 380; S. Ephraem, *S. Ephraemi Syri hymni et sermones* (ed. Th. Jos. Lamy; Mechliniae: 1882), I, 412 and 374; in Codex Paris, 161, of the tenth century, fol. 95 he says the following: "Our Lord chose Simon Peter and made him the leader of the Apostles (rishā d'shelichê), the foundation of the holy Church and the protector of its firmity. He made him the head of the Apostles and bade him to feed his flock and he taught

before or contemporaneous with the Bishop of Hippo make use of it.<sup>168</sup> It is natural then to find an exegesis so common to Augustine's predecessors also in his writings. He makes St. Peter the foundation of the Church<sup>169</sup> in preference to the other apostles.

It will be well to observe here that the Saint of Hippo portrays the Church as a building (*aedificium*), a temple (*templum*). Through the sacrament of baptism men enter into the structure as stones; through faith and charity they are living stones. This

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him the laws for keeping the purity of doctrines." In a *Sermon* on a nocturn of our Lord's resurrection, he says: "Maria ad Simonem fundamentum cucurrit prius, et ei tamquam Ecclesiae nuntiavit narravitque, quod viderat, nempe Dominum resurrexisse. Recte ad Simonem allatus est nuntium, quod filius resurrexit, quia ipse erat petra et fundamentum electae gentium Ecclesiae." Lamy, I, 534. See also: S. Euringer, "Der locus classicus des Primates (Matt. 16:18) und der Diatesserontext des hl. Ephräm," in *Beiträge zur Geschichte des christlichen Altertums*, etc. Festgabe für Albert Ehrhard (Bonn: 1922), pp. 141-79.

<sup>168</sup> Tert., *De praesc.*, 22 (PL 2, 34): "Latuit aliquid Petrum, aedificandae Ecclesiae petram dictum, claves regni coelorum consecutum et solvendi et alligandi in coelis et in terris potestatem"; *id.*, *De monog.*, 8 (PL 2, 939): "... per Ecclesiam, quae super illum aedificata." St. Cyprian, *Ep.* 59, 7 (CSEL 3, ed. G. Hartel, 674): "Petrus tamen super quem aedificata ab eodem Domino fuerat Ecclesia"; cf. also *Ep.* 71, 3 (CSEL 3, ed. G. Hartel, 773), the same passage is quoted by St. Augustine, *De bapt.*, II, 1, 2 (PL 43, 126-27; CSEL 51, ed. M. Petschenig, 174); St. Jerome, *Ep.* 41, 2 (PL 22, 475): "Apostolus Petrus super quem Dominus fundavit Ecclesiam"; *id.*, *Adv. Pelag.*, 1, 14 (PL 23, 506): "Ut ille Plato princeps philosophorum, sic Petrus apostolorum fuit, super quem Ecclesia Domini stabili mole fundata est"; cf. also *Comment. in Ev. Mt.* III, c. 16, v. 18 (PL 26, 121-22); St. Ambrose, *In Ps.* 40, 30 (PL 14, 1082): "Ipse est Petrus, cui dixit: tu es Petrus, et super hanc petram aedificabo Ecclesiam meam. Ubi ergo Petrus, ibi Ecclesia"; cf. also *De Fide*, l. IV, c. 5, n. 56 (PL 16, 628), *Expositio Ev. Luc.*, VI, 97 (CSEL 32, ed. C. Schenkl, I, 275). The successors in the see of St. Peter claim, likewise, to be the foundation of the Church; thus Firmilianus asserts of Pope St. Stephen: "Quod sic de episcopatus sui loco glorietur et se successionem Petri tenere contendit, super quem fundamenta ecclesiae collocata sunt, multas alias petras inducat et ecclesiarum multarum nova aedificia constituat. . . ." Among the *Epistolae* of St. Cyprian, *Ep.* 75, 17 (CSEL 3, ed. G. Hartel, 82). Cf. E. J. Goodspeed, *A History of Early Christian Literature* (Chicago: 1942), p. 118. So also Tertullian relates the claims of Pope Calixtus, *De pudic.*, 21 (CSEL 20, ed. A. Reifferscheid and G. Wissowa, 270).

<sup>169</sup> *Enar. in Ps.* 69, 4 (PL 36, 869): "Petrus, qui paulo ante eum confessus erat Filium Dei et in illa confessione appellatus erat petra, supra quam fabricaretur Ecclesia." Cf. *Enar. in Ps.* 55, 15 (PL 36, 656-57); *Enar. in Ps.* 39, 25 (PL 36, 499): *In Io. Ev. tr.* 11, 5 (PL 35, 1478).



temple is inhabited by the living God. It is ever building to the end of time to become God's temple for eternity in heaven. This is the edifice for which St. Peter has been selected among the apostles to be the foundation.

Now the point of contention is that St. Augustine does not abide by this exegesis, or rather does not make it exclusive, for in his works,<sup>170</sup> and especially in a passage of his *Retractationes*,<sup>171</sup> written at the end of his life, he resorts to another interpretation according to which Christ, whose divinity St. Peter confessed, was the foundation rock (*petra*) of the Church. However, equivalent to making Christ the foundation of the Church is the assertion in the Saint's writings that St. Peter's faith in Christ or his confession of Christ's divinity is the foundation of the Church.<sup>172</sup> It is true, too, that these interpretations are found in patristic literature.<sup>173</sup>

<sup>170</sup> *In Io. Ev. tr.* 124, 5 (PL 35, 1973-74); *Sermo* 76, 1 (PL 38, 479); *Sermo* 270, 2 (PL 38, 1239); *Sermo* 295, 1, 1 (PL 38, 1349); *Enar. in Ps.* 60, 3 (PL 36, 724).

<sup>171</sup> *Retract.* I, 21, 1 (PL 32-618; CSEL 36, ed. P. Knöll, 97-98).

<sup>172</sup> *In 1 Ep. Io. tr.* 10, 1 (PL 35, 2054): "Quid est, 'super hanc petram aedificabo Ecclesiam meam'? Super hanc fidem, super id quod dictum est: 'Tu es Christus filius Dei vivi'? Super hanc petram, inquit, fundabo Ecclesiam meam." Cf. *Sermo* 183, 10, 14 (PL 38, 994); *Sermo* 270, 2 (PL 38, 1239); *Sermo* 295, 1, 1 (PL 38, 1349). Cf. Th. Specht, *Die Lehre von der Kirche nach dem hl. Augustin* (Paderborn: 1892), p. 134.

<sup>173</sup> J. B. Lightfoot's contention is that the rock is either Christ or some quality or virtue of St. Peter, and not Peter himself, so that the promises of Christ are made to all who possess the same disposition and virtues. He says: "Patristic interpretations of the earliest and last ages are mainly two-fold: 1. The rock is Christ himself. . . . 2. The rock is connected with St. Peter, being either his confession or his faith or some moral or spiritual qualification, capable of being shared by others. . . . The most explicit declaration of it . . . is found in the typical passage of Origen, *Comm. in Matth.* tom. 12, 10. This Origen's interpretation with some modification is the universal interpretation of the Fathers for many centuries with those few exceptions represented by S. Augustine's after-thoughts, who explain it of Christ the rock. They understand it to mean S. Peter's confession, or S. Peter's faith, or S. Peter's firmness. In other words it is some quality or action in the apostle at this crisis, which calls forth the Lord's promise, and to which the same promise attaches wherever it is found in others." *The Apostolic Fathers*, Part I: "S. Clement of Rome." A revised text, with introductions, notes, dissertations and translations. By the late J. B. Lightfoot (London: 1890, II, 482 f.). For a rebuttal cf. Cuthbert Butler, "Bishop Lightfoot and the Early Roman See," *Dublin Review*, CXIII (1893), 505 ff. Yet a whole series of texts from the Greek, Oriental, and Latin Fathers

Already Martin Luther, who was well acquainted with works of the African Bishop, seized upon this latter interpretation of St. Augustine as a theoretical basis for his overthrow of the papacy, asserting that the Church, a spiritual being, could be built upon Christ alone as its foundation.<sup>174</sup> Likewise Calvin interprets the passage in the sense that faith in Christ (which was confessed by St. Peter) is the very foundation of Christianity and a condition of its growth.<sup>175</sup> Many others follow Luther's path. Puller,<sup>176</sup> Foakes-Jackson,<sup>177</sup> Caspar,<sup>178</sup> Hugo Koch,<sup>179</sup> Cullmann<sup>180</sup> interpret St. Augustine's doctrine in the sense that Christ and not St. Peter is the rock foundation of the Church. While they admit that there are passages in Augustine which refer to St. Peter, they find it significant, however, that Augustine changed his mind from these earlier interpretations in order to supplant Christ for St. Peter.

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was adduced in which St. Peter is designated as the foundation. And these passages represented but a selection. A better and more complete classification of the interpretations occurring in patristic works on this scriptural text is the one made long before by J. Launoy, *Ep. l. II, ep. 5 ad Hadr. Vallant.: Opera* (Coloniae Allobrogum: 1731), I, 213-42, according to whom there are four principal classes of interpretation: 1. The *petra* or foundation is the Apostle St. Peter in person; there are according to Launoy 17 testimonies in favor of this interpretation. 2. The apostles or their successors, the bishops, constitute the foundation of the Church; for this interpretation there are 8 in his estimation. 3. The faith of St. Peter is the foundation of the Church; he finds 44 passages to this effect. 4. Christ himself is the *petra* of the Church which he founded; he counts 46 testimonies in favor of this interpretation.

<sup>174</sup> *M. Luters Werke* (Weimar: 1883 ff.), VII, 709: "Verbum Christi Mt. 16, 18 ad nullam personam pertinere, sed ad solam ecclesiam in spiritu aedificatam super Petram Christum, non super Papam, nec super Romanam Ecclesiam."

<sup>175</sup> See his commentaries on Matt. 16:17-19.

<sup>176</sup> F. W. Puller, *The Primitive Saints and the See of Rome* (London: 1893), pp. 100 f.: "It is important to notice that according to this latter view [that Christ is the rock] St. Augustine not only affirms that the "rock" meant our Lord, but he at the same time denies that it meant St. Peter. This precludes the notion that he was suggesting a secondary meaning, which might be accepted as true, side by side with the primary meaning."

<sup>177</sup> F. J. Foakes-Jackson, *Peter Prince of the Apostles* (New York: 1927), p. 68.

<sup>178</sup> *Geschichte des Papsttums* (Tübingen: 1930), I, 339.

<sup>179</sup> *Cathedra Petri* (Giessen: 1930), p. 58, n. 4.

<sup>180</sup> *Petrus: Jünger, Apostel, Märtyrer* (Zürich: 1952), p. 180.

It must be remembered that Augustine never changed his mind as to annul or withdraw his former interpretation. He adhered to the possibility of both exegetical interpretations to the very end of his life as is evident from his *Retractationes* in which he states that the reader can select whichever interpretation he wishes. If he had changed his mind about St. Peter's role in the Church he could not make this statement. As a matter of fact, it is not St. Peter whose role is changed in Augustine's mind, but it is that of Christ Himself. The attitude of St. Augustine in bringing Christ to the foreground more and more in his ecclesiology is but one phase of his whole theology in which, as he grows older in the fight with Pelagianism, the salvific power of Christ is stressed more and more. Thus, too, the aspect of the Church which was closest to his mind in his earlier years was that it is a teacher, in his later years that it is the mystical body of Christ, a medium of salvation.

Moreover, St. Augustine himself professes in the said passage of the *Retractationes* his former interpretation as the one that is made by many. The passage runs thus:

In my first book against Donatus I mentioned somewhere with reference to the Apostle Peter that "the Church is founded upon him as upon a rock." This meaning is also sung by many lips in the lines of blessed Ambrose, where, speaking of the domestic cock, he says: "When it crows, he, the rock of the Church, absolves from sin." But I realize that I have since frequently explained the words of our Lord: "Thou art Peter and upon this rock I will build my Church," to the effect that they should be understood as referring to him whom Peter confessed when he said: "Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God, and as meaning that Peter, having been named after this rock, figured the person of the Church which is built upon this (rock) and has received the keys of the kingdom of heaven. For what was said to him was not "Thou art the rock," but "Thou art Peter." But the rock was Christ, having confessed whom (even as the whole Church confesses) Simon was named Peter. Which of these two interpretations is the more likely to be correct, let the reader choose.<sup>181</sup>

<sup>181</sup> *Retrac.*, I, 21, 1 (PL 32, 618; CSEL 36, 97-98); tr. E. Giles, *op. cit.*, doc. 156, p. 177; cf. C. Gore, *Roman Catholic Claims* (11th ed.; London: 1921), p. 86; J. Chapman, *Bishop Gore and the Catholic Claims* (London: 1905), p. 51.

Other scholars, too, whilst allowing to St. Peter by virtue of the Petrine text under consideration and other scriptural testimonies a primacy of leadership among the apostles,<sup>182</sup> deny a primacy of jurisdiction to him. They find no support of it either in Sacred Scripture or in the writings of the Fathers. B. J. Kidd unhesitatingly concludes his work with the words: "We must therefore reject the claim to a primacy of jurisdiction, so far as it depends for its support on the evidence of the New Testament and the Fathers."<sup>183</sup> As to the Fathers, it is precisely this multiplicity of interpretation of Matt. 16:18 and of the other Petrine text, John 21:15-17, that they point to as being sufficient for not accepting the jurisdictional supremacy of St. Peter.<sup>184</sup>

This does not follow. On the contrary, by the very fact that the Fathers interpret the "rock foundation" passage sometimes to designate Christ's relation to the Church and sometimes St. Peter's, they are rather enhancing the prestige of St. Peter than diminishing it or relegating it to the background. The fact remains, as St. Augustine allows, that you may assume Christ or St. Peter as the foundation. This comparison of the role of Christ or St. Peter is a decisive factor in favor of the primacy of jurisdiction. For, if the interpretation of Peter, the rock, were uniform and steadfast, there would then be a greater possibility of referring this fact to some other sort of primacy than that of jurisdiction. But when the Fathers compare this primacy to that of Christ and interpret the passage sometimes of Peter and sometimes of Christ, then inevitably, too, they suggest that the power invested in St. Peter transcends that of the apostles.

There is every reason why Christ should be the foundation of the Church, and it is only a privilege granted by Christ that makes St. Peter the supporting rock of the Church. Sacred Scripture states that Christ is the cornerstone and the foundation of the

<sup>182</sup> Cf. C. H. Turner, *Catholic and Apostolic: collected Papers*; ed. with a memoir by H. N. Bate (Milwaukee and New York: 1931), pp. 148-214; B. J. Kidd, *The Roman Primacy to 461* (London: 1936), p. 154: "Now there can be no doubt that Peter enjoyed a primacy of leadership among the other Apostles."

<sup>183</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 155.

<sup>184</sup> D. Stone, *The Christian Church* (New York: 1906), pp. 201 ff.; B. J. Kidd, *op. cit.*, p. 154.



Church.<sup>185</sup> Could such an explicit and striking doctrine be ignored or passed over in silence? Besides, the Christological heresies of the times could not but focus attention not only upon the person of Christ but also upon His relation to the Church. The Fathers insisted against the Arians not only upon the belief in His divinity but also upon a prominent place for Him in the Church. Consequently they reminded the heretics that Christ is not only the founder of the Church but also the foundation of it.<sup>186</sup>

St. Augustine came in the wake of the Arian heresy, and the anti-Arian sentiments and arguments of the Father's re-echo in him. But more than the Arian heresy did the Donatist and Pelagian controversies, so far as St. Augustine is directly concerned, bring the role of Christ in the Church into the limelight. The sacramental system, as misunderstood by the Donatists and as understood by St. Augustine, centered around Christ as the dispenser of the sacraments. The nature and necessity of grace as defended by St. Augustine against the Pelagians centered around Christ as the gratuitous cause of man's supernatural life.

These circumstances influenced St. Augustine to make an exegetical shift in an important scriptural passage (Matt. 16:18), and to accommodate it to his Christocentric theology. And thus Christ is the head of His Church which is conceived of as His body; but He is also the foundation of His Church which is conceived of as an empirical structure. In every case the Church's stability is made to rest not on a created but a divine foundation.<sup>187</sup> When Augustine appeals to St. Paul's *petra autem erat Christus* this is not to be ascribed principally to a mechanical association of it with *petra*,<sup>188</sup> but to his striking upon a scrip-

<sup>185</sup> I Cor. 3:11.

<sup>186</sup> A. Médebielle, "Église," *Dict. de la Bible*, Supplément, v. II, p. 568: "On comprend, par exemple, qu'en face des hérésies gnostiques ariennes les apologistes catholiques aient insisté sur le fait que le Christ est le premier fondement de l'Église; mais cela n'empêche pas que le fondement extérieur et visible ne soit saint Pierre."

<sup>187</sup> T. Specht, *Die Lehre von der Kirche nach dem hl. Augustinus* (Paderborn: 1892), p. 142.

<sup>188</sup> So P. Battifol, "Saint Augustin, Pélage et le Siège Apostolique," *Rev. bibl.*, XV (1918), 36.

tural formula which sums up his position and at the same time confirms it.

It will be found that St. Augustine switches, in his interpretation of Sacred Scripture, from the literal meaning to some translated sense. Thus, whilst admitting the fall of our parents in Paradise as real and historical in the obvious sense in which it is narrated to us in the Book of Genesis, he does not steadfastly cling to this interpretation. In his work *De Genesi contra Manichaeos*, he explains it as an allegory or symbol, whereas in *De Genesi et literam* he is inclined towards the literal and historical interpretation without completely however abandoning the allegoric.<sup>189</sup>

So it is too with the Petrine passage under consideration. The one foundation does not exclude the other. Wherefore in final issue Christ or St. Peter may be considered as the *petra* of the Church. Christ as the founder and ever present sustainer of the Church remains by His innate dignity and powers its foundation even now; St. Peter by appointment and delegated powers is made the visible foundation of the Church.<sup>190</sup> Both fulfill this office simultaneously: St. Peter is the foundation, Christ is even a foundation for St. Peter<sup>191</sup> since He is the foundation of foundations.<sup>192</sup> Speaking of this relationship between Christ and St. Peter, St. Augustine puts these words in the mouth of Jesus: "Upon myself, the Son of the living God, shall I build my Church. I shall build thee upon Me, and not Me upon thee."<sup>193</sup> . . . "that

<sup>189</sup> Cf. K. Frühstorfer, *Die Paradieses-Sünde* (Linz: 1929), p. 16.

<sup>190</sup> Cf. Alexander Natalis, *Hist. Eccl.*, saec. I, diss. 4, #3 (Lucca: 1749), IV, 221; J. Franzelin, *De Ecclesia Christi* (Romae: 1887), p. 139.

<sup>191</sup> *Sermo* 76, 1 (PL 38, 479): "Super me ipsum Filium Dei vivi, aedificabo Ecclesiam meam. Super me aedificabo te, non me super te."

<sup>192</sup> *Enar. in Ps.* 86, 3 (PL 37, 1102): "Nam ut noveritis quia et fundamentum Christus et primum et maximum: Fundamentum, inquit Apostolus, nemo potest ponere praeter id quod positum est, quod est Christus Jesus (I Cor. 3:11) . . . Christus fundamentum fundamentorum." A. Médebielle, "Église," *Dict. de la Bible*, Supplément, II, 568: "Mais cette variété n'est due qu'au penchant bien connu des Pères pour les applications morales et les accommodations; ceux qui traitent *ex professo* l'exégèse de ce passage entendent *hanc petram* de la personne même de saint Pierre, et en tout cas aucun d'eux n'exclut jamais ce sens."

<sup>193</sup> *Sermo* 76, 1 (PL 38, 479): "Super me ipsum Filium Dei vivi, aedificabo Ecclesiam meam. Super me aedificabo te, non me super te."

Peter might be built upon the rock, not the rock upon Peter.<sup>194</sup> This can be the only interpretation which does no injury to the Saint's texts and reconciles seemingly divergent interpretations of the same author.

The term "petra" is likewise used to designate the Church. Christ, St. Peter, and the Church are termed *petra* each in his or its own way. Thus St. Peter and the Church which is founded by Christ are closely associated with the term "petra." *Petra* becomes a correlative for St. Peter as it does also for the Church.<sup>195</sup> When I hear the name St. Peter it gives rise to the thought of his office as the rock foundation of the Church; when I think of the Church I cannot dissociate it from the rock foundation upon which it is built. This identification of the Church with St. Peter belongs to the category of notes or evidences of the true Church of Christ. Just as Augustine holds up catholicity and unity as criteria by which we discern the Church of Christ, so too he claims that church to be the true church which is founded upon the *petra*. The proximity of this association of the Church with the *petra* is the reason why Augustine by synecdoche can simply designate the whole Church as *petra*.

The genuineness of the foundation and the structure that stands upon it are factual and historical data. They allow themselves to be examined whether there is a connection with St. Peter and a succession from him. St. Peter and his successors again are founded upon a more recondite groundwork, namely upon Jesus Christ, the foundation of foundations. It is ultimately He who lends His authority and stability to the universal edifice of the Church. Everyone who seeks salvation must be built as a stone into this structure.

Is it significant that he changed his name; and made Peter from Simon? Peter comes from *petra* (stone), *petra* is the Church; therefore the Church is symbolized (*figurata*) in the name of Peter. And who is secure unless he builds upon the rock? <sup>196</sup>

<sup>194</sup> *Ibid.*, 2 (PL 38, 479).

<sup>195</sup> *Enar.* 3 in Ps. 103, 2 (PL 37, 1359): "Petrus petra, petra Ecclesia."

<sup>196</sup> *In Io. Ev. tr.* 7, 14 (PL 35, 1444): "Magnum quia mutavit ei nomen; et fecit de Simone Petrum? Petrus autem a petra, petra vero Ecclesia; ergo in Petri nomine figurata est Ecclesia. Et quis securus, nisi aedificat super petram?"

Yet, in the continuation of this extract St. Augustine abruptly leaves the dogmatic interpretation just given whereby the adherence to St. Peter—and consequently to those occupying his cathedra—is an evidence of belonging to the Catholica, and goes on to explain this *petra* in the moral sense, namely that he builds upon it who hears the word of God and does it.<sup>197</sup> This moral interpretation of the Biblical *petra* occurs not infrequently in the writings of the Bishop of Hippo.<sup>198</sup>

In connection with this Biblical passage in which St. Peter is the *petra* (and especially its immediate continuation Matt. 16:19: "Tibi dabo claves regni coelorum"), St. Augustine calls this Apostle the type and figure of the Church, teaches that the power entrusted to him was given to the whole Church, and sets him up as the representative of the whole Church.<sup>199</sup> Some scholars<sup>200</sup> are inclined to interpret these relations of St. Peter to the Church as some external personification and representation of her unity and universality. But St. Augustine also gives the reason why

<sup>197</sup> This almost unexpected turn reminds one of the course of thought of the great bishop whose preaching let St. Augustine into the Church and whose influence is unmistakable in his writings. St. Ambrose, *Expositio Ev. Lc.*, VI, 97-98 (CSEL 32, 275): "Petra est Christus—bibebant enim de spiritali petra, petra autem erat Christus—etiam discipulo suo hujus vocabuli gratiam non negavit, ut et ipse sit Petrus, quod de petra habeat soliditatem constantiae, fidei firmitatem. Enitere ergo ut et tu petra sis. Itaque non extra te, sed intra te petram require. . . ."

<sup>198</sup> *In Io. Ev. tr.* 7, 14 (PL 35, 1444); *De bapt. contra Donat.*, VI, 43 (PL 43, 212; CSEL 51, ed. M. Petschenig, I, 320), *Contra lit. Petil.*, II, 108, 247 (PL 43, 345; CSEL 52, ed. M. Petschenig, II, 159), *Contra Faust.*, XXII, 90 (PL 42, 461; CSEL 25, ed. J. Zycha, 697).

<sup>199</sup> *Sermo* 295, 2, 2 (PL 38, 1349). *De agone christiano*, 30, 32 (PL 40, 308; CSEL 41, ed. J. Zycha, 134-35): "Non enim sine causa inter omnes apostolos hujus Ecclesiae catholicae personam sustinet Petrus: huic enim Ecclesiae claves regni coelorum datae sunt, cum Petro datae sunt" *In Io. Ev. tr.* 124, 12 (PL 35, 1762-63): "Quia non unus est Judas. Unus malus corpus malorum significat; quomodo Petrus corpus bonorum, imo corpus Ecclesiae, sed in bonis. Nam si in Petro non esset Ecclesiae sacramentum, non ei diceret Dominus, 'Tibi dabo claves regni coelorum. . . .' Si hoc Petro tantum dictum est, non facit hoc Ecclesia. Si autem et in Ecclesia fit, ut quae in terra ligantur, in coelo ligentur, at quae solvuntur in terra, solvantur in coelo . . . : si hoc ergo in Ecclesia fit, Petrus quando claves accepit, Ecclesiam sanctam significavit. Si in Petri persona significati sunt in Ecclesia boni, in Judae persona significati sunt in Ecclesia mali."

<sup>200</sup> Thus Launoy, *Ep. l. II, ep. 5 ad Hadr. Vallant. Opera* (Coloniae: 1731), I, 213-42; J. Langen, *Das vatikanische Dogma*, I, 99.



St. Peter is a representative of the whole Church and why he carries in his own person the figurative person of the Church. This he does "on account of the primacy of his apostolate,"<sup>201</sup> "on account of the primacy which he had over the Apostles."<sup>202</sup> Of the Apostles St. Peter is the representative of the Church because he is the head of the Apostles.<sup>203</sup> "In the one Apostle then, that is Peter, in the order of the Apostles first and principal, in whom the Church was figured, both kinds were to be represented, that is both the strong and the weak because the Church is not without both."<sup>204</sup>

It is true that the terms "person" and "figure" as representative or symbolic of the Church are not proper to St. Peter to the extent that they are not joined with the names of other persons to typify some aspects of the Church.<sup>205</sup> Augustine sees certain characteristics in persons of the Old Testament by virtue of which they typify the Church; he names Adam and Eve, Abraham and Sara as symbols of the Church.<sup>206</sup> He views Cain and Abel representatives of the earthly and celestial cities respectively.<sup>207</sup> We cannot therefore draw any conclusion of jurisdictional primacy from the words "person" or "figure" of the Church, but we must advert to the reason which stands in back of that appellation.

Again in the New Testament, besides St. Peter, Jesus and Mary are said, through some important action of theirs, to be types of the Church. Christ, in the reception of the sacrament of baptism, prefigured the Church, His mystical body, because in baptism new members are incorporated into the Church.<sup>208</sup> Mary who is the mother of Christ's physical members, is a sym-

<sup>201</sup> *In Io. Ev. tr.* 124, 5 (PL 35, 1973): "Hoc agit Ecclesia spe beata in hac vita aerummosa: cujus Ecclesiae Petrus apostolus, propter apostolatus sui primatum, gerebat figurata generalitate personam."

<sup>202</sup> *Enar. in Ps.* 108, 1 (PL 37, 1432): "Cuius [Ecclesiae] illi agnoscitur in figura gestasse personam, propter primatum, quem in discipulis habuit."

<sup>203</sup> *Sermo* 76, 2, 3 (PL 38, 480): "Petrus . . . [Ecclesiae] figuram portans, apostolatus principatus tenens. . . ."

<sup>204</sup> *Ibid.*, 3, 4 (481); tr. E. Giles, *op. cit.*, doc. 153, p. 175.

<sup>205</sup> Cf. Specht, *op. cit.*, pp. 9 ff., 19 ff., 22 ff., 47 ff.

<sup>206</sup> *Sermo* 336, 5 (PL 38, 147); *Contra Faust.*, XXII, 38 (PL 42, 424; CSEL 25, 632).

<sup>207</sup> *De civ. Dei*, XV, 1 (PL 41, 437; ed. Dombart-Kalb, II, 58-59); *ibid.*, XV, 5 (PL 41-441; ed. Dombart-Kalb, II, 64-65).

<sup>208</sup> *De Trin.*, XV, 46 (PL 42, 1093).

bol of the Church which gives birth to Christ's spiritual members.<sup>209</sup> In St. Peter's case, the primacy of the apostolate is given as the reason why he is the symbol of the Church.<sup>210</sup> He also symbolizes the power of the retention and remission of sins. "For the whole body of the saints, therefore, inseparably belonging to the body of Christ, and for their safe pilotage through this stormy life, did Peter, the first of the Apostles, receive the keys of the kingdom of heaven for binding and loosing sins."<sup>211</sup>

The "first of the Apostles" who was made the *petra* is the actual principle of the Church's unity, living in his successors. In a joint letter with Fortunatus and Alypius from the year 400 to Generosus, a Catholic, tempted by a Donatist presbyter to apostatize from the Catholica for the Donatist schism, St. Augustine rests his argument, indeed, upon the universality of the Catholic Church, but he at the same time describes this universality as being founded upon a genuine succession of bishops (*ordo episcoporum*) down from St. Peter up until the present. In this connection St. Peter is also said here to be the figure representing the whole Church by virtue of the words spoken to him by our Lord: "Upon this rock I will build my Church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it" (Matt. 16:18). On this account Augustine insists on enumerating the order of bishops succeeding the first of the Apostles down to his own day. Then, he concludes by answering the Donatists' objection:

Even if during those times some traitor crept into this order of bishops which is drawn from Peter himself up to Anastasius, who now occupies the same see, he would not prejudice the Church or innocent Christians. . . .<sup>212</sup>

<sup>209</sup> *De sancta virgin.*, 2, 2 (PL 40, 397; CSEL 41, 236): "Maria corporaliter caput hujus corporis peperit, Ecclesia spiritualiter membra illius capitis parit."

<sup>210</sup> *Enar. in Ps.* 108, 1 (PL 37, 1431 f.): "Sicut enim quaedam dicuntur, quae ad apostolum Petrum proprie pertinere videantur, nec tamen habent illustrem intellectum, nisi cum referuntur ad Ecclesiam, cujus ille agnoscitur in figura gestasse personam propter primatum, quem in discipulis habuit, . . . ita Judas personam quodammodo sustinet inimicorum Christi Judaeorum. . . . De quibus hominibus et de quo populo possunt non inconvenienter intelligi . . . etiam illa, quae proprie de ipso Juda dicuntur."

<sup>211</sup> *In Io. Ev. tr.* 124, 21, 7 (PL 36, 1976).

<sup>212</sup> *Ep.* 53, 1, 3 (PL 33, 196; CSEL 34, ed. A. Goldbacher, II, 154): "In illum autem ordinem episcoporum qui ducetur ab ipso Petro usque ad

For those who solely rely upon the scriptural text of Matthew 16:17-19, admitting its genuineness and accepting the personal primacy of St. Peter from it, it is another matter to establish the primacy in St. Peter's successors.<sup>213</sup> Many deny or do not see how a continuation of St. Peter's primatial rank can be founded upon the Petrine words.<sup>214</sup> Catholic exegetes deduce from the passage itself as well as from the nature of the Church which Christ was then founding the same primatial rank for Peter's successors.<sup>215</sup> Among some Protestant scholars, too, there seems to be a tendency to draw the conclusion from the text that the primacy being invested in St. Peter was also intended for those who succeed him in his office.<sup>216</sup> As for St. Augustine, leaning on tradition he sees in the passage not only the primacy of St. Peter but also of his successors, occupying the *cathedra Petri*. There was no doubt in St. Augustine's mind where that *cathedra* was. He was certain that it was established by St. Peter in Rome. Christian tradition and history made him take for granted that St. Peter was in Rome, suffered martyrdom there, and was buried in that city.<sup>217</sup>

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Anastasium, qui nunc eandem cathedram sedet, etiam si quisquam traditor per illa tempora subrepisset, nihil praejudicaret Ecclesiae et innocentibus christianis. . . ."

<sup>213</sup> Cf. R. Graber, *Petrus der Fels*, pp. 37 ff.

<sup>214</sup> K. D. Schmidt, "Papa ipse Petrus," *Zeit. f. Kirchengeschichte*, LIV (1935), 267; O. Cullmann, *Petrus: Jünger, Apostel, Märtyrer* (Zürich: 1952), pp. 233-34; J. Lowe, *Saint Peter* (Oxford: 1956), according to whom, "Peter occupied a leading if not dominant position among the disciples of Jesus" (p. 46), nevertheless wrong is the "assumption that the commission given to Peter includes successors, and a very limited line of successors at that" (p. 62).

<sup>215</sup> F. M. Braun, *Neues Licht auf die Kirche* (Einsiedeln: 1946).

<sup>216</sup> E. Stauffer, *Die Theologie des Neuen Testaments* (4 Aufl.; Stuttgart: 1948), pp. 17-18: "Hat Jesus an eine Nachfolge des Petrus gedacht? Unmöglich ist es nicht. Dann das Sukzessionsprinzip spielt schon in der altbiblischen Welt eine grosse Rolle."

<sup>217</sup> These events concerning St. Peter accepted by Christian patristic tradition without reservation but questioned by many modern Protestant scholars over the last half century seem to have been reaffirmed by the Vatican excavations which were made under St. Peter's Basilica in Rome from 1940-50. Cf. R. T. O'Callaghan, "Recent Excavations under the Vatican Crypts," *Biblical Archeologist*, XII (1949), 1-23. The results of these have been published in the two-volumed work by B. Apollonj-Ghetti, A. Ferrua, E. Josi, E. Kirschbaum, *Esplorazioni sotto la Confessione di San Pietro in Vaticano* (Città del Vaticano: 1951). The findings may be thus summarized

## ST. PETER THE SHEPHERD OF ALL THE FAITHFUL

Let us turn our attention to the other Biblical text in which St. Peter is again singled out from among the Apostles. The words of our Lord spoken to St. Peter: "Feed my sheep, feed my lambs" (John 21:17), are not left unheeded in the works of St. Augustine. By virtue of them St. Peter is made pre-eminently the spiritual pastor of the faithful. Augustine's interpretation of John 21:17 runs parallel to that of Matthew 16:18. In the latter Christ is the foundation of the Church and St. Peter participates directly in this office of sustaining the unity of the Church. In the interpretation of the Johannine text Augustine understands Christ to be the supreme pastor of the faithful, but St. Peter participates more directly in the pastorship of Christ than the other apostles do.<sup>218</sup> The Bishop of Hippo sees in the person of St. Peter a typification of all pastors and a personification of pastoral unity.<sup>219</sup> Whatever is spoken and granted to St. Peter is spoken and given to all the apostles and to all bishops who are the apostles' successors.<sup>220</sup>

It is nevertheless falling short of what St. Augustine means if the significance of St. Peter is limited to an abstract unity or a

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regarding the events of St. Peter's life in question: 1) His martyrdom took place in Rome: cf. J. M. C. Toynbee, "The Shrine of St. Peter and its Setting," *Journal of Roman Studies*, XLIII (1953), 1-26. 2) The place of his burial has been found: cf. R. T. O'Callaghan in the *Biblical Archaeologist*, XVI (1953), 70-87. 3) Human bones were found: "In a radio message of Dec. 23, 1950, Pope Pius XII admitted that it was impossible to identify these remains with those of the Apostle to any degree of certitude." Others think they may be the remains of the Apostle and in such case were not transferred from the Vatican during the persecution of Valerian as some had believed. Cf. J. Ruyschaert, "Réflexions sur les fouilles vaticanes. Le rapport officiel et la critique. Données archéologiques," *Rev. d'histoire eccl.*, XLVIII (1953), 573-631; J. M. C. Toynbee and J. W. Perkins, *The Shrine of St. Peter and the Vatican Excavations* (New York: 1956); E. R. Smothers, "The Excavations under St. Peter's," *Theological Studies*, XVII (1956), 293-321.

<sup>218</sup> *Sermo* 146, 1, 1 (PL 38, 796): "Commendabat Petro Christus agnos suos pascendos qui pascerebat et Petrum."

<sup>219</sup> *Sermo* 147, 2, 2 (PL 38, 798): "In uno Petro figurabatur unitas omnium pastorum, sed bonorum, qui sciunt oves Christi pascere Christo, non sibi."

<sup>220</sup> *Sermo* 296, 4, 5 (PL 39, 1354): "Quod Petro commendatum est, quod Petro mandatum est, non Petrus solus, sed etiam alii Apostoli audierunt, tenuerunt, servaverunt. . . . Audierunt ista et ad nos audienda transmiserunt. Pascimus vos, pascimur vobiscum."



mere symbol of the universal episcopate. In this sense it is maintained by some that Christ addressed, through St. Peter as a representative, the whole band of apostles and their successors. Thus the charge of feeding the sheep and the lambs is committed to St. Peter not in any higher degree than it is to the rest of the apostles.<sup>221</sup> Indeed, St. Augustine makes it clear that the other apostles and their successors have received inalienable rights to feed their sheep and that, therefore, St. Peter "was not the only one among the disciples who was thought worthy to feed the Lord's sheep." But while Augustine makes the other apostles shepherds, he makes St. Peter in effect the chief shepherd among them "because Peter is first among the apostles."<sup>222</sup> Nor was he "the first in order," as Kidd interprets it,<sup>223</sup> but first "by a special grace," as has already been pointed out.

A longer passage is transcribed from one of St. Augustine's sermons which contains his exegesis on giving the keys of the kingdom of heaven to St. Peter in order that the gates<sup>224</sup> of hell should not prevail against the Church and on the charge of feeding Christ's sheep and lambs.

As you know, the Lord Jesus chose His disciples before His passion, whom He named Apostles. Among these Peter shone almost everywhere deserved to represent the whole Church. Because of that representation of the whole Church which only he bore, he deserved to hear "I will give to thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven." For these keys not one man but the unity of the Church received. Here therefore the excellence of Peter is set forth, because he represented that universality and unity of the Church, when it was said to him "I give to thee" what was given to all. For that you may know that the Church did receive the keys of the kingdom of heaven, hear elsewhere what the Lord said to all the Apostles, "Receive the Holy

<sup>221</sup> Such is the contention of B. J. Kidd, *op. cit.*, p. 155: "Augustine says that this charge was given by our Lord to all the Apostles and that the particular address to St. Peter was because he was the first in order of the Apostolic band."

<sup>222</sup> *Sermo* 295, 4, 4 (PL 38, 1350).

<sup>223</sup> *Loc. cit.*

<sup>224</sup> Some modern interpreters suggest that instead of "gates" we should read "Keepers of the gates." Cf. R. Eppel, "Aux sources de la tradition chrétienne." *Mélanges offerts à M. Maurice Goguel* (Paris: 1950), pp. 71-73; J. B. Bauer, "Ostiarum Inferorum," *Biblica*, XXXIV (1953), 430-31.

Ghost" and forthwith, "Whosoever sins ye remit they are remitted unto them, and whosoever sins ye retain they are retained." This pertains to the keys, of which it was said, "Whatsoever ye shall loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven, and whatsoever ye shall bind on earth shall be bound also in heaven." But this He said to Peter, that you may know that Peter then represented the person of the whole Church. Hear what is said to him, what to all the faithful saints. . . . Deservedly also, after His resurrection, the Lord commended His sheep to Peter himself to feed; for he was not the only one among the disciples who was thought worthy to feed the Lord's sheep but when Christ speaks to one, unity is commanded—and to Peter for the first time, because Peter is first among the Apostles.<sup>225</sup>

In confirmation of this interpretation of St. Peter's primacy is the comparison made by St. Augustine between Moses and St. Peter. Notwithstanding the crime perpetrated by Moses upon an Egyptian he was made rector of the synagogue; so also St. Peter, in spite of his sinful zeal in severing the servant's ear in defense of his Master, became the pastor of the Church.<sup>226</sup> The analogy evidently presupposes St. Peter to be more than a mere symbolical representative of the Church's unity and of the power conferred upon all the apostles. The comparison is carried out along personal lines between two individuals; viz., between the leader of the Israelites and the leader of the apostles. Who will doubt that Moses was vested with authority and jurisdiction? In the estimation of some writers the comparison made between these two leaders is strong evidence in favor of St. Peter's primal rank among the apostles.<sup>227</sup>

The analogy between Moses and St. Peter is common to Christian tradition and is found in various parts of the Christian world.

<sup>225</sup> *Sermo* 295, 2, 2-4, 4 (PL 38, 1349-50), tr. by Giles, *op. cit.*, doc. 155, p. 176.

<sup>226</sup> *Contra Faustum*, 22, 70 (PL 42, 455; CSEL 25, ed. J. Zycha, 667-68): "Quid ergo incongruum, si Petrus post hoc peccatum factus est pastor Ecclesiae, sicut Moyses post percussum Aegyptium factus est rector illius Synagogae?"

<sup>227</sup> P. Battifol, "Saint Augustin, Pélagie et le Siège Apostolique," *Revue Bibl.*, XV (1918), 34: "Ce texte du *Contra Faustum* en 400 est une définition capitale de la primauté de Saint Pierre. L'exégèse augustinienne des passages évangéliques qui établissent cette primauté paraîtra, après une telle affirmation un peu flottante." So also: J. Czuj, *Hierarchja Kościelna u św. Augustyna* (Lublin: 1925), p. 88.

Ephraem the Syrian († 373) makes use of it frequently;<sup>228</sup> Macarius the Great of Egypt († 395) expresses it;<sup>229</sup> Maximus of Turin alludes to it in Latin tradition.<sup>230</sup> Moreover we are reminded of it by an image in the catacombs reputed to be of the fourth century. The image represents Moses striking the rock from which water flows, but over the image the name of St. Peter is inscribed.<sup>231</sup> The biblical likenesses of both are these: Moses caused a fountain of water in the desert by striking a rock, and Peter is the rock upon which Christ built His Church; Moses was the shepherd of God's people in the Old Testament (Isa. 63:11); St. Peter is the shepherd of Christ's Church in the New Testament.<sup>232</sup>

It must be noticed that the Fathers ascribe a primatial rank to St. Peter because of his place in the Gospels. Pre-eminence is due to him because he is selected by Christ to hold the foremost rank among the Apostles and in the Church. This is especially evident from the two passages Matt. 16:16 ff., and John 20:17, in which prerogatives are conferred upon him in preference to and above the other apostles. The exegetical interpretations of these passages which make St. Peter rank above the other apostles are ancient. There is no need to seek an explanation for St. Peter's primacy in the worship of the Roman saints which was supposed to be

<sup>228</sup> St. Ephraem the Syrian, e.g., *Sermo de transfiguratione* (S. Ephraem Syri *Opera Omnia*, ed. Assemani [Romae: 1743] II, 44), commenting on the apparition of Moses and Elias in the transfiguration of our Lord, says: "The leaders of the Old Testament saw the leaders of the New. Holy Moses saw Simon (St. Peter) sanctified. The procurator of the Father saw the steward of the Son. The former divided the sea, that [his] people might walk in the middle of [between] the waves. The latter erected a tabernacle, in order to build a Church." This Sermon exists in Greek and Armenian versions; in the Breviary of the Maronites meager fragments of it occur in the original Syriac, and what more, the Sermon is expressly attributed to St. Ephraem. Cf. Zingerle, *Ausgewählte Schriften des hl. Ephräim von Syrien* (Kempten: 1870), I, 231.

<sup>229</sup> *Hom.* 26, 23 (PG 34, 389): "Moses was succeeded by Peter, to whom the new Church of Christ and true priesthood were committed."

<sup>230</sup> *Sermo* 94 (PL 57, 721).

<sup>231</sup> Cf. De Rossi, *Bulletino di archeologia cristiana*, VI (1861), 1-6; W. Neues, *Die Kunst der alten Christen* (Augsburg: 1926), p. 53.

<sup>232</sup> Cf. C. A. Kneller, "Moses und Petrus," *Stim. aus Maria Laach*, LX (1901), 246 ff.

enhanced by Pope Damasus I († 384).<sup>233</sup> Besides, could this recent tradition have influenced St. Augustine's writing but a few years later to pay the tribute that he did to St. Peter without the backgrounds of tradition and Sacred Scripture?

It will also be observed in connection with the exegesis on the scriptural passages dealing with St. Peter as the rock foundation of the Church, the bearer of the keys of the kingdom of heaven, and the shepherd of souls that the primacy of St. Peter is interpreted as a permanent good abiding in the Church. Hence it does not cease with the death of St. Peter but is transmitted in his see to his successors. In his controversies against the Manichees, the Donatists, and the Pelagians Augustine appeals to the fact that he is able to point out an uninterrupted series of bishops who occupied that see. Appealing to the succession of Roman bishops he proposes an argument which possesses a twofold force: namely, it is an appeal to apostolic authority vested in the see of Rome, and it is an appeal to St. Peter's authority vested in that same see.

#### AGAINST THE MANICHEES

In an anti-Manichaean work written in 395 there is a striking passage in which St. Augustine gives the reasons why he adheres to the Catholic Church. The words of St. Augustine follow:

There are many other things which rightly keep me in the bosom of the Catholic Church. The consent of peoples and nations keeps me, her authority keeps me, inaugurated by miracles, nourished in hope, enlarged by love, and established by age. The succession of priests keeps me, from the very seat of the Apostle Peter (to whom the Lord after His resurrection gave charge to feed His sheep) down to the present episcopate. And so, lastly, does the name itself of Catholic, which not without reason, amid so many heresies, the Church has alone retained; so that though all heretics wish to be called Catholics,

<sup>233</sup> Such is the contention of F. J. Foakes-Jackson, *Peter: Prince of the Apostles; A Study in the History and Tradition of Christianity* (New York: 1927), p. 226: "With the increasing reverence for Roman saints, stimulated by the liberality of Damasus, that of Peter naturally increased and, if the tombs of lesser martyrs were objects of veneration, his and that of Paul were specially honored by the spacious churches which enclosed them. At the same time Peter increased, as Paul decreased, till the Prince of the Apostles completely outshines the other founder of the Roman Church."



yet when a stranger asks where the Church is, no heretic will venture to point to his own chapel or house. Such in number and in importance are the precious ties belonging to the Christian name which keep a believer in the Catholic Church.<sup>234</sup>

One of the reasons advanced by St. Augustine is the "succession of priests from the very seat of the Apostle Peter." Battifol interprets these words to mean a general episcopal succession dating from St. Peter.<sup>235</sup> Hugo Koch prefers this interpretation.<sup>236</sup> In this case Augustine would be resorting to the note of apostolicity which is a sign of the genuineness of the true Church. However when Augustine appeals to St. Peter or to the episcopal lineage from St. Peter, the apostolic authority of St. Peter as well as his personal authority—"the first of the apostles"—is meant. And thus it appears that the text has not its full Augustinian meaning unless the Petrine privilege is included.

True enough, in defense of the Church Augustine employs not only the evidence of unity and catholicity but also the note of apostolicity. He keeps in high esteem and affection not only the apostles themselves but also the sees which they founded. In these sees they continue to live; their doctrine and authority persevere here.<sup>237</sup> By being united to these sees the whole Church receives its apostolic character. Some historians of St. Augustine's doctrine on the Church will concede this much, and no more. They interpret St. Augustine as crediting the apostolic sees with full authority in preserving the revealed doctrine.

Yet, just as Augustine brings the person of St. Peter to prominence among the apostles, so does he the Roman See. Among

<sup>234</sup> *Contra Ep. Fund.*, 4, 5 (PL 42, 175; CSEL 25, ed. J. Zycha, 196); tr. Giles, *op. cit.*, doc. 164, p. 182.

<sup>235</sup> P. Battifol, *Le Catholicisme de Saint Augustin* (4 ed.; Paris: 1929), p. 194.

<sup>236</sup> H. Koch, *Die theologische Literaturzeitung*, LVI (1931), 209.

<sup>237</sup> *Contra Faustum*, XXVIII, 2 (PL 42, 485; CSEL 25, ed. J. Zycha, 739): "Dices illam narrationem non esse Matthaei, quam Matthaei esse dicit universa Ecclesia, ab apostolicis sedibus usque ad praesentes episcopos certa successione perducta." *Ibid.*, XI, 2 (PL 42, 246; CSEL 25, ed. J. Zycha, 315): "Et videbis in hac re quid Ecclesiae catholicae valeat auctoritas, quae ab ipsis fundatissimis sedibus Apostolorum usque ad hodiernum diem succedentium sibimet episcoporum serie, et tot populorum consensione firmatur."

the apostolic sees, the *Ecclesia Romana*, not only in the time of St. Augustine,<sup>238</sup> but also in the works and theology of the Saint, has a place which is her own.<sup>239</sup> She indeed belongs to the category of apostolic sees, but she has the primacy among them, as her first occupant was first among the apostles. She is a *sedes apostolica* par excellence.<sup>240</sup> Only of the succession of the Roman bishops is St. Augustine able to furnish us with a catalogue of names. To the Roman bishops for their approbation in matters of doctrine will he be seen appealing with his African colleagues.

#### AGAINST THE DONATISTS

There are three texts that concern us here.

1) We read in his *Psalmus contra partem Donati*, from the year 393, in which Augustine has digested in verse form a summary of his argumentation against the Donatists, the following passage:

Why! a faggot that is cut off from the vine retains its shape. But what use is that shape, if it is not living from the root? Come, brothers, if you wish to be engrafted in the vine. It is grievous when we see you thus lying cut off. Number the priests even from that seat of Peter. And in that order of fathers see who to whom succeeded: that is the rock which the proud gates of Hades do not conquer. All who rejoice in peace, only judge truly.<sup>241</sup>

Authors are at variance in determining the exact sense that is intended to be conveyed by this passage. Karl Adam claims that the *petra* is not to be understood as referring to the Roman See,

<sup>238</sup> I make this distinction because the authors in question assert that the Roman Bishops had gained the upper hand at the time of the Saint, but they do not find doctrinal and practical recognition and support of this in his works. At most, so they say, diplomatic reasons have prompted him to let drop words of acquiescence and recognition of the prominence or domination that she had already by that time usurped. Cf. Caspar, *Geschichte des Papsttums*, I, 340.

<sup>239</sup> P. Battifol, *Le Catholicisme de Saint Augustin*, p. 195: "Entre les sièges apostoliques la *cathedra Petri* a cependant un privilège qui n'est qu'à elle."

<sup>240</sup> Cf. P. Battifol, "Saint Augustin, Pélage et le Siège Apostolique," *Rev. Bibl.*, XV (1918), 30.

<sup>241</sup> PL 43, 30: "Númerate sacerdotes vel ab ipsa Petri sede et in ordine illo patrum quis cui successit, videte: Ipsa est petra, quam non vincunt superbae inferorum portae."

but is intended to denote the *Catholica* as constituting a part of the communion of Saints.<sup>242</sup> Yet the reading of the passage is too plain to refer to anything else but a succession of bishops of the see which he mentions. Indeed, the *Catholica* is the topic of the Psalm in question; still this does not exclude a nearer determination and description of the *Catholica*. To H. Koch the passage means no more than a universal succession of bishops. St. Peter is the first in the line of succession; the first in order; with him the episcopal order takes its starting point.<sup>243</sup>

The wording of the passage is too specific and concrete to bear out a general doctrine of episcopal succession. St. Peter, the *sedes Petri*, which is a *petra*, cannot but signify one see, and in consequence its succession of bishops. St. Augustine is giving a criterion for the true Church: indeed it must begin with St. Peter, but it must also continue by a succession of bishops in his *cathedra*. This *sedes Petri* and its successive occupants are the *petra* upon which the Church is so built that in consequence it will not be vanquished by the proud gates of hell.

This interpretation perfectly harmonizes with argumentations already presented in which St. Peter is the *petra* and all who wish to constitute a stone in this masonry must be built either into it or upon it; now, the order of succession—bishops who occupy St. Peter's *cathedra*—continues to be that foundation, and an adherence to the *sedes Petri* is a guarantee of belonging to the Catholic (*Catholica*) and apostolic Church; those who have no communion with the *sedes Petri* must relinquish their claims to

<sup>242</sup> K. Adam, "Causa finita est," in *Beiträge zur Geschichte des christlichen Altertums*, etc. Festgabe für Albert Ehrhard (Bonn: 1922), 10: "Wenn er in seinem Psalm gegen die Donatisten an die ununterbrochene Reihenfolge der Bischöfe auf der *ipsa Petri sedes* erinnert und im Anschluss daran erklärt: *ipsa est petra quam non vincunt superbae inferorum portae*, so ist das *petra* nicht auf den römischen Stuhl zu beziehen sondern seinem Sprachgebrauch von *petra* entsprechend auf die zur Gemeinschaft der Heiligen verbundene *catholica*, deren alleinseligmachende Kraft die Strophe feiert."

<sup>243</sup> *Die theologische Literaturzeitung*, LXI (1931), 209: "Der Sinn ist aber, . . . : von Petri Stuhl selbst an, d. h. von der Stuhlbesteigung Petri an, d. h. von der Ausstattung Petri mit dem Apostelamt (dem Bischofsamt) an. . . ."

a communion with the *Catholica*.<sup>244</sup> The criterion of adhering to the episcopal succession involves two things; viz., of being connected with the apostolic Church, and, indeed, with that apostolic Church which is founded upon St. Peter.

2) In a letter written 397-8 to Glorius and his colleagues who were apparently Donatists of good faith, St. Augustine sets out to furnish them with the history of the origin of the Donatist schism. In the course of his presentation we read:

Carthage was also near the countries over the sea, and distinguished by illustrious renown, so that it had a bishop of more than ordinary influence, who could afford to disregard a number of conspiring enemies because he saw himself joined by letters of communion both to the Roman Church, in which the primacy of the apostolic chair always flourished, and to other lands from which the gospel came to Africa itself; and he was prepared to defend himself before these churches, if his enemies tried to alienate them from him. . . . It was a matter concerning colleagues who could reserve their entire case to the judgment of other colleagues, especially of apostolic churches.<sup>245</sup>

In this passage St. Augustine alludes to a communion with the Roman Church ascribing to it the primacy of St. Peter's apostolic chair. Some translate the crucial words by "the primacy of *an* apostolic chair,"<sup>246</sup> and thus make the Roman episcopate but one of the episcopal sees which were founded by the apostles, and make it of equal authority with the other apostolic sees. However the terminology which St. Augustine employs here corresponds to the terminology used in connection with St. Peter, and not with the other apostles. To designate the privilege of St. Peter as the highest ranking apostle, Augustine says that St. Peter has "the primacy of the apostolate" (*apostolatus principatum*).<sup>247</sup> The seat of St. Peter has attached to it a primacy that is not equal

<sup>244</sup> P. Battifol, *Le Catholicisme de Saint Augustin* (Paris: 1929), p. 193: "La *Catholica* . . . est là où est la communion avec la *Petri sedes*."

<sup>245</sup> *Ep.* 43, 7 (PL 33, 163; CSEL 34, ed. A. Goldbacher, II, 90).

<sup>246</sup> E. Giles, *Documents Illustrating Papal Authority* (London: 1952), doc. 162, p. 181.

<sup>247</sup> *Sermo* 76, 3 (PL 38, 480): "Idem ergo Petrus a petra cognominatus beatus, Ecclesiae figuram portans, apostolatus principatum tenens. . . ."



to that of the other apostolic chairs but is uniquely superior to them (*principatus apostolicae cathedrae*). In any case the connotation contained in the expression *principatus apostolicae cathedrae* is that it is the chair of St. Peter and it carries his prestige and authority. The word "always" (*semper*) adds particular force to the matter at stake.

What meaning does the term "principatus" bear in the writings of St. Augustine? In the letter at hand, from which the quoted passage was extracted, Augustine furnishes us with the usage of the term *principatus* when he describes the office of the bishop of Numidia. Secundus Tigrisitanus was then the primate (*primas*) of Numidia, and by virtue of this primacy he presided (*concilium regebat*) over eleven or twelve bishops convened at the council of Citta, in the year 305. Another passage, in the same letter, brings us the exact term at issue, namely, *principatus*. The sentence paraphrased runs thus: Since Secundus held the primacy in Numidia (*agebat in Numidia primatum*), it was his prerogative to hold the primacy (*principatum*) of the said council.<sup>248</sup>

If St. Augustine means by the expression, "to preside over a council" (*regere concilium*), what he ordinarily means when he uses the term "regere," then there can be no doubt as to the meaning of "primacy" of the Roman bishops. It is easy to establish the general meaning of the term "regere," which is equivalent to our verbs "to rule," "to govern," "to administer." It is evident that the term denotes superiority of him who rules over that which is ruled. Augustine frequently speaks of God governing and administering the universe.<sup>249</sup> Kings and rulers rule over their people. To the physical head of man Augustine ascribes the power to rule and govern the rest of man.<sup>250</sup>

This text, therefore, favors a priority of the Roman apostolic chair. A further question is whether its superiority is such as to be of a universal character, or whether it is only superior to a certain group of churches belonging to its sphere. H. Koch, argu-

<sup>248</sup> *Ep.* 43, 3 and 8 (PL 33, 161 and 163; CSEL 34, ed. A. Goldbacher, II, 87 and 90).

<sup>249</sup> *De gen. ad lit., passim.*

<sup>250</sup> *De serm. Dom. in monte*, II, 12, 42 (PL 34, 1288): "Hoc enim recte accipimus caput, quod in anima praeeminet, et quo caetera hominis regi et gubernari manifestum est."

ing from the passage under discussion, concedes to the Church of Rome a preponderance (*Übergewicht*) over the African and Western Churches, but does not believe that the words of St. Augustine favor the extension of the Roman primacy over the apostolic chairs of the East.<sup>251</sup>

St. Augustine does make a distinction between "the Roman Church in which the primacy of the Apostolic chair flourished" and "the other lands from which the gospel came to Africa itself." However, the statement of the primacy of the Roman chair is in itself not limited, and the reason which underlies all such statements is the person of St. Peter, who was the first of the apostles, whether their chairs belong to the West or the East. The division which St. Augustine introduces into his text between the African and the Western churches on the one hand and the churches of the East on the other is merely an indication of the division of language and culture which existed at the time of St. Augustine. The East and the West, although parts of the one Church, constituted two almost separate worlds. Much philosophical and theological thought of the East was transmitted in the first three centuries to the West, but little was passed from the West to the East. The historian Milman says: "In the East the glowing writings of St. Augustine were not understood, probably not known."<sup>252</sup>

Notwithstanding this division between the East and West—the Greek and the Latin churches—the predominance of the Roman Church is evident from the fact that it passes definitive judgment on doctrine and arbitrates cases brought to her tribunal for the universal Church. St. Augustine tells that the proceedings of the African councils against the Pelagian heresy were sent to Rome, and a rescript from Rome was sent not only to the

<sup>251</sup> Hugo Koch, *Cathedra Petri. Neue Untersuchungen über die Anfänge der Primatslehre* (Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für neutestamentliche Wissenschaften, 11; Giessen: 1930), p. 171: "Der durch die apostolica cathedra bedingte principatus schafft also der römischen Kirche ein Übergewicht nur über die afrikanische (und das Abendland), nicht über die Gesamtkirche; er erhebt sie nicht über die 'ceterae terrae,' aus denen das Evangelium nach Afrika (und überhaupt nach dem Abendland) gekommen ist, also nicht über die apostolischen stühle des Ostens."

<sup>252</sup> H. H. Milman, *History of Latin Christianity* (New York: 1903), I, 165.

bishops of Africa and the West, but to all the bishops of the Church, including those of the East.<sup>253</sup> Bishop Possidius, writing the biography of St. Augustine in 437, and referring to the Pelagian case writes that the African councils of holy bishops

did their best to persuade the holy Pope of the city (first venerable Innocent, and afterwards his successor, Zosimus) that this heresy was to be abhorred and condemned by catholic faith. And these bishops of so great a see successfully branded them and cut them off from the members of the Church, giving letters to the African churches in the West, and to the churches of the East, and declared that they were to be anathematized and avoided by all catholics.<sup>254</sup>

St. Prosper, a young layman who was zealous for the teaching of St. Augustine, describes the struggle which took place between the "mad error" of the Pelagian heresy and "the dutiful devotion" of the Christian Fathers. But, he says, "first to hew down the oncoming scourge was Rome, the see of Peter, which having been made capital of the world's pastoral office, holds by religion whatever it does not hold by arms."<sup>255</sup>

The bishops of Rome were fully cognizant of the fact that their see was the religious court of appeals not only for the Latin churches, but also for those of the East. Some examples from this Augustinian period will serve to illustrate this truth. Boniface I in 422 writes to his vicar in Thessalonica and to all the Illyrian bishops of the solicitude which St. Peter—and through him his successors—have through divine commission over the whole Church, and emphatically asserts that the Eastern churches have always referred matters of greater importance (*in majoris negotiis, in quibus opus esset disceptatione majore*) to the Roman See and have asked for aid.<sup>256</sup> Elsewhere he says:

<sup>253</sup> *Ep.* 215, 2 (PL 33, 972; CSEL 57, ed. A. Goldbacher, IV, 389): "Item quod papae Zosimo de Africano concilio scriptum est, ejusque rescriptum ad universos totius orbis episcopos missum." *Ep.* 190, 22 (PL 33, 865; CSEL 57, ed. A. Goldbacher, IV, 157-58): "Exempla recentium litterarum, sive quae specialiter ad Afros, sive quae universaliter ad omnes episcopos de memorata sede [Romana] manarunt, ne forte ad vestram sanctitatem non dum pervenerint."

<sup>254</sup> *Vita S. Augustini*, 18 (PL 32, 48).

<sup>255</sup> *Carmen de ingratis*, 1 (PL 51, 96).

<sup>256</sup> JK 365, ed. P. Coustant, *Epistolae Romanorum Pontificum* (Parisiis:

The universal institution of the budding Church acquired her authority from the honor (granted) to the blessed Peter, in which rest her rule and her highest power; because from her fountainhead has emanated the ecclesiastical discipline which has permeated all the Churches, with the ever increasing cultivation of religion. . . . It is certain, therefore, that this Church bears the same relation to all the other churches of the world that the head does to the other members of the body: whoever cuts himself off from her becomes an exile from the Christian religion.<sup>257</sup>

Pope Sixtus III in 433 expresses his views on the primacy of the Roman bishops to an Eastern church. In a letter to the bishop of Antioch, after the latter had made up his quarrel with Cyril of Alexandria,<sup>258</sup> the Roman Pontiff writes:

Let us at God's bidding rejoice in a good and pleasant thing, for once again we begin as "brethren to dwell in unity." We wish your holiness to proclaim what you write. From the outcome of this affair you have learnt what it means to be in agreement with us. The blessed apostle Peter, in his successors, has handed down what he received. Who would be willing to separate himself from the doctrine of him whom the Master Himself instructed first among the Apostles?<sup>259</sup>

Some writers will agree that in the documents which were

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1721), pp. 1039 f.; C. Silva-Tarouca, *Epistolarum Romanorum Pontificum . . . collectio Thessalonicensis* (Pont. Univ. Gregoriana, Textus et Documenta, ser. theol. 23, [Romae: 1927]), pp. 27 f.: "Manet b. apostolum Petrum per sententiam dominicam universalis Ecclesiae ab hoc sollicitudo suscepta, quippe quam, Evangelio teste, in se noverit esse fundatam, nec unquam ejus honor vacuus potest esse curarum, cum certum sit, summam rerum ex ejus deliberatione pendere. . . . Nemo unquam apostolico culmini, de cujus judicio non licet retractari, manus obvias audacter intulit. . . . Servant, inquam, statuta majorum, in omnibus deferentes, et ejus vicissitudinem recipientes gratiae, quam se in Domino, qui pax nostra est, nobis debere cognoscunt. Sed quia res postulat, approbandum documentis est, maximas Orientalium ecclesias, in magnis negotiis, in quibus opus esset disceptatione majore, sedem semper consuluisse Romanam, et quoties usus exegit, ejus auxilium postulasse."

<sup>257</sup> *Ep.* 14, 1 (PL 20, 777).

<sup>258</sup> Conciliabulum at Ephesus, 27 June, 431. Cf. J. Mansi, *Sacrorum Conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio* (Florentiae, Parisiis, Lipsiae: 1759 ss.) IV, 1268; C. J. Hefele, *A History of Christian Councils* (Edinburgh: 1894-96), III, 57; Giles, *op. cit.*, doc. 218, p. 247.

<sup>259</sup> Sixtus III, *Ep.* 6 to John, Bishop of Antioch, 17 September, 433 (PL 50, 609).



quoted there is a decisive claim by the Roman bishops to primacy for their see. But this, they say, is the final stage of development. For example, with regard to the quoted Letter of Pope Boniface I, Pickman writes: "Here, at last, no longer embryonically, is the full declaration of the Petrine claim, here is the final step of this argument. The Roman bishops, whom everyone must acknowledge to be Peter's successors, would be derelict in their duty if they did not, however humbly and even reluctantly, assume this grave responsibility."<sup>260</sup>

And yet if we retrogress some eighty years the same mind will be discovered on the part of the Roman bishops. Pope Julius (337-352) in the year 340 supplies us with a case where this theoretical doctrine concerning Rome's jurisdiction over the churches of the East is put into practice. The bishops of the East condemned St. Athanasius and communicated their procedure to Pope Julius in a letter "replete with raillery and not without the most serious threats."<sup>261</sup> Julius responds: "Do you not know that it is the custom to write to us first and it will be decided from here what is just? Indeed if any . . . suspicion fell upon the bishop [Athanasius] of that city, you should have written to this [Roman] Church."<sup>262</sup>

But three years later, in 343, in the council of Sardica,<sup>263</sup> several

<sup>260</sup> *The Mind of Latin Christendom* (New York: 1937), p. 580.

<sup>261</sup> Sozomenos, *Hist. Eccl.*, III, 8 (PG 67, 1054); cf. J. Chapman, *Studies on the Early Papacy* (London: 1928), ch. III, St. Athanasius and Pope Julius I, pp. 55 ff.

<sup>262</sup> JK 186, ed. P. Coustant, *op. cit.*, pp. 386 f.: "An ignoratis hanc esse consuetudinem, ut primum nobis scribatur et hinc quod justum est decernatur? Sane si qua . . . suspicio in illius urbis episcopum [Athanasium] cadebat, ad hanc ecclesiam [Romanam] scribendum fuit." The manner in which two famous historians of the early Church write about this passage of Pope Julius bears evidence to its importance. Socrates, *Hist. Ecc.*, II, 17 (PG 67, 219): "Julius . . . rescribens episcopis qui Antiochiae convenerant, graviter conquestus est, primum quidem de acerbitate eorum epistolae; deinde quod contra canones ipsum ad synodum non vocassent, cum ecclesiastica regula interdictum sit, ne praeter sententiam Romani episcopi quidquam ab ecclesiis decernatur." Cf. C. Kneller, "Papst und Konzil im ersten Jahrtausend," *Zeit. f. kath. Theol.*, XXVIII (1904), 74 ff. The second historian of this period to whom a reference is made is Sozomenos, who interprets the words of Pope Julius in this manner, III, 10 (PG 67, 1058): "Legem enim sacerdotalem, ut pro irritis habeantur, quae praeter sententiam episcopi Romani fuerint gesta."

<sup>263</sup> For a critical edition see C. H. Turner, *Ecclesiae Occidentalis Monu-*

important canons were enacted concerning the transfer and trials of bishops and appeals; canons 3, 4, 5 expressly recognize the supremacy of the Roman Pontiff over all the bishops including the Eastern. The bishops of this council indicate, too, the source of the Roman bishop's supremacy, saying: "Let us honor the memory of the most holy apostle Peter" (*Sanctissimi apostoli Petri memoriam honoremus*). At the conclusion of the council in a letter addressed to Julius the bishops convened at the council write: "This seems to be the best and the most becoming, if the priests refer [matters] from all provinces of the Lord to the head, that is to the seat of Peter the apostle."<sup>264</sup>

The custom (*consuetudo*) referred to above, to which Pope Julius appeals, in so far as it involves the Eastern Church, is no single or isolated instance. The claim of the Roman bishops has been made again and again in express words that they are the arbiters in the affairs of Eastern churches when more important matters (*causae majores*) are concerned, because to them is entrusted the care of all the churches (*sollicitudo omnium ecclesiarum*). Such is the case of Damasus I and the Roman Synod in the year 372 in relation to the Illyrian bishops;<sup>265</sup> such are the claims made by Innocent I in 404 to Victricius, bishop of Rouen,<sup>266</sup> and again in the year 417 to the bishops of the council of Mileve;<sup>267</sup> such too, is the claim expressed in 444 by Leo the

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*menta juris antiquissima* (Oxford: 1930), I, fasc. 2, pars 3, pp. 455 ff.; cf. C. H. Turner, "The Genuineness of the Sardica Canons," *Journ. of Theol. Studies*, III (1902), 370-96.

<sup>264</sup> CSEL 65, ed. A. Feder, 127: "Hoc enim optimum et valde congruentissimum esse videbitur, si ad caput, id est Petri Apostoli sedem, de singulis quibusque provinciis Domini referant sacerdotes." The term "priests" (sacerdotes) is used to designate bishops here, as is also evident from the writings of St. Augustine, e.g., *Psalmus contra partem Donati* (PL 43, 30).

<sup>265</sup> JK 232, ed. P. Coustant, *op. cit.*, p. 896: "Neque enim praeiudicium aliquod nasci potuit ex numero eorum qui apud Ariminum convenerunt: cum constet, neque Romanum episcopum, cuius ante omnes fuit expetenda sententia, neque Vincentium . . . neque alios huiusmodi statutis consensum aliquem commodasse."

<sup>266</sup> JK 286, ed. P. Coustant, *op. cit.*, p. 404 s.: "Si maiores causae in medium fuerint devolutae, ad sedem apostolicam sicut synodus statuit, et beata consuetudo exigit, post iudicium episcopale referantur."

<sup>267</sup> JK 322, ed. P. Coustant, *op. cit.*, p. 986: "Diligenter ergo et congrue apostolici consulis honoris arcana,—honoris inquam illius, quem praeter

Great to Anastasius, bishop of Thessalonica.<sup>268</sup> The latter Roman Pontiff not only practically lays claim to a universal jurisdiction, extending also to the churches of the East, but also theoretically teaches and preaches, in no unequivocal language and with much weight,<sup>269</sup> that Rome has religious preponderance over the world because it was the see of St. Peter.<sup>270</sup>

It would be needless to go beyond the pontificate of St. Leo the Great, for it was the contention of not a few historians some years ago that it was this Roman Pontiff who established, in theory and practice, a papal power embracing the whole Christian world.<sup>271</sup> Other more recent historians, however, set a much earlier date in which the process of development towards a universal papal jurisdiction has been completed. In Goodspeed's opinion, "the claim of primacy among the bishops for its head began under Victor († 198), and progressed under Calixtus, who claimed the 'power of the keys' and reached a peak under Stephen (A.D. 254-57), who professed to occupy the 'chair of St. Peter.' " <sup>272</sup>

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illa, quae sunt extrinsecus, sollicitudo manet omnium ecclesiarum,—super anxiiis rebus, quae sit tenenda sententia: antiquae, scil., regulae formam secuti, quam toto semper ab orbe mecum nostis esse servatam."

<sup>268</sup> PL 54, 619: S. Leo M. ad Anastasium Thessalonicensem episc., a. 444: "Si qua vero causa maior evenerit, quae a tua fraternitate illic praesidente non potuerit definiri, relatio tua missa nos consulat, ut revelante Domino, cuius misericordia profitemur esse quod possumus, quod ipse nobis aspiraverit rescribamus; ut cognitioni nostrae pro traditione veteris instituti et debita apostolicae sedis reverentia, nostro examini vindicemus."

<sup>269</sup> Cf. E. M. Pickman, *op. cit.*, pp. 590-91.

<sup>270</sup> *In Natali Apostolorum Petri et Pauli*, 72 (PL 54, 422): "Isti sunt qui te ad hanc gloriam provexerunt, ut gens sancta, populus electus, civitas sacerdotalis et regia, per sacram beati Petri sedem caput orbis effecta, latius praesideres religione divina quam dominatione terrena." Cf. Caspar, *op. cit.*, I, 428-30; I, 457-58. In the same tone a contemporary and an intimate of St. Leo, St. Prosper, who writes in *Carmen de Ingratis*, I, 40 f. (PL 51, 97): "Sedes Roma Petri; quae pastoralis honoris facta caput mundo, quidquid non possidet armis, religione tenet."

<sup>271</sup> F. J. Foakes-Jackson, *Peter: etc.*, p. 226: "Siricius, the successor of Damasus, is addressed by the clergy of Milan in 390 as the successor of Peter to whom Christ committed the care of His flock. Fifty years later a pope was to arise to declare his right to preside over the whole Church in the name of the Apostle." The pope to whom reference is made here is of course St. Leo.

<sup>272</sup> E. J. Goodspeed, *A History of Early Christian Literature* (Chicago: 1942), p. 118.

Yet, if we continue to trace back the history of the Roman see it will be discovered that this same consciousness of being successors to Peter and his primacy exists in the earliest extant documents. And thus there is no period in which a "development" is not taking place. Clement of Rome writes A.D. 96 to the church of Corinth that he was concerned with the matters disputed among them. In his letter he refers to the righteous pillars of the Church—Peter and Paul, and demands obedience from the church of Corinth. He writes: "But if any disobey the words spoken by him through us, let them know that they will involve themselves in transgression and no small danger."<sup>273</sup> Lightfoot wrote: "It may perhaps seem strange to describe this noble remonstrance as the first step towards papal domination. And yet undoubtedly this is the case."<sup>274</sup>

It is noteworthy, however, that such things as the power of the keys, the occupation of the chair of St. Peter, the privilege of being the rock foundation are ascribed to the Roman bishops by such Fathers as are not Roman bishops more often than by the Roman bishops themselves. So, too, the right to settle controverted religious issues is attributed to the occupants of the chair of St. Peter by the Fathers, ecclesiastical writers, and bishops convened in council, as much as they are claimed by the Roman Pontiffs.

3) Returning to St. Augustine and to the question of succession to St. Peter, there is still another passage from the antidonativist works. It occurs in a Letter to the Catholic Generosus. In it we read:

If the lineal succession of bishops is to be considered, with how much more benefit to the Church do we reckon from Peter himself, to whom, as bearing in a figure the whole Church, the Lord said: "Upon this rock I will build my Church, and the gates of hell shall not conquer it!" For to Peter succeeded Linus, Clement, Anacletus, Evaristus, Alexander, Sixtus, Telesphorus, Iginus, Anicetus, Pius, Soter, Eleutherius, Victor, Zephyrinus, Calixtus, Urban, Pontian, Antherus, Fabian, Cornelius, Lucius, Stephen, Xystus, Dionysius, Felix, Eutychian, Gaius,

<sup>273</sup> W. K. Lowther Clarke, *The First Epistle of Clement to the Corinthians* (London: 1937), p. 49.

<sup>274</sup> *Apostolic Fathers* (London: 1890), p. I, v. 1, p. 70.



Marcellinus, Marcellus, Eusebius, Miltiades, Sylvester, Mark, Julius, Liberius, Damasus, Siricius, Anastasius. In this order of succession no Donatist bishop is found.<sup>275</sup>

The text clearly expresses the top-ranking position of the Apostle Peter, the succession of bishops in his Roman chair, and the need of being associated with this lineage in order to be a part of the Catholic Church. Hugo Koch tries to explain away the gravity of this passage by contending that the Bishop of Hippo only intends to give the first and best example of the succession of Catholic bishops.<sup>276</sup> This is true but it does not express the whole truth. The succession of bishops in the Roman See is most important because it is the chair of St. Peter; it is most decisive because adherence or nonadherence to it determines whether you are in the Catholic Church or not; it is most noteworthy because the lineal succession of bishops is known to us.

The quoted text from Augustine's Letter 53 was written in the year 400. It pursues the same course of arguing against the African schismatics as was charted by the African bishop, Optatus of Mileve, in his work *De Schismate Donatistarum*, written in 370 and revised in 385. At the time that Optatus wrote this work the Donatist schism existed for fifty-eight years, was strongly entrenched in Africa and had pushed its way into Rome with Macrobius as rival to Damasus. For the Donatists the Church was an undivided and saintly whole, and they believed themselves to be the whole of the true Church of Christ. Bishop Optatus undertook to prove to them that they were not only not the whole true Church but not even a part of it. They do not belong to the universal communion of Catholics because they are dissociated from those bishops who form the lineal succession from St. Peter.

Optatus explicitly names St. Peter the head of the apostles. Literally this epithet does not occur in St. Augustine but equivalently it underlies his assertions on St. Peter and on the Roman

<sup>275</sup> *Ep.* 53, 2 (PL 33, 196; CSEL 34, ed. A. Goldbacher, II, 153); tr. Giles, *op. cit.*, doc. 161, p. 180.

<sup>276</sup> H. Koch, *Die theologische Literaturzeitung*, CVI (1931), 209: "Hier werden allerdings die römischen Bischöfe aufgezählt, aber nur als erstes und vorzüglichstes Beispiel der katholischen Bischofsfolge überhaupt. . . ."

chair. It may be reasonably surmised that the reason why the Bishop of Hippo does not follow Optatus in using this trenchant term to designate St. Peter's role in the apostolic band and the Church, although he follows the argument of Optatus, is the fact that Augustine reserves this term for Christ. In his doctrine of the mystical body, Christ is the head and the faithful are the members. In this doctrine the mind of St. Augustine associates grace as being transmitted from the head to the members. Consequently he avoids using the term "head" for any one but Christ.

The argument of Optatus of Mileve against the Donatists follows:

For one who knows, to err is sin; those who do not know may sometimes be pardoned. You cannot deny that you know that upon Peter first in the city of Rome was conferred the episcopal chair, on which sat Peter, the head of all the Apostles, whence he was called Cephas, that in this one chair unity should be preserved by all, lest the other Apostles might uphold each for himself separate chairs, so that he who should set up a second chair, against the unique chair, would already be a schismatic and a sinner.

Well, then, on the one chair, which is the first of the endowments, Peter first sat, to whom succeeded Linus, to Linus succeeded Clement, Anacletus, Evaristus, . . . to Damasus Siricius, who today is our colleague, and he with the whole world, agrees with us in one bond of communion through the intercourse of letters of peace. Now do you show the origin of your chair, you who wish to claim the holy Church for yourselves.<sup>277</sup>

Let us regress to another influential name in African Church history, namely, St. Cyprian, Bishop of Carthage. Like St. Augustine he considers St. Peter to be the first of the apostles. "For even Peter whom the Lord chose first, and on whom he built his Church, when Paul later disputed with him about circumcision, did not claim anything insolently for himself, or assume anything arrogantly, or say that he held the primacy and ought to be obeyed the more by novices and newcomers."<sup>278</sup> Christ founded the Church on a rock which gives unity to it. This is

<sup>277</sup> Optatus, *De schis. Donat. adv. Parmen.*, 2, 2 (PL 2, 947; CSEL 26, 36), tr. Giles, *op. cit.*, doc. 84, p. 118.

<sup>278</sup> *Ep.* 71, 3 (CSEL 3, 771).

true not only for the apostolic period, but also for all times of the Church's existence. The chair of St. Peter is the see which brings about unity in the Church. The words of St. Cyprian, inculcating this unity are strong: "There is one God, and one Christ, and one Church, and one chair founded by the voice of the Lord on the rock" (or "on Peter").<sup>279</sup>

St. Cyprian also makes use of the other metaphor employed by Christ and applies it to St. Peter and the other apostles and bishops. "Although there are many shepherds, yet we feed one flock."<sup>280</sup> Of these shepherds Cyprian singles out Peter "to whom the Lord commends his sheep to be fed and guarded, on whom he placed and founded the Church."<sup>281</sup> For this reason "fellow bishops, the whole company of whom, throughout the entire world have consented with unanimity"<sup>282</sup> "to the chair of Peter and to the principal Church, whence the unity of the priesthood took its rise."<sup>283</sup> For Anglicans an *Ecclesia principalis* is one to whom honor is due as being an apostolic church.<sup>284</sup>

This digest of St. Cyprian's teaching on St. Peter and his *cathedra* is gleaned from his writings outside of the much disputed treatise "*On the Unity of the Catholic Church*." The tract was composed in 251 and was read in the same year at the Council of Carthage and also sent to Rome.<sup>285</sup> St. Augustine was ac-

<sup>279</sup> *Ep.* 43, 5 (CSEL 3, 594); cf. K. Adam, "Cyprians Kommentar zu Mt. 16:18-19 in dogmengeschichtlicher Beleuchtung," *Theol. Quartalschr.*, XCIV (1912), 203-56.

<sup>280</sup> *Ep.* 68, 4 (CSEL 3, 747).

<sup>281</sup> *De hab. virg.*, 10 (CSEL 3, 194).

<sup>282</sup> *Ep.* 55, 8 (CSEL 3, 624).

<sup>283</sup> *Ep.* 59, 14 (CSEL 3, 666): cf. P. Battifol, *Cathedra Petri* (Paris: 1938); H. Koch, *Cyprian und der römische Primat* (Leipzig: 1910); *id.*, *Cathedra Petri* (Giessen: 1930).

<sup>284</sup> H. H. Milman, *History of Latin Christianity* (New York: 1892), I, 261: "Though Cyprian, by assigning a kind of primacy to St. Peter, and acknowledging the hereditary descent of the Roman Bishop from the great apostle, had intended to elevate the power of the Pontiff, yet his great name sanctioned likewise almost a contemptuous resistance to the Roman ecclesiastical authority." E. W. Benson, *Cyprian: His Life, His Times, His Work* (London: 1897), 537-40; G. G. Willis, *Saint Augustine and the Donatist Controversy* (London: 1950), p. 99: "Although the Bishop of Rome has a primacy of honor, a *principalitas*, as it has come to be called, yet his decision has no overriding authority."

<sup>285</sup> *Ep.* 54, 4; (CSEL 3, 623).

quainted with it and there are reverberations of it in his works.<sup>286</sup> The difficulty arising out of this work is that there exists at present more than one text, and the question is whether they are authentic or spurious.

The first of these texts, which is reputed by many scholars to be the original text stemming from the hand of St. Cyprian, was published by G. Hartel in the Vienna Corpus in 1868. The MSS supporting this text go back to the sixth century. The passage of this text referring to St. Peter makes him the rock of the Church and bestows upon him the power of the keys.

Upon one He builds the Church, and though to all the Apostles, after His resurrection, He gives an equal power. . . , yet in order that He might make clear the unity, by His authority, He has placed the source of the same unity, as beginning from one. Certainly the other Apostles were what Peter was, endowed with equal fellowship both of honor and power, but a beginning is made from unity, that one Church of Christ may be shown.<sup>287</sup>

Puller sees no reference to Rome or to any papal jurisdiction in the bishops of Rome that would come to them from the first occupant of their chair.<sup>288</sup> Rivington states that "the treatise was written to meet special needs, and . . . papal authority did not come into question."<sup>288a</sup> Hugo Koch interprets the quoted words to mean that "Peter is not the real ground, nor the cause nor the center, but only the starting point in time, and the means of recognition of Church unity."<sup>289</sup> "This resembles the interpretation of Cyprian by English scholars, from Dodwell and Fell to Benson and Puller and Denny."<sup>290</sup> Chapman points out how St.

<sup>286</sup> H. Koch, "La sopravvivenza di Cipriano nell'antica letteratura cristiana," *Ricerche Religiose*, VIII (1932), 327-34; J. J. Jenson, *St. Augustine: The Lord's Sermon on the Mount* (Westminster, Md.: 1948), p. 181.

<sup>287</sup> *De Catholicae Ecclesiae unitate*, 4 (CSEL 3, 212).

<sup>288</sup> F. W. Puller, *Primitive Saints and the See of Rome* (3rd ed.; London: 1900).

<sup>288a</sup> L. Rivington, *The Primitive Church and the See of Peter* (London: 1894), pp. 50 ff.

<sup>289</sup> *Cyprian und der römische Primat. Eine kirchen- und dogmengeschichtliche Studie* (Leipzig: 1910) p. 43: "Petrus ist nicht Realgrund, nicht Ursache und Mittelpunkt, sondern nur der zeitliche Ausgangspunkt un der Erkenntnisgrund der kirchlichen Einheit."

<sup>290</sup> J. Chapman, *Studies on the Early Papacy* (London: 1927), p. 35, n. 2.



Cyprian regarded the building of the Church upon St. Peter as a special prerogative of his,<sup>291</sup> how "this alone is sufficient to prove the unity of the building erected on it."<sup>292</sup> And how Peter "is a permanent not a transient guarantee of the unity of the edifice which rises upon a single rock."<sup>293</sup>

In 1938 M. Bévenot<sup>294</sup> published another version of the same passage taken from a MS of the twelfth century.<sup>295</sup> The text of the passage in question from chapter 4 is given on the frontispiece. It stresses the primacy of St. Peter and the necessity of adhering to his see.

He (Christ) founded one chair, and by His authority appointed the source and system of unity. Certainly the rest were as Peter was, but primacy was given to Peter and one Church and one chair is shown, and they are all shepherds, but one flock is exhibited, which is fed by all the Apostles with unanimous consent. And he who does not hold this unity of His Church does he think he holds the faith? He who deserts the chair of Peter, upon whom the Church was founded, does he trust himself to be in the Church? The episcopate is one, part of which is held by each in solidity.

From this version of *De Unitate* there is a quotation of Julius II, in the year 590. In the opinion of Bévenot, who studied over 100 MSS in which this tract appears, this text is the first one composed by St. Cyprian. After his quarrels with Pope Stephen he altered the text to the reading given first and thus mitigated his own claims for the bishops of Rome.<sup>296</sup>

The third text is the one given by Migne in which both texts are combined. The oldest known MS bearing this text comes from the tenth century. Since this was the standard text for about 300 years it was adopted by Migne with the support of Benedictine authority. J. H. Newman was of the opinion that this version was the result of the incorporation of marginal notes into the original text, without intentional dishonesty.<sup>297</sup> R. E.

<sup>291</sup> Chapman, *loc. cit.*, p. 32.

<sup>292</sup> *Loc. cit.*, p. 34.

<sup>293</sup> *Loc. cit.*, p. 33.

<sup>294</sup> *St. Cyprian's De Unitate, Chap. 4, in the Light of the Manuscripts* (Rome: 1937; London: 1939).

<sup>295</sup> Paris National Library: Lat. 15282, fold. 22v.

<sup>296</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 55-61.

<sup>297</sup> *Library of the Fathers*. English translations published at Oxford from 1838, III, 150-52.

Wallis, who translated Baluze's text for a different English edition of the Fathers, stated that the words contained in the second text (but not in the first) and extolling the primacy of St. Peter (and his chair) are "undoubtedly spurious."<sup>298</sup> C. Gore claimed the words to be an interpolation through nine editions of his work; in the tenth, he dropped his charges of falsification.<sup>299</sup> E. W. Benson, Archbishop of Canterbury, set out to prove that they were forgeries because they "taught the cardinal doctrine of the Roman see."<sup>300</sup>

J. Chapman contends that the controverted words—the so-called "interpolation" or alternative form of this chapter—were written not later than A.D. 350; moreover, he is of the opinion that they were written by Cyprian himself.<sup>301</sup> E. W. Watson, does not accept the conclusion of Dom Chapman but admits that the controverted words are consistent with the style and thought of St. Cyprian.<sup>302</sup> In accord with the conclusions of Chapman's investigation are A. Harnack,<sup>303</sup> H. von Soden,<sup>304</sup> P. Battifol,<sup>305</sup> T. G. Jalland,<sup>306</sup> and many others: e.g., Ernst, d'Alès, Poschmann, Van den Eynde, Caspar, Lebreton, Bardy, Altaner, Bévenot, Perler.<sup>307</sup> Opposed to Cyprianic authorship are Hugo Koch,<sup>308</sup> E. Denny,<sup>309</sup> B. J. Kidd,<sup>310</sup> J. Ludwig,<sup>311</sup> Dom J. Le Moyne.<sup>312</sup> It may

<sup>298</sup> *Ante-Nicene Christian Library* (Edinburgh: 1867 ff.), VIII, 381, note.

<sup>299</sup> *Roman Catholic Claims* (London), 1st ed., p. 108; 9th ed., p. 112.

<sup>300</sup> *Cyprian, His Life, His Times, His Work* (London: 1897), pp. 203, 214–15.

<sup>301</sup> "Les interpolations dans le traité de S. Cyprian sur l'unité de l'Église," *Rev. Bénédictine*, XIX (1902), 246–54; 357–73; XX (1903), 103–23; *id.*, *Studies on the Early Papacy*, pp. 35–36; *id.*, *Journal of Theological Studies*, V (1904), 634.

<sup>302</sup> *Journal of Theological Studies*, V (1904), 433.

<sup>303</sup> *Theologische Literaturzeitung*, 1903, 262.

<sup>304</sup> *Texte und Untersuchungen*, 1904, Band 25, pt. 3, p. 21, note.

<sup>305</sup> *L'Église naissante et le Catholicisme* (3 éd.; Paris: 1922), p. 440.

<sup>306</sup> *The Church and the Papacy* (London: 1949), p. 163.

<sup>307</sup> O. Perler, "Zur Datierung der beiden Fassungen des vierten Kapitels 'De unitate Ecclesiae'," *Röm. Quartalsch.*, XLIV (1936), 1–44; "De catholicae ecclesiae unitate cap. 4–5, Die ursprünglichen Texte, ihre Überlieferung, ihre Datierung," *Röm. Quartalsch.*, XLIV (1936), 151–68.

<sup>308</sup> *Cyprian und der Römische Primat.*, p. 158.

<sup>309</sup> *Papalism* (London: 1912), p. 655.

<sup>310</sup> *A History of the Church to A.D. 461* (Oxford: 1922), I, 458–59.

<sup>311</sup> *Der heilige Märtyrerbischof von Karthago* (München: 1951); *Die Primatworte Mt. 16, 18–19 in der altkirchlichen Exegese* (Münster: 1952), pp. 26 ff.

appear strange that the crucial chapter IV containing "the primacy text" is passed over in silence by Augustine, but in reality there are repercussions of it in his works.<sup>312</sup>

There is another earlier striking testimony referring to the succession of bishops in apostolic chairs, and particularly pointing to the episcopal lineage of the see of Rome. It is contained in St. Irenaeus' work "Against the Heresies," written in 185. The work and its passage have particular value on account of its antiquity and on account of its author. St. Irenaeus, Bishop of Lyons, is the most important witness of the second century to Christian tradition. He received his faith from St. Polycarp, who in turn received his from St. John the Apostle. The work "Against the Heresies" written in Greek was translated into Latin around the time of Optatus and this was done on African soil.<sup>314</sup> There is therefore a conspicuous continuity of thought relative to the doctrine under discussion. The appeal to the succession of bishops is common to Irenaeus, Optatus, and St. Augustine; they differ however in this, that Irenaeus, arguing against heresy uses the argument of succession to determine the orthodoxy of doctrine, whereas Optatus and Augustine, arguing against schismatics, propose episcopal succession to determine unity.

Anyone who wishes to discern the truth may see in every church in the whole world the apostolic succession clear and manifest. We can enumerate those who were appointed as bishops in the churches by the apostles and their successors to our own day, who never knew or taught anything like their foolish doctrine. . . .

But (as it would be very long, in a book of this kind, to enumerate the successions of all the churches) by pointing out the apostolic tradition and faith announced to mankind, which has been brought down to our time by successions of bishops, in the greatest, most ancient, and well known church, founded and established by the

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<sup>312</sup> "Saint Cyprien est il bien l'auteur de la rédaction breve du De Unitate?" *Rev. Bénédictine*, LXIII (1953), 70-115.

<sup>313</sup> O. Perler, "Le 'De unitate' (chs. IV-V) de saint Cyprien interprété par saint Augustin," *Augustinus Magister* (Paris: 1954), II, 835-66.

<sup>314</sup> O. Bardenheuer, *Geschichte der altkirchlichen Litteratur*, III, 491, footnote: "Nach den neuesten Forschungen ist der lateinische Übersetzer des Werkes des hl. Irenäus sehr wahrscheinlich Zeitgenosse und Landsmann des hl. Optatus gewesen."

two most glorious Apostles, Peter and Paul, at Rome, we can confound all who in any way, either for self-pleasing or vainglory, or by blindness or perversity, gather more than they ought. *For to this Church on account of her more powerful principality it is necessary (? inevitable) that every Church should come together (? agree), that is the faithful from all sides, in which, always, that which is the tradition from the Apostles has been preserved by those who are from all parts.*<sup>315</sup>

Then follows the succession of bishops from the time of St. Peter to Eleutherius, "the twelfth from the apostles who now occupies the see. And this is a most complete proof that it is one and the same life-giving faith which has been preserved in the Church from the apostles until now, and handed down in truth."<sup>316</sup> The succession list of the see of Rome is complete and the earliest of the lists of succession in Apostolic sees, being compiled by Hegesippus probably about 150. The list of Jerusalem is old but contains only three names and hardly merits the name of a succession list. That of Antioch, which puts St. Peter at the head, is more recent. That of Alexandria is contained in other sources but is not supported by patristic writings.<sup>317</sup>

St. Irenaeus was "the earliest Father who used the Apostolic succession as an element of his theological reasoning."<sup>318</sup> The italicized words constitute the crux of the passage, which has engaged the attention of scholars over many years.<sup>319</sup> The sentence is cumbrous and, in the judgment of some, the text is gar-

<sup>315</sup> *Adv. Haer.*, III, 3, 2 (PG 7, 848); tr. Giles, *op. cit.*, doc. 9, pp. 9-10. The original Greek text is wanting. The crucial words of the Latin text read: "Ad hanc enim Ecclesiam propter potentiorum (or potiorum) principalem necesse est omnem convenire ecclesiam, hoc est, eos qui sunt undique fideles, in qua semper ab his qui sunt undique conservata est ea quae est ab Apostolis traditio."

<sup>316</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>317</sup> A. Ehrhardt, *The Apostolic Succession* (London: 1953), p. 62.

<sup>318</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 40-41; E. Caspar, *Die älteste römische Bischofsliste* (Berlin: 1926).

<sup>319</sup> Hagemann, *Die römische Kirche in den ersten drei Jahrhunderten* (Freiburg im Br.: 1864), pp. 598-627; Freppel, *Saint Irénée et la primauté du pape* (Rome: 1870); G. Schneeman, *S. Irenaei de Ecclesiae romanae principatu testimonium commentatum et defensum* (Freiburg im Br.: 1870); A. Harnack, "Das Zeugniß des Irenäus über das Ansehen der röm. Kirche," *Sitzungsberichte der könig. preuss. Akademie der Wissenschaften* (Berlin: 1893), 939-55; J. Chapman, "Le témoignage de S. Irénée en faveur de la



bled.<sup>320</sup> For that reason it is difficult to render the passage into easy flowing and readily intelligible English.<sup>321</sup> The principle

primauté romaine," *Revue bénédictine*, XII (1890), 49-64; XVI (1896), 385-400; F. X. Funk, "Der Primat der römischen Kirche nach Ignatius und Irenäus," *Kirchengeschichtliche Abhandlungen und Untersuchungen* (Paderborn: 1897), I, 18 ff.; W. Wilmers, *De Ecclesia Christi* (Freiburg im Br.: 1897), pp. 219-20; Flamion, *Rapport sur les travaux du séminaire historique* (1898-99), "Annuaire de l'Université catholique de Louvain" (Louvain: 1900), pp. 384-89; G. Sameria, *Dogma, gerarchia e culto nella Chiesa primitiva* (Rome: 1902), pp. 297-304; L. Duchesne, *Autonomies ecclésiastiques. Églises séparées* (2 éd.; Paris: 1905), pp. 118-21; 141-45; H. Böhmer, "Zu dem Zeugnisse des Irenäus, von dem Ansehen der römischen Kirche," *Zeit. für neutest. Wissenschaft und die Kunde des Urchristentums*, VII (1906), 193-201; C. A. Kneller, "Der hl. Irenäus und die römische Kirche," *Stimmen aus Maria-Laach*, LXXVI (1909), 402-21; An., "Il testimonio di S. Ireneo sulla Chiesa romana e sull'autorità del Romano Pontefice," *Civiltà cattolica*, II (1908), 291-306; III (1908), 33-47; J. Turmel, *Histoire du dogme de la papauté des origines à la fin du IV<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris: 1908), pp. 39-44; 73-79; G. Morin, "Une erreur de copiste dans le texte d'Irénée sur L'Église romaine," *Rev. Bénéd.*, XXV (1908), 515-20; J. Stiglmayr, "Irenaeus Adv. haer. III, III, 2, immer noch crux interpretum," *Der Katholik*, XL (1909), 401-5; M. d'Herbigny, "Sur le second 'Qui sunt undique' dans Irénée III, III, 2," *Rev. Bénéd.*, XXVII (1910), 103-8; L. Salvatorelli, *La principalitas della Chiesa romana in Ireneo ed in Cipriano* (Rome: 1910); I. Ottiger, *Theologia Fundamentalis* (Freiburg im Br.: 1911), II, 630 ff.; A. Straub, *De Ecclesia Christi* (Oeniponte, 1912), II, 363 ff.; B. Walkley, "The Testimony of S. Irenaeus in Favour of the Roman Primacy," *The Irish Theological Quarterly*, VIII (1913), 284-99; F. R. M. Hitchcock, *Irenaeus of Lugdunum. A Study of his Teaching* (London: 1914), p. 151; F. W. Puller, *The Primitive Saints and the See of Rome* (London: 1914), p. 442; G. Esser, "Das Irenäuszeugniss für den Primat der römischen Kirche," *Der Katholik* (1917), 1, 289-315; 2, 16-34; F. X. Roiron, "Sur l'interprétation d'un passage de Saint Irénée, cont. haer., III, III, 2," *Rech. de science rel.*, VII (1917), 36-51; L. Saltet, "St. Irénée et St. Cyprien sur la primauté romaine," *Bulletin de littérature ecclésiastique*, V-VI (1920), 179-206; J. A. Faulkner, "Is the Historical Foundation of the Papacy Sound," *London Quarterly Review*, CIV (1924), 155 f.; L. Spikowski, *La doctrine de l'Église dans saint Irénée* (Strasbourg: 1926); K. Adam, "Neue Untersuchungen über die Ursprünge der kirchlichen Primatslehre," *Theol. Quart.*, CIX (1928), 196-203; M. O'Boyle, "St. Irenaeus and the See of Rome," *The Catholic Historical Review*, XVI (1931), 413-34; J. A. Robinson, "Selected Notes of Dr. Hort on Irenaeus' Book III," *The Journal of Theological Studies*, XXXIII (1932), 151-67; A. D. Doyle, "St. Irenaeus on the Popes and Early Heretics," *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, LIV (1939), 298-307; W. L. Knox, *Journal of Theological Studies*, XLII (1946), 180-84; C. Mohrmann, "Apropos de Irenaeus, Adv. Haer. 3, 3, 1, *Vigiliae Christianae*, III (1949), 57-61.

<sup>320</sup> Cf. I. Ottiger, *Theologia Fundamentalis*, II, 642.

<sup>321</sup> And thus the English edition of the Ante-Nicene Fathers translates

thought—which is the reason why it is being compared with St. Augustine—is clear enough; namely, “that in the time of St. Irenaeus the see of Rome was the first see of the Catholic Church.”<sup>322</sup> We ask, in what sense? Irenaeus gives the reason: *propter potentioorem principalitatem*. But we do not know what Greek word was used, and the translator’s *principalitas* “is ambiguous; in due time it changed its meaning from the idea of seniority to that of supremacy.”<sup>323</sup> Many see in *principalitas* a reference to origin or source;<sup>324</sup> Harvey renders *principalis* by ‘more ancient’;<sup>325</sup> Jalland suggests that the *potior principalitas* be translated by “superior origin” inasmuch as the Roman Church was founded by the two princes of the Apostles.<sup>326</sup> However, the word *potior* or *potentior* seems to place the *principalitas* in the category of power, so as to mean “supremacy” or “greater supremacy.” Albert Ehrhard translates *propter potentioorem principalitatem* “because of its more efficient leadership.”<sup>327</sup> For Arnold Ehrhardt it means the supremacy of rank,<sup>328</sup>

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the passage as follows: “For it is a matter of necessity that every Church should agree with this Church on account of its preeminent authority, that is, the faithful everywhere, inasmuch as the apostolical tradition has been preserved continuously, by those (faithful men) who exist everywhere.” Bardenhewer—Shahan, *Patrology* (Freiburg im Br. and St. Louis: 1908), p. 121, has the following: “With this Church, because of its higher rank, every church must agree, i.e., the faithful of all places, in which (in communion with which) the apostolic tradition has been always preserved by the (faithful) of all places.” Cf. C. Gore, *Roman Catholic Claims* (11th ed.; London: 1921), p. 94; J. Chapman, *Bishop Gore and the Catholic Claims* (London: 1903), p. 61; F. R. M. Hitchcock, *St. Irenaeus: Against the Heresies* (London: 1916), I, 84; tr. in the text is from E. Giles, *Documents Illustrating Papal Authority* (London: 1952), pp. 9–10.

<sup>322</sup> F. W. Puller, *Primitive Saints and the See of Rome* (3rd ed.; London: 1900), p. 37.

<sup>323</sup> E. Giles, *Documents Illustrating Papal Authority* (London: 1952), p. 12.

<sup>324</sup> D. Van den Eynde, *Les Normes de l'enseignement Chrétien dans la littérature patristique des trois premiers siècles* (Gembloux: 1933), pp. 171 ff.; A. D. Doyle “St. Irenaeus on the Popes and Early Heretics,” *Irish Ecc. Record*, LIV (1939), 305 explains “*principalitas*” by “primitiveness,” in the sense of “going back to the beginning,” “linked directly with the very original source.”

<sup>325</sup> Harvey, II, 236, n. 3.

<sup>326</sup> T. G. Jalland, *The Church and the Papacy* (London: 1949), p. 111.

<sup>327</sup> *Die Kirche der Märtyrer* (Munich: 1932), pp. 277 f.

<sup>328</sup> *The Apostolic Succession* (London: 1953), p. 113, n. 2.

and he states that "Irenaeus in his choice of the Roman succession as prototype was the first Father of the Church to state the primacy of Rome."<sup>329</sup> A patrologist concludes: "The only possible intrinsic reason for the recognition of this pre-eminence of the Church of Rome is of course the dogma of the primacy."<sup>330</sup>

#### AGAINST THE PELAGIAN HERESY

It does not lie within the scope of this work to give a lengthy account of the proceedings of the African councils and their appeals to the Roman bishops in their disputes with the Pelagian heresy.<sup>331</sup> Augustine writes in a Letter to Paulinus, Bishop of Nola near Naples, in 417:

After a letter had reached us from the East, quite openly pushing the Pelagian heresy, it was now our duty not to fail the Church in any way, by any episcopal authority whatever; accordingly reports were sent on this matter from two councils, those of Carthage and Mileve, to the Apostolic see. . . . We also wrote to the late Pope Innocent, in addition to the reports of the councils, a private letter,<sup>332</sup> in which we dealt more fully with the same question. To all he wrote back to us in the manner that was right and proper for the pontiff of the apostolic see.<sup>333</sup>

Again, in that same year of 417, September 23, in a sermon preached in Carthage, *ad mensam Cypriani*, St. Augustine refers to the conciliar proceedings and to the decision of Rome.

For being ignorant of God's righteousness, and wishing to establish their own, they have not submitted to the righteousness of God. My brethren, have compassion with me. When you find such men, do not hide them; have no misdirected mercy. Refute those who contradict, and those who resist bring to us. For already two councils on this question have been sent to the apostolic see; and replies have

<sup>329</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 119.

<sup>330</sup> J. Quasten, *Patrology* (Westminster, Md.: 1950), I, 303.

<sup>331</sup> Cf. P. Battifol, *Le Catholicisme de Saint Augustin* (Paris: 1929), pp. 393 f.; J. Chapman, *Studies on the Early Papacy* (London: 1928): VI, The Condemnation of Pelagianism, pp. 133 f.; G. Martil, *La tradición en san Agustín a través de la controversia pelagiana* (Madrid: 1943).

<sup>332</sup> Aurelius, Alypius, Augustine, Evodius, and Possidius to Innocent, A.D. 416, *Ep.* 177 (PL 33, 764).

<sup>333</sup> *Ep.* 186, 2 (PL 33, 816-17; CSEL 57, 47); tr. Giles, *op. cit.*, pp. 203-4.

also come from there. The cause is finished; would that the error might sometime be finished also. Therefore, we admonish (them) to take heed; we teach in order to instruct (them); let us pray that they may be changed.<sup>334</sup>

Several Synods of African bishops have convened to examine what they believed an erroneous doctrine. They refer their proceedings in several letters to the see of Rome; and ask that the error be condemned as a heresy for the whole Church.<sup>335</sup> The response given by the Roman Bishop is considered as authoritatively deciding the doctrinal dispute.<sup>336</sup>

Langen,<sup>337</sup> W. Bright,<sup>338</sup> Pincherle,<sup>339</sup> B. J. Kidd<sup>340</sup> maintain that the grounds which leave no room for further dispute are the result not of one factor, i.e., the Roman decision, but of two factors, i.e., the two councils and the rescripts from the Roman See passing its decisive judgment. The *causa finita est* is preceded by

<sup>334</sup> *Sermo* 131, 10 (PL 38, 734).

<sup>335</sup> Thus, for instance, the Council of Carthage, A.D. 416 to Pope Innocent I, June 416; see under Augustine, *Ep.* 175 (PL 33, 759; CSEL 44, 652); Council of Mileve, A.D. 416 to Innocent I, June 416; see under Augustine, *Ep.* 176 (PL 33, 763; CSEL 44, 663); Aurelius, Alypius, Augustine, Evodius, and Possidius to Innocent I, Aug., *Ep.* 177 (PL 33, 764; CSEL 44, 669).

<sup>336</sup> K. Adam, "Causa finita est," *Beiträge zur Geschichte des christlichen Altertums*, etc.; Festgabe für Albert Ehrhard (Bonn: 1922), p. 2: "Nicht um eine tatsächliche, sondern um eine prinzipielle Beendigung des Streites handelte es sich für ihn um einem grundsätzlich definitiven d. h. entgültigen Entscheid."

<sup>337</sup> *Das vatikansche Dogma von dem Universalepiskopat und der Unfehlbarkeit des Papstes in seinem Verhältnis zum Neuen Testament und zur kirchlichen Überlieferung* (Bonn: 1876), p. 865.

<sup>338</sup> *The Roman See in the Early Church* (London: 1896), p. 130.

<sup>339</sup> Sant, *Agostino d'Ippona, Vescovo e Teologo* (Bari: 1930), p. 247: "Non sarà tuttavia male ricordare che il 'causa finita est' non segue, in questo celebre sermone 131, parole che si riferiscono alla sola sentenza romana: chè questa è stata preceduta dai concili . . . non si può tuttavia dimenticare la menzione delle sentenze conciliari."

<sup>340</sup> *The Roman Primacy to 461* (London: 1936), p. 84: ". . . 'The cause is finished.' It was finished on the joint authority of the two African Councils and the replies which the Pope had returned to them. Elsewhere he says that the matter was settled by Councils, the Apostolic See and the Roman Church and Empire": (Aug., *De pecc. orig.* 18; *Doc. Ch. Hist.* 11, 181) and again he reminds the Pelagians that "your cause has now been finished by a competent decision of the bishops in common"; (Aug., *Contra Jul. Pelag.*, III, 1, 5) i.e., "not by the Roman See alone, but by the episcopate as a whole."



both these reasons; hence the *Roma locuta est*—as the decision of the Roman bishops has later been paraphrased—is not the sole cause of the *causa finita*.

There are these three possibilities which could have brought victory to the cause of the African church: either the councils in themselves, or the councils together with the decision of Rome, or the decision of Rome by itself. It could not have been the two African councils which decisively settled the controversy, for these were but two most prominent councils of many held in Africa. Moreover, if they were self-sufficient there would be no reason for referring the matter to Rome. Nor were the two councils taken conjointly with the Roman see the deciding factor in the dispute. For again, why only two and not the rest of the African councils? The reason for St. Augustine's outcry of victory is the final judgment of the Roman see to which the proceedings of the two councils were sent for confirmation and which decided the matter not only for the African church but for the universal Church.<sup>341</sup>

If the African bishops' appraisal of the authority of Peter's successors corresponded to the claims of the Roman bishops themselves at this time, then it is evident which factor made Augustine proclaim *causa finita est*. The letter of Innocent I written in response to the letters addressed to him by the African councils and bishops, praises them for having preserved "the example of ancient tradition" by referring the matter to Rome.

For you have decided that it was proper to refer to our judgment, knowing what is due to the apostolic see, since all we who are set in this place desire to follow the very Apostle from whom the very episcopate and whole authority of this name have emerged; following them, we know how to condemn the evil and to approve the good.

<sup>341</sup> Cf. L. Rivington, *Authority of a Plain Reason for Joining the Church of Rome* (London: 1888), pp. 110 f.; Th. Specht, *Die Lehre der Kirche nach dem hl. Augustinus* (Paderborn: 1892), pp. 166 f.; J. Chapman, "A Regius Professor on the Truthfulness of Catholics," *The Dublin Review*, CXIX (1896), pp. 8-10; Karl Adam, *op. cit.*, p. 3; F. Hofmann, *Der Kirchenbegriff des hl. Augustinus* (München: 1933), p. 441; and even Reuter, *op. cit.*, 325: "Die Auktorität des römischen Stuhles wird in dem Sermo so hoch gestellt, dass man sagen muss, die bezüglichen Wörter könnte ein echter Römling geschrieben haben. Aber im Vergleich mit seinen sonstigen Lehren bilden sie eine gewisse Anomalie."

So also, you have by your priestly office preserved the institutions of the Fathers, and have not spurned that which they decreed by a sentence not human but divine, that whatever is done, even though it be in distant provinces, should not be ended until it comes to the knowledge of this see, that by its authority the whole just pronouncement should be strengthened. . . . I congratulate you, therefore, dearest brothers, that you have directed a letter to us by our brother and fellow bishop Julius, and that while caring for the churches which you rule, you also show your concern for the advantage of all the churches of the world together; so that the Church, being established in her rules, and confirmed in this decree of just proclamation against such errors, may be unable to tolerate those men.

This letter, *In requirendis*, was addressed to the Council of Carthage, January 27, 407.<sup>342</sup> Again, on that same date, writing his letter *Inter caeteras* to the Council of Mileve,<sup>343</sup> he asserts: "It is with due care and fitness that you consult the secrets of the public office (that office, I mean, to which belongs, besides those things that are outside, the care of all the churches) as to what opinion should be held on doubtful matters, following the form which, you and I know, has ever been kept in the whole world." He states that "as often as questions of faith are to be ventilated . . . our brothers and fellow bishops ought to refer to none but Peter, that is to the author of their name and office, even as your affection has now referred (to us), a matter which may benefit all churches in common throughout the whole world." He continues to praise them and to show the benefit accruing from their appeal to Rome. "Your charity will be a double good; for you will obtain the grace of having observed the canons, and the whole world will share your benefit."<sup>344</sup>

Who does not see that these statements are strong. They claim unequivocally jurisdictional authority over the whole Church for the occupants of the see of St. Peter. No attempts are made to water them down or explain them away. On the contrary, it is claimed that Pope Innocent is one of the founders of the papacy,<sup>345</sup> and that "his episcopate is a landmark in the devel-

<sup>342</sup> *Ep.* 29, *Aug. Ep.* 181 (PL 33, 780).

<sup>343</sup> *Ep.* 30, *Aug. Ep.* 182 (PL 33, 784).

<sup>344</sup> Tr. E. Giles, *Documents*, etc., docs. 179 and 180, pp. 201-02.

<sup>345</sup> E. Denny, *Papalism* (London: 1912), p. 318.

opment of the papal theory.”<sup>346</sup> Milman thinks that the rise of the papal power at this time, after Rome was captured and pillaged by Alfaric in 410, was occasioned by the chaotic conditions of the civil power.<sup>347</sup> Caspar believes that Augustine made use of the papal claim of Innocent, expressed in his encyclical letter, that all doubtful matters must be settled in Rome, in order to crush his adversaries the Pelagians, but not for the sake of the principle involved.<sup>348</sup>

The question now arises whether it is a new claim, or whether Innocent is expressing, with determination and force, what the Church always held, either explicitly or implicitly. Anglican writers say that the pope is making an innovation by introducing a new theory on papal authority and that he appeals to ancient precedent for it.<sup>349</sup> But the theory is not new; there is ample precedent for it.<sup>350</sup> Pope Callistus, in 220, claimed to be “bishop of bishops”;<sup>351</sup> Pope Stephen, in 256, insists that he holds his succession from Peter;<sup>352</sup> Pope Damasus, in 371, maintained that the opinion of the bishop of the Romans “ought before all others to have been watched for”;<sup>353</sup> Pope Siricius, in 365, stated that “the blessed Peter bears the burdens of the whole Church in us, who in all things, as we trust, protects and defends those who are heirs of his government,” and that “no priest of the Lord is free to be ignorant of the statutes of the apostolic see.”<sup>354</sup>

If these claims were new one would expect to find voices of dissent and dissatisfaction. “There is no evidence that the African

<sup>346</sup> B. J. Kidd, *A History of the Church to A.D. 461* (London: 1922), III, 101.

<sup>347</sup> *History of Latin Christianity* (New York: 1892), I, 111.

<sup>348</sup> Caspar, *op. cit.*, I, 338: “Augustin griff also aus dem einem Innocenzschreiben die These, dass alle Angelegenheiten der Kirche erst durch Kenntnissnahme Roms ihre entgültige Erledigung (finienda) finden könnten, auf; er tat es um seines eigenen Zieles, der ‘Erledigung’ des Pelagianismus, nicht um der These selbst willen.”

<sup>349</sup> W. Bright, *The Roman See in the Early Church* (London: 1896), p. 129; E. Denny, *Papalism* (London: 1912), p. 318.

<sup>350</sup> Cf. J. Chapman, *Studies on the Early Papacy* (London: 1928), p. 149.

<sup>351</sup> Tertullian, *De pudic.*, 1 (PL 2, 980).

<sup>352</sup> Firmilian to Cyprian, In Cyprian, *Ep.* 75 (CSEL 3, 813).

<sup>353</sup> *Ep.* 1, *Credimus sanctam fidem*, In Theodoret, *History of the Church*, 2, 17 (PG 82, 1052).

<sup>354</sup> *Ep.* 1, *Directa ad decessorem* (PL 13, 1132), Coustant, 624; Jaffé, 255, c. Add.

bishops regarded the claims of Innocent as out of place; in fact contemporary documents suggest the contrary.”<sup>355</sup> We have already heard St. Augustine; all we need do is to combine such passages culled from him as these: “Who is ignorant that the chief apostolate is to be preferred to any episcopate?” and, “the Roman Church, in which the primacy of an apostolic chair always flourished.” And now, in regard to the reply sent them by Pope Innocent, Augustine writes to Paulinus: “To all he wrote back to us in the manner that was right and proper for the pontiff of the apostolic see.”<sup>356</sup>

<sup>355</sup> E. Giles, *op. cit.*, p. 203.

<sup>356</sup> *Ep.* 186, 2 (PL 33, 816; CSEL 57, ed. A. Goldbacher, IV, 47).



## CHAPTER 3

### THE CHURCH AS A SOCIAL BODY

THE kingdom of God which Jesus Christ proclaimed as coming was realized soon after His departure in the Christian Church.<sup>1</sup> St. Paul not only inculcated the Church as the mystical body of Christ but he also undertook the first steps to manifest its nature as a social and juridic body. This he did by founding Christian communities in the Roman Empire.<sup>2</sup> The line of demarcation between Jews and Gentiles disappears. People who heretofore had formed two distinct and inimical worlds are brought together in one religious community. A new division is inaugurated between the Christians and the heathens.<sup>3</sup> The Christian churches founded by the Apostle of the Gentiles develop themselves as enclaves within the existing civil society. The civil and political societies find the religious communities forming and growing within their midst to be basically different from themselves and the civil powers oppose them with all their might.<sup>4</sup> The appellation "the Church of God" was used to designate the first Christian community of Jerusalem then extended to other Christian communities, and finally to the universal Church.<sup>5</sup>

Many of the particular churches founded by the Apostles have become flourishing communities and sees of Church provinces by the time St. Augustine entered upon the scene of his-

<sup>1</sup> D. M. Stanley, "Kingdom to Church: The Structural Development of Christianity in the New Testament," *Theological Studies*, XVI (1955), 1-29.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. K. Holl, "Der Kirchenbegriff des Paulus in seinem Verhältnis zu dem Urgemeinde," in *Ges. Aufsätze zur Kirchengeschichte* (Tübingen: 1928), II, 54 f.

<sup>3</sup> A. Röder, *Die Geschichtstheologie des Apostels Paulus* (Freiburg: 1938), p. 67.

<sup>4</sup> W. Ziegenfuss, *Augustinus: Christliche Transzendenz in Gesellschaft und Geschichte* (Berlin: 1948), p. 116.

<sup>5</sup> J. Bonsirvin, *Théologie du Nouveau Testament* (Paris: 1950), pp. 89-90.

tory. Africa, the home of St. Augustine, attained at this period a worthy distinction among the provinces of Christendom.<sup>6</sup> But the antagonism arising out of the disparate tendencies and diverse ends of the civil and religious communities was bound to continue. Not only did the state give evidence of this dualism but Christian tradition itself is aware of it when it contrasted the two orders represented by each under the images of the kingdom of God and the kingdom of the world.<sup>7</sup> When the Roman State was falling apart at the end of St. Augustine's life, the heathen blamed the impending ruin on the coexistence of antagonistic powers within the state.

The Church existed within the Roman State. Both had aspirations to a universal reign. To be a Roman citizen—*civis Romanus*—meant to belong to the all-embracing empire and to the first civilization. To be a Christian was not the privilege of any one language, but belonged to all nations. Within the social framework of the Roman State was a religious community with rites, observances, sacraments, and laws of its own. The aim of this religious society was not earthly justice, although it was not antagonistic to it, but the justice of Christ and His kingdom. Hence Augustine could speak in his monumental work *De Civitate Dei* of the earthly city (*civitas terrena*), which reminds us so much of the *Civitas Romana* reaching to the ends of the world, and the City of God embracing all the just of this life and all the blessed of heaven.

In reference to the sphere of rights of each society, we may contrast the teaching of St. Ambrose with that of St. Augustine. The former "regarded the Church and the State as two independent authorities, each autonomous within its own sphere, but each rendering general support and assistance to the other."<sup>8</sup> The latter—in his enthusiasm for the divine, the supernatural and

<sup>6</sup> J. McCabe, *Saint Augustine and His Age* (London: 1902), p. 412: "There are few instances in ecclesiastical history of so vast and impressive a work being accomplished by one man as that which Augustine achieved in the Church of Africa. . . ."

<sup>7</sup> C. Dawson, "St. Augustine and His Age," in *A Monument to St. Augustine* (London: 1945), p. 48.

<sup>8</sup> F. H. Dudden, *The Life and Times of St. Ambrose* (Oxford: 1935), p. 500.

the ecclesiastical—slurs over the authority of the state, its rights and boundaries. In general, it is characteristic of the mind of St. Augustine to show a tendency of fusing the natural order with the supernatural and of making the higher order figure predominantly so as to appear that the lower order has been consumed by the higher. So too in his political thought there is a tendency to have the natural right of the state absorbed by the rights of the Church and civil justice by the supernatural justice of Christ. That is why he can say that “the kings of the earth must serve Christ, even making laws for Christ,”<sup>9</sup> and that even if the temporal society possesses some measure of justice<sup>10</sup> and can contain a glimmer of peace,<sup>11</sup> these are in full measure the gifts of the Church. It must be remembered that Augustine’s doctrine is essentially spiritual.<sup>12</sup> To maintain that he makes the state subordinate and ancillary to the Church is to overreach and oversimplify the nuances of the political doctrine of the Bishop.<sup>13</sup> By his fusion of the natural and supernatural orders, of the political and ecclesiastical domains—in which the first seems to be absorbed by the latter—Augustine laid the groundwork but not the structure.<sup>14</sup> The political architecture rose later when the legitimate rights of the State went unrecognized, and the State became identified not simply with justice but Christian justice. The absorption of the natural rights of the State by a higher justice prepared the political confusion of the Middle Ages, the theory of the two swords, and the ineluctable strifes and struggles between the priesthood and the empire. The legitimate right

<sup>9</sup> *Ep.* 93, 5, 19 (PL 33, 331).

<sup>10</sup> *De civ. Dei*, V, 24 (PL 40, 170; ed. Dombart-Kalb, I, 237).

<sup>11</sup> *De civ. Dei*, XIX, 14 (PL 40, 642; ed. Dombart-Kalb, II, 380–81).

<sup>12</sup> F. Cayré, “Caractères spéciaux de la philosophie Augustinienne,” *L’année théologique*, VIII (1947), 72.

<sup>13</sup> Such is the contention of E. Bernheim. “Politische Begriffe des Mittelalters im Lichte der Anschauungen Augustins,” *Deutsche Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft*, 1896, pp. 1–23; *id.*, *Mittelalterliche Zeitanschauungen in ihren Einfluss auf Politik und Geschichtschreibung* (Tübingen: 1918). Many follow his lead: e.g., G. G. Willis, *Saint Augustine and the Donatist Controversy* (London: 1950), pp. 140 ff.

<sup>14</sup> Such is the interpretation of H. X. Arquillière, *L’Augustinisme politique* (2 me éd.; Paris: 1955); P. Baudet, *Een studie over Bernheim’s “Mittelalterliche Zeitanschauungen”* (Leyden: 1947). Cf. J. Spörl, “Augustinus, Schöpfer einer Staatslehre?” *Historisches Jahrbuch*, LXXIV (1955), 62–78.

of the State is recognized and expressed by ecclesiastical jurisprudence in the maxim: *utraque potestas est in genere suo maxima*.<sup>15</sup>

When the Church is presented as a social organization, it is not intended to ascribe to St. Augustine a doctrine equivalent to modern sociology. Some find the Bishop of Hippo to be an exponent of a sociology in the modern sense of the word.<sup>16</sup> But others do not.<sup>17</sup> Sociology as such was not his problem. A study of the social organization of the Church's members, the external and visible structure of the Church, forms the subject of the present chapter. This luminary of the Western world, more than any other Father of the Church, brought the social order of the Church to the foreground and to Christian consciousness.

The Greek Fathers interpreted the word *Ekklesia* as meaning both, actively a *convocatio* of the people and passively a *congregatio* of the people.<sup>18</sup> The dicta of St. Paul on the Church, considered as a society, can also be brought under these two headings.<sup>19</sup> St. Cyril of Jerusalem states that "the Church is properly so named because it convokes all men and unites them into one whole."<sup>20</sup> The Latin Fathers follow this interpretation. For St. Ambrose it is a "Church which is brought together from the Gentiles";<sup>21</sup> for St. Jerome it is a "Church assembled mostly of the Gentiles";<sup>22</sup> for St. Hilary, "a congregation of the Church";<sup>23</sup> for St. Augustine, "a congregation of peoples and

<sup>15</sup> H. X. Arquillière, "Réflexions sur l'essence de l'augustinisme politique," *Augustinus Magister* (Paris: 1954), II, 992-99.

<sup>16</sup> E. Troeltsch, *Augustin, die christliche Antike und das Mittelalter* (München u. Berlin: 1915), p. 149, where the author speaks of a "bewusst soziologischen Denken."

<sup>17</sup> Ziegenfuss, *op. cit.*, p. 117: "Von einem eigentlich soziologischen Denken Augustins sollte man jedoch nicht sprechen."

<sup>18</sup> H. de Lubac, *Méditation sur l'Église* (3 éd.; Paris: 1954), p. 87; *id.*, *Catholicism* (London: 1950), p. 24.

<sup>19</sup> L. Cerfaux, *La Théologie de l'Église suivant saint Paul* (2 éd.; Paris: 1948), pp. 76, 131-40.

<sup>20</sup> *Cat. XVIII*, 24 (PG 33, 1044).

<sup>21</sup> *Com. in Luc.*, II, 86 (PL 15, 1584); III, 32 (1602); *De Tobia*, 22, 86 (PL 14, 791).

<sup>22</sup> *Com. in Eph.*, II, 8 (PL 26, 481).

<sup>23</sup> *Com. in Ps.* 67, 12 (PL 9, 451); *Com. in Ps.* 68, 32 (PL 9, 489): "Ecclesiam vero ex conventu plebium effici notum est."



gentiles.”<sup>24</sup> In St. Augustine the two meanings, the active and passive, occur in the same passage: “The Church assembles the multitude from all gentiles; the Church, the body of Christ, (is) assembled in one.”<sup>25</sup> St. Thomas retains the passive sense: “It is to be known that the Church is the same congregation; whence the holy Church is a congregation of the faithful.”<sup>26</sup>

Augustine viewed the Church not only under the spiritual aspect of the body of Christ but also under a visible and juridical aspect. The Church was composed of visible members united by external bonds; these visible elements enter as intimately and essentially into the very makeup of his Church as those which have been called internal and spiritual. The external complex of elements constituting the Church is not so strongly emphasized as the internal, nevertheless it is present; it is presupposed everywhere and at times, as against the Donatists, staunchly defended and polemically used as a criterion to determine the Church of Christ.

The Church considered under this twofold aspect—as the mystical body of Christ, and as a social organization—corresponds to what can be called an invisible and a visible Church. Some interpret St. Augustine’s concept of the Church in such a manner as to make it essentially of an invisible character. For if the external and juridical elements are excluded, or are not judged essential, then all that remains are the internal ties through which members are bound together to form the body of Christ. Since the existence of these spiritual ties—e.g., of faith and charity—cannot be ascertained by the senses, nor can the members constituting the body of Christ be known by man, hence the Church is necessarily invisible.

Furthermore, there arises the vital question of the membership

<sup>24</sup> *Enar. in Ps.* 7, 7 (PL 36, 101): “In ecclesiis, hoc est in illa congregatione populorum atque gentium.”

<sup>25</sup> *Contra Faust.*, XII, 16 (PL 42, 263; CSEL 25, 345–46): “. . . ex omnibus gentibus . . . multitudinem congregat Ecclesia”; “Ecclesia corpus Christi in unitatem collecta. . . .”

<sup>26</sup> *Expositio in Symb.*, art. 9; *Summa theol.*, Ia, q. 117, a. 2 ad 1; *Sent.*, I, IV, d. 20, q. 1, a. 1, sol. 1; *Contra Gent.*, IV, 78; *In I Cor.*, 12:3; *De verit.*, q. 29, a. 4, obj. 8. Cf. Y. M. J. Congar, *Esquisses du mystère de l’Église* (2 éd.; Paris: 1953), p. 69.

of sinners in the Church. Many of these claim to be members of the Church, they externally adhere to it, they profess the same faith but dissent from the purpose of the Church by their manner of life. If, for St. Augustine, the Church were the body of Christ in the sense that it is a spiritual union and society of man, there would be no room for sinners in it. But if the Church, while essentially having spiritual and inner ties, is not without external and visible ones, joining men into a social and juridical organization, then there is the possibility of having the just and the sinner in one fold, in the same Church.

The leading Reformers formed their notion of the Church along spiritual lines, considering it to be preponderantly the mystical body of Christ.<sup>27</sup> Since they disrupted the external and juridical bonds providing the unitive force in the hierarchical structure of the Church and reduced the Church's sacramental observances to a minimum, the only way open to them was a recourse to an almost purely spiritual and invisible Church.<sup>28</sup> Wyclif and Hus, who may be considered as forerunners of the Reformation, denied membership to sinners; Luther conceived the Church as being formed only of the just (that is to say according to his doctrine of justification), only of such as have fiducial faith;<sup>29</sup> Zwingli's, Butzer's Church consisted of the pre-

<sup>27</sup> Cf. J. Gottschick, "Hus, Luther's and Zwingli's Lehre von der Kirche," *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, VIII (1886), 545-94; R. Will, "La conception protestante de l'église considérée comme le corpus Christi"; *Revue d'histoire et de philosophie religieuses*, XII (1932), 465-94; H. Strohl, *La pensée de la Réforme* (Paris: 1951), pp. 173-224.

<sup>28</sup> The Church of Christ is invisible according to Luther: *M. Luthers Werke* (Weimar: 1883 ff.), (abr. W.W.) 6, 300 f.; Calvin, partly—in so far as it comprehends an "electorum cumulus"; *Calv. Opera* v. 2, l. I, c. 1, n. 1 (*Corp. Reform.* vol. XXX, 754 s.)—partly invisible, in so far as it encompasses men belonging to it externally; *ibid.*, pp. 752 f.; John Brenz (Brentius) *Confessio . . . Wirtembergensis . . . una cum apologeticis scriptis* (Francoforti: 1561), vol. 2, pp. 881 ff.; Zwingli, *Sämtliche Werke, Corp. Reform.*, III, 791; II, 57; II, 56; II, 571; III, 750, 756. *Confessiones: Zwinglis Fidei Ratio*, VI, 84 f.; cf. Bern. Synod. Müller, *Die Bekenntnisschriften der reformierten Kirche* (Leipzig: 1903), (Abr. M.B.) 45; *Confes. Tetrapol.* (M.B. 70); *Confes. helv. pr.* (M.B. 104); *Basel. Bek.* (M.B. 96); *Conclus. Lausan.* (M.B. 110); *Prof. Per. Francofor.* (M.B. 663).

<sup>29</sup> The Church is composed of the just only: Luther, *W.W.* 10. (II), 393: "Die Kirche ist die gemeine, odder samlung der heiligen, der frumen, gläubigen menschen auf Erden, wilche durch denselben heiligen geyst

destined.<sup>30</sup> These requirements on the part of members necessarily and essentially postulate a conception of a Church which is invisible.<sup>31</sup> While the Church of Calvin consisted mainly of the

vorsamlet, erhalten und regirt wird und teglich ynn den sacramenten und wort gottis gemehret." Cf. *W.W.* 7, 219. F. Kattenbusch, "Die Doppelschichtigkeit im Luthers Kirchenbegriff," *Theol. Stud. und Kritik*, C (1927-28), pp. 226 f.—Bucerus, *Explicatio de vi et usu ministerii* (Scripta Anglicana; Basileae: 1577), p. 558. *Confessiones: Prof. Per. Francof.* (M.B. 662); *Confes. Scot.* (M.B. 256); *Zwinglis Thes.* (M.B. 2); *Berner Thes.* (M.B. 30); *Berner Syn.* (M.B. 45); *Confes. Tetrap.* (M.B. 70); *Confes. Helv. post.* (M.B. 196); *Niederl. Beken.* (M.B. 937).

<sup>30</sup> That the Church was constituted of the predestined only was taught by not a few Reformers, but the doctrine was already prepared much earlier by Wyclif and Hus. The Englishman John Wyclif (ca. 1330-48) begins his treatise on the Church with a definition of the Church as a congregation of the predestined: "Quamvis autem ecclesia dicitur multipliciter in scriptura, suppono quod sumatur ad propositum pro famosiore, scil., congregatione omnium praedestinatorum." *Tractatus de Ecclesia* (ed. Johann Loserth; London: 1886), p. 3; and further: "Ipsa [ecclesia catholica] est omnes praedestinati praesentes, praeteriti, et futuri." *Ibid.*, p. 5. Wyclif supports this definition by quotations from St. Augustine and other Fathers and the Sacred Scriptures. *Ibid.*, pp. 72 ff. In identical manner John Hus (1369-1415), the Bohemian disciple of Wyclif, teaches that the Church's membership is formed only of the predestined in his *Tractatus de Ecclesia: Joannis Hus et Hieronymi Pragensis Confessionum Christi Historia et Monumenta* (Norinbergi: 1558), I, 196 f. Practically the whole teaching of Wyclif on the nature of the Church with the aforementioned definition has been taken over by Hus into his treatise. Cf. J. Loserth, *Hus and Wyclif, Zur Genesis der husitischen Lehre* (2 ed. rev.; Munich and Berlin); E. A. Ryan, "Three Early Treatises on the Church," *Theological Studies*, V (1944), 137 f. Although Wyclif was the artificer, it happened that his disciple is considered as the true forerunner of the Reformation. The first of the Reformers who placed the doctrine of predestination as the pivotal point into his ecclesiological system was Martin Butzer in his work *Explicatio de vi et usu Ministerii* (Basel: 1577), p. 556; cf. J. Courvoisier, *La Notion de l'Église chez Butzer dans son développement historique* (Paris: 1933), pp. 61-62; 135-150. Butzer has exerted an influence upon Calvin, who, though he admits a twofold church—a visible one and an invisible one—builds his church around the theory of absolute predestination and reprobation. He says: "Interdum cum ecclesiam nominant, eam intelligunt, quae revera est coram Deo, in quam nulli recipiantur, nisi qui et adoptionis gratia filii Dei sunt, et Spiritus sanctificatione vera Christi membra. Ac tunc quidem non tantum sanctos, qui in terra habitant comprehendit, sed electos omnes, qui ab origine mundi fuerunt." *Institutio Christianae Religionis*, lib. iv, cap. i, n. 7 (*Corpus Refor.*, XXX, 752 f.). Here belong also Brentius, *Confessio* . . . , p. 881; Zwingli, *op. cit.*, III, 747; VI (1) 337, 447.

<sup>31</sup> Harnack, *What Is Christianity* (2nd ed.; New York: 1912), p. 292: "Those who defined the Church as the number of the predestined were obliged to maintain that it was wholly invisible."

predestined, he also envisaged the Church under the visible aspect of an institution, a religious and social community in which the reprobate and the elect live side by side.<sup>32</sup>

The invisibility of the Church, however, does not mean uncertainty as to who is a member or not in the teaching of those who make membership in the body of Christ dependent upon justification by faith. For they ascribed absolute certitude to themselves in eliciting such faith, and consequently in acquiring and possessing justification. Faith for them is not a condition, nor a prerequisite, nor a disposition, but an instrument in acquiring the justice of Christ, the Savior, unto themselves.<sup>33</sup>

This concept of the Church, we are told by the Reformers, finds its justification in the writings of St. Augustine.<sup>34</sup> It will be remembered that the leaders of the Reformation are unanimous in repudiating Scholasticism. Luther maintained that it was impossible to reform the Church unless Scholastic theology and philosophy were eradicated.<sup>35</sup> Consequently these men reverted

<sup>32</sup> F. Wendel, *Calvin, sources et évolution de sa pensée religieuse* (Paris: 1950), p. 214. See: C. Journet, *L'Église du Verbe Incarné* (Paris: 1951), II, 977-87; Y. M. J. Congar, *Vrai et fausse réforme dans l'Église* (Paris: 1950), pp. 368-538.

<sup>33</sup> Thus, for instance, Gerhard quoted by Newman, *Lectures on Justification* (6 ed.; London: 1897); lect. 1, n. 2, footnote, says: "Fides non justificat vel meritorie vel per modum dispositionis, ut volunt pontificii, sed organice et per modum apprehensionis, quatenus meritum Christi in verbo Evangelii oblatum complectitur." Cf. also *Solid. Declar.*, 3 de *Fide just.* # 36: "Fides enim Dei et meritum Christi in promissione Evangelii, tamquam medium et instrumentum apprehendit et amplectitur."

<sup>34</sup> Calvinus, *Corp. Reform.*, LXXXVI, 266; Brentius, *Prolegomena: Confessio* . . . (Wittenbergi: 1552), *passim*; Cf. Hosius, *Opera Omnia* (Coloniae: 1584), I, 543, 548.

<sup>35</sup> So it was with Luther; cf. De Wette, *Luther's Briefe*, I, 108: "Ego simpliciter credo, quod impossibile sit ecclesiam reformari, nisi funditus canones, decretales, scholastica theologia, philosophia, logica, ut nunc habentur, eradicentur et alia studia instituantur." *W.W.* I, 211: ". . . quo tempore coepit theologia scholastica, id est illusoria (sic enim sonat graece), eodem evacuata est Theologia crucis, suntque omnia plane perversa." Melancton, *Der Bapstesel* (Wittenberg: 1523), 3: "Theologia scholastica nihil est nisi vana, ficta, ementita, damnata, diabolica cavillatio et monachorum somnium."

Melchior Canus, *De Loc. Theol.*, l. 8, c. 1: "Signifer impietatis Germanicae Lutherus, Wicleffi in hoc ut in aliis discipulus, in libro quodam adversus Jacobum Latomum asserit, theologiam scholasticam esse nihil aliud, quam ignorantiam veritatis, inanemque fallaciam, quam ad Colossenses Apostolos



to the Fathers, especially to the greatest of them, St. Augustine. Luther confidently stated that his theology was in full agreement with that of the African Bishop.<sup>36</sup> Calvin was certain that Augustine was his master to the extent that if a creed were to be written by the reformer it would be proven to be composed from the writings of the Saint,<sup>37</sup> although there were doctrines in St. Augustine with which he disagreed.<sup>38</sup> The fault of the Reformers

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praedicaret. In libro autem de abroganda missa privata, academias dicit esse Antichristi lupanaria." H. Grisar, *Martin Luther* (Eng. ed., 1930), p. 64: "In Luther's opinion the scholastic theologians, even the greatest among them, were sophists. The finer achievements of Scholasticism, especially those of its intellectual giant, Thomas of Aquin, were scarcely known to him."

<sup>36</sup> As for Wyclif and Hus, cf. E. A. Ryan, "Three Early Treatises on the Church," *Theological Studies*, V (1944), 126-38. As for Martin Luther, *W.W.* 9, 2; *Werke* (ed. Index i) n. 41; cf. n. 39; *W.W.* 18, 670: "Theologia nostra et S. Augustini in prospere procedunt et regnant." This is a circumstance worthy of note; on the title page of a volume containing thirty-five works of St. Augustine we find an annotation in Luther's own hand, consisting of the following words: "Moritur b. Augustinus anno Domini 433. Et nunc scilicet 1509 fuit mortuus ad 1076 annos." This volume, which bears the title "Aurelii Augustini opuscula plurima" and date of publication as 1489, was the property of the Augustinian monastery at Erfurt at the time of Luther's stay there; it bears the inscription: "Conventus ordinis fratrum eremitarum Sti. Augustini in Erfordia." The same is now in the Vatican Library. Melancthon in his biography of Luther notes how Luther seriously studied the works of St. Augustine: "Omnia Augustini monumenta et saepe legerat, et optime meminerat. Hoc acerrimum studium inchoavit Erfordiae, in cujus urbis collegio Augustiniano commoratus est annos quattuor." *W.W.*, 9, 2. Besides Luther, other Reformers also purported to find the foundations of their doctrine in the writings of St. Augustine: thus, Melancthon, *Reform.* XXI, 748; XXVIII, 388; Brenz, *Prolegomena: Confessio* . . . (Wittenbergi: 1552), *passim*.

<sup>37</sup> Calvin, *Corp. Reform.*, LXXXVI, 266: "Augustinus ipse adeo totus noster est, ut, si mihi confessio scribenda sit, ex ejus scriptis contextam profferre abunde mihi sufficiat." Cf. F. Wendell, *Calvin, sources et évolution de sa pensée religieuse* (Paris: 1950), p. 6.

<sup>38</sup> Passages are not wanting in which he takes exception to the Saint's teaching; thus for example: *Corp. Ref.*, LI, 90, 129, 189, 343; LII, 187, 546; LIII, 160; LIX, 108, 766, 789; LX, 284; LXIV, 130, 668; LV, 63, 277; LXVI, 595; LXVII, 44; LXVIII, 249, 633; LXXI, 244; LXXII, 406; LXXIII, 166, 184, 202, 268, 285, 476, 623, 808; LXXV, 3, 9, 12, 17, 68, 74, 76, 78, 155, 159, 194, 211, 241, 242, 244, 259, 351, 361, 422, 450, 452; LXXVI, 137, 168, 174, 188, 226, 227, 301, 505; LXXVII, 7, 30, 124, 133, 149, 184, 195, 322, 357, 363, 381, 391, 401, 406, 492, 771; LXXVIII, 50, 105, 131, 140, 192; LXXIX, 197; LXXX, 92, 112, 333, 405; LXXXII, 342; LXXXIII, 44, 69, 249, 306. Cf. L. Smits,

lies in the fact that they have exploited only one aspect of Augustine's doctrine as culled from the highly polemical anti-Pelagian works.<sup>38a</sup>

There is no consistent concept of the Church that is common to the Reformers, but the common denominator is that it is the mystical body of Christ. This of course is a conspicuous doctrine of St. Augustine. While it expresses the noblest part, it does not comprise his whole concept of the Church. For there are other elements which are not purely spiritual but which constitute an integral and essential part of the Church. Just as man is formed of the soul, a nobler part, and the body, the visible element, so the Church has a similar bi-elemental constitution pertaining to its essence and integrity. In other words, besides being the mystical body of Christ, and as such a spiritual organism formed of spiritual cells which are united by spiritual bonds, the Church is also a juridical society, and as such perceptible and determinable from the outside.

In the first place the whole hierarchical structure of the Church must be conceived as pertaining to those elements which lend it outward form and organization. True it is that the final scope of the several grades of this ruling and administering body is chiefly internal and spiritual. The hierarchical body instructs, rules, and administers to subjects who are visibly bound to it, but with the object of attaining the inward man. It is evident, too, that the Bishop of Hippo conceives at least some of the enumerated orders in the hierarchy as pertaining to its essential constitution.

And yet it cannot be urged that all the members of the hierarchy are at the same time such members of the Church as are intimately united with Christ by spiritual ties. For Augustine admits and laments the existence of unworthy pastors in the Church, who seek and serve themselves in what they do and lose sight of Jesus Christ. The Bishop insists that the faithful must obey them and do as they instruct, but not do what they do. Unworthy of their station as these pastors may be, still they are

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"L'auctorité de saint Augustin dans 'L'Institution Chrétienne' de Jean Calvin," *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique*, XLV (1950), 670-87.

<sup>38a</sup> Cf. M. Bendiscioli, "L'agostinismo dei riformatori protestanti," *Rev. des Études Augustiniennes*, I (1955), 203-24.

vindicated by Augustine as members of the Church, although it would be difficult to find a single passage which would associate them with the body of Christ. Good pastors and superiors who are spoken of as members of the Church's hierarchy are also made the nobler part of Christ's body.

#### SACRAMENT

The Church of St. Augustine is not only a Church of faith and charity, of grace and justification, but also a Church of sacraments.<sup>39</sup> It is a Church which manifests itself to men by signs and forms. The lineaments of sacramental theology are contained in the writings of the Bishop with fixedness and precision, but the term "sacrament" carries a variety of other meanings besides the rites with which we are accustomed to associate the word.<sup>40</sup> It would not be easy to formulate a definition that would embrace the signs and meanings to which Augustine attaches the word "sacrament." The multitude of texts occurring in St. Augustine's works can be brought under three headings: sacrament-rite, sacrament-symbol, sacrament-mystery.<sup>41</sup> In broad outline, by "sacraments"<sup>42</sup> he understands sacred external and visible signs,<sup>43</sup> bearing a relationship to God<sup>44</sup> who, because of their

<sup>39</sup> D. Zähringer, *Das kirchliche Priestertum nach dem hl. Augustinus*, p. 104: "So sehr Augustin die Kirche als das corpus Christi sieht, so ist ihm doch auch die gleiche Kirche eine Sakramentskirche der äusseren Formen und Zeichen, eine Kirche, die sich durch Menschen kundgibt."

<sup>40</sup> J. de Ghellinck, *Pour l'histoire du mot "sacramentum," I Les Anténicéens* (Louvain: 1924), p. 16: "C'est ainsi que sous la plume d'Augustin, lequel cependant a esquisé avec tant de fermeté et de précision les grandes lignes de notre théologie sacramentaire, le mot revêt une incroyable diversité de sens, en dehors de celui de rite, dans lesquels semble se complaire la pensée si nuancée du grand évêque. Le sens exact qu'il faut donner à chacun des exemples que contiennent les dix gros volumes de ses oeuvres n'est aisé à déterminer."

<sup>41</sup> C. Couturier, "'Sacramentum' et 'Mysterium' dans l'oeuvre de saint Augustin," *Études Augustiniennes* (Paris: 1953), pp. 164-74. See also F. Van der Meer, "Sacramentum chez saint Augustin," *La Maison Dieu*, XIII (1948), 50-65.

<sup>42</sup> Cf. Spallanzani, "La Nozione di Sacramento in Sant' Agostino," *Scuola Cattolica*, Serie 6: IX (1927), 175-88; 258-68.

<sup>43</sup> *De doctr. chris.*, II, 1, 1 (PL 34, 35): "Signum est res praeter speciem quam ingerit sensibus, aliud aliquid ex se faciens in cogitationem venire."

<sup>44</sup> *De civ. Dei*, X, 5 (PL 41, 282; Dombart-Kalb, I, 408): "... sacramentum, id est sacrum signum."

performance, causes an internal and invisible effect in the soul of man. Sacraments, therefore, are such signs as have firstly a notional or intentional effect, i.e., they mean something more than they actually represent by the action, and secondly a spiritual effect in that they sanctify man by the grace that God grants on their account.

However, for St. Augustine a sacrament is not only a sign of individual sanctification but also a sign of religious unity and spiritual communion. Sacraments are visible bonds which unite men striving for a common goal, even if they contain an effect which is spiritual, invisible and ultramundane. He does not even think it possible to have any kind of religion without visible sacraments. "Men cannot be brought to unite in the name of any religion, be it true or false, unless they are brought together by the communion (*consortio*) of visible signs or sacraments."<sup>45</sup> Hence sacramental signs are not dispensable adjuncts to an essentially invisible Church, but are as necessary a part of the Church as the internal life which they signify and cause.

Just as every sacrament is an external sign but has also a spiritual content, so too the whole Church is a great visible sign pointing to its inner life in the mystical body of Christ. St. Augustine does not apply the term "sacrament" to the whole Church, but those who have done so later are in harmony with his thought.<sup>46</sup> The Church, says E. Commer, is not "a special sacrament under the seven sacraments entrusted to her, but she is by large a sacrament, a supersacrament; namely, a sign perceptible by the senses, that is a visible communion with Christ—a sign causing that which it means, that is a production of grace in the souls of men."<sup>47</sup> Christ is the prototype of all the sacraments.<sup>48</sup>

<sup>45</sup> *Contra Faust.*, 19, 11 (PL 42, 355; CSEL 25, ed. J. Zycha, 510): "In nullum autem nomen religionis, seu verum, seu falsum, coagulari homines possunt, nisi aliquo signaculorum vel sacramentorum visibilium consortio configentur."

<sup>46</sup> M. Schmaus, *Katholische Dogmatik* (3 u. 4 Aufl.; München: 1949), II, 898–99; H. Stirnimann, "Die Kirche und der Geist Christi," *Divus Thomas* (Fr.), XXXI (1953), 3–17.

<sup>47</sup> *Die Kirche in ihrem Leben und Wesen dargestellt* (Wien: 1904), p. 76.

<sup>48</sup> O. Semmelroth, *Die Kirche als Ursakrament* (Frankfurt am M.: 1953), p. 38; *id.*, "Die Kirche als 'Sichtbare Gestalt der unsichtbaren Gnade,'" *Scholastik*, XVIII (1953), 23–39.



In Him we see the human nature, in Him we believe in the invisible divine nature. "The Church is here below the sacrament of Jesus Christ, just as Jesus Christ Himself is for us in His humanity the sacrament of God."<sup>49</sup> "For there is no other mystery of God, but Christ."<sup>50</sup>

### BAPTISM

The sacrament on which the Bishop has written more than on any other is that of baptism. The question of rebaptizing involved sacramental principles of theology and has long been agitated in the African church. It was a serious matter of controversy in the time of St. Cyprian and has been inherited by St. Augustine in his strife with the Donatists. The dispute revolved around such vital points as the visible minister of the sacrament and the invisible minister of all sacraments, Jesus Christ. Further, it centered around elements which are discernible, the external rite, and elements which are imperceptible to man, namely grace and charity. Augustine distinguishes between the sacramental signs and the benefit which that sign brings to the inner man. Baptism administered outside the true Church in which Christ is the head does not confer the life intended by its founder, but it does leave a mark upon the recipient who upon returning to the Church, the rightful owner of the sacrament, receives the sacrament's life of grace.<sup>51</sup>

The word "character" has several meanings in the writings of St. Augustine but when it is used in connection with the sacraments it means an external rite, what the Scholastics called a *sacramentum*. The Bishop taught that baptism imprinted a mark, a character, a *sacramentum*, which could not be effaced. By virtue of the character a person thus marked belongs wholly to the one whose sign he bears: a baptized person is the property of Christ and His Church.<sup>52</sup> The terms which St. Augustine uses

<sup>49</sup> H. de Lubac, *Méditation sur l'Église* (Paris: 1954), p. 175.

<sup>50</sup> *Ep.*, 187, 11, 34 (PL 33, 845; CSEL 57, 113): "Non est enim aliud mysterium nisi Christus." Cf. C. Couturier, *Études Augustiniennes* (Paris: 1953), pp. 257 ff.

<sup>51</sup> G. G. Willis, *Saint Augustine and the Donatist Controversy* (London: 1950), pp. 152 ff.

<sup>52</sup> Cf. M. Haring, "St. Augustine's Use of the Word Character," *Mediaeval Studies*, XIV (1952), 79-97.

to designate this effect of the sacrament are the following: a stamp,<sup>53</sup> a regal character,<sup>54</sup> a character of the Lord,<sup>55</sup> a seal of the Redeemer.<sup>56</sup>

Under the pressure of Donatism and the rebaptismal fervor current in Christian Africa, the beam of theological light was focused on the relationship between character and grace, both recognized by tradition as coming to man in the wake of certain sacraments. It was pointed out that the character is distinct from grace, that in the reception of the character baptism may be validly received but not fruitfully received as not having produced, on account of some obstacle, its intended effect—grace. This is the distinction which was later expressed as *res et sacramentum* on the one hand, and *res* on the other. By having elucidated the distinctive role of the sacramental character and of grace the African Doctor has rendered a service of consequence to sacramental theology.<sup>56a</sup>

As for infant baptism Augustine regards it to be a difficult problem (*obscurissima quaestio*) for the reason that a child cannot evoke his personal act of faith and thus appropriate grace by faith.<sup>57</sup> But it was the *regula Ecclesiae*<sup>58</sup> to baptize infants and in want of a personal act of faith the Church does for them what they themselves cannot do. Mother Church lends them her maternal heart and mouth in order that they may be initiated into the sacred mysteries since they are unable to believe by the affection of their own heart unto justice nor to make profession by their own mouth unto salvation.<sup>59</sup>

As regards the fate of children departing from this life without baptism, Augustine's attitude is hesitant and his doctrine becomes

<sup>53</sup> *Contra litt. Petil.*, II, 104, 239 (PL 43, 342).

<sup>54</sup> *Ep.*, 185, 6, 23 (PL 33, 803; CSEL 57, 22).

<sup>55</sup> *De bapt.*, VI, 1, 1 (PL 43, 197); *Ep.*, 185, 6, 23 (PL 33, 803 CSEL 57, 22).

<sup>56</sup> *Ep.*, 185, 6, 23 (PL 33, 803; CSEL 57, 22).

<sup>56a</sup> A. M. Roguet, "La théologie du caractère et l'incorporation à l'Eglise," *La Maison-Dieu*, No. 32 (1952), 79-81.

<sup>57</sup> *De quant. anim.*, 36, 80 (PL 32, 1080); E. R. Fairweather, "St. Augustine's Interpretation of Infant Baptism," *Augustinus Magister* (Paris: 1954), II, 897.

<sup>58</sup> *De pecc. mer. et remis.*, I, 20, 28 (PL 44, 124; CSEL 60, 27).

<sup>59</sup> *De pecc. mer. et remis.*, I, 25, 38 (PL 44, 131; CSEL 60, 37); cf. J. Hamer, "Le baptême et la foi," *Irénikon*, XXIII (1950), 397-402.

more rigorous in his encounter with the Pelagians.<sup>60</sup> In one of his earliest statements he allows to the unbaptized deceased infants some kind of existence between heaven and hell, since the sentence of the judge can be between that of punishment and reward so as to correspond to the *media vita* they lived between evil and virtue.<sup>61</sup> Later in a letter written to St. Jerome (in 415) he retracts his former opinion and gives expression to the opinion that such infants are the object of *damnatio*;<sup>62</sup> this position he repeats in one of his last works.<sup>63</sup> Damnation consists in not being allowed to enter into the kingdom of God,<sup>64</sup> that is, to enjoy the vision of God. Elsewhere Augustine qualifies this damnation as being mild,<sup>65</sup>—a *mitissima damnatio*—but in his *Enchiridion* he designates the lot of unbaptized children also as a *mitissima poena*.<sup>66</sup>

In order to understand the position of St. Augustine on the necessity of baptism for salvation, his doctrine must be considered in the framework of a larger theology. There are two other pivotal doctrines which come into focus: 1) God is transcendently holy and nothing unholy can come into His presence in order to enjoy Him by seeing and loving Him; 2) original sin is an inherent state of aversion from God, and this condition is common to all mankind, and therefore the infant is subject to it and on that account turned away from God. Why some children are saved by the laver of baptism and why others do not reach it is a mystery of predestination. Later theologians (starting with the thirteenth century) will endeavor to explain the lot of such unbaptized children by the existence of limbo,<sup>67</sup> whereas other attempts go in the direction of discovering substitutes for bap-

<sup>60</sup> F. Cayré, "Une retractation de saint Augustin," *L'année théologique Augustinienne*, XII (1952), 131-43; J. C. Didier, "Saint Augustin et le baptême des enfants," *Rev. des Études Augustiniennes*, II (1956), 109-29.

<sup>61</sup> *De lib. arb.*, III, 23, 66-67 (PL 32, 1303-4).

<sup>62</sup> *Ep.* 166, 7, 18 (PL 33, 728).

<sup>63</sup> *De dono persever.*, 11-12, 27-31 (PL 45, 1010).

<sup>64</sup> *In Io. Ev. tr.* 4, 13 (PL 35, 1411).

<sup>65</sup> *De pecc. mer. et remis.*, I, 16, 21 (PL 44, 120; CSEL 60, 20).

<sup>66</sup> *Ench.*, 93, 23 (PL 40, 275).

<sup>67</sup> Cf. A. Gaudel, "Limbes," *Dict. Theol. Cath.*, X, 760-72; J. Le Blanc, "Children's Limbo, Theory or Doctrine?" *Homiletic and Pastoral Rev.*, XLVII (1947), 373-79.

tism.<sup>67a</sup> Augustine, being the great link in Christian tradition, is unavoidable in these considerations.<sup>67b</sup>

The effects of baptism may be considered under a twofold aspect, a visible and invisible one. As a visible sacramental rite it is a visible door leading to the Church; through it men visibly enter the Church and are recorded as its members.<sup>68</sup> As a rite conveying an invisible effect—the life of grace—it incorporates the receiver of it into the mystical body of Christ. But just as baptism is necessary for salvation, so is the Church; outside of it

<sup>67a</sup> Among the theories proposing baptismal substitutes is one which maintains that the Church does for the child dying without baptism what the child itself cannot do, viz., supplying the desire for baptism (*Ecclesia supplet votum*); another theory states that such infants are given the light of grace so that they may determine their own lot. For present day thinking on this matter cf. G. M. Fangauer, "Fate of Unbaptized Infants," *Homiletic and Pastoral Review*, XLVI (1946), 852-56; 924-29; XLVII (1946), 11-17; J. Sily, "Pueden salvarse los niños sin el bautismo," *Ciencia y Fe*, XI/XII (1947), 7-25; C. V. Héris, "Le salut des enfants morts sans baptême," *Maison Dieu*, X (1947), 86-105; J. Mulders, in *Verbum*, 1947, pp. 91-93; 107-10; 125-30; *id.*, "Rond het Limbus-vraagstuk," *Bijdragen*, IX (1948), 209-44; H. Diepen, "De predestinatie der kinderen," *Studia Catholica*, XXII (1947), 194-215; XXIII (1948), 18-38; F. De Pauw, "Rond het Lot der ongedoopte kinderen," *Collect. Mechlin.*, XIX (1949), 658-88; E. Boudes, "Réflexions sur la solidarité des hommes avec le Christ," *Nouvel rev. théol.*, LXXI (1949), 589-604; J. Lelièvre, "Sorts des enfants morts sans baptême," *La pense catholique*, VIII (1948), 43-59; N. Sanders, "Het ongedoopte kind in het andere leven," *Studia Catholica*, XXIII (1948), 125-37; J. McCarthy, "The Fate of Unbaptized Infants—a Recent Review," *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, LXXIV (1950), 436-43; A. Michel, "Encore le sort des enfants morts sans baptême," *L'ami du clergé*, 1951, pp. 97-101; *id.*, *Enfants morts sans baptême* (Paris: 1954); A. Minon, "Le salut des enfants morts sans baptême," *Rev. eccl. de Liège*, XXXVIII (1951), 385-92; F. H. Drinkwater, "The Baptism Invisible and its Effects," *Downside Rev.*, 1952-53, pp. 25-42; P. Gumpel, "Unbaptized Children: May They be Saved?" *Downside Rev.*, 1954, pp. 341-58; B. Webb, "Unbaptized Infants and the Quasi-sacrament of Death," *Downside Rev.*, 1953, pp. 243-57; M. Laurence, "Esquisse d'une étude sur le sort des enfants morts sans baptême," *L'Année théol. Augustinienne*, XII (1952), 145-85; B. Leeming, "Is Their Baptism Really Necessary?" *Clergy Rev.*, XXXIX (1954), 66-85; 193-212; 321-40.

<sup>67b</sup> Cf. W. A. Van Roo, "Infants Dying Without Baptism: A Survey of Recent Literature and Determination of the State of the Question," *Gregorianum*, XXV (1954), 406-73; *Theology Digest*, III (1955), 4-5.

<sup>68</sup> Cf. B. Busch, *De initiatione secundum sanctum Augustinum* (Romae: 1939); O. Heggelbacher, *Die christliche Taufe als Rechtsakt nach dem Zeugnis der frühen Christenheit* (Freiburg in der Schweiz: 1953), pp. 2-3, 90.



there is no salvation.<sup>69</sup> This is the weighty conclusion St. Augustine arrives at and expresses in the axiomatic words of St. Cyprian: <sup>70</sup> "There is no salvation outside the Church." <sup>71</sup> The question is in what sense does Augustine understand the term "Church." Is it the invisible mystical body, as the Reformers are inclined to understand it, or is it the visible juridical body? Just as the tradition preceding him, including St. Cyprian, so also St. Augustine understands by Church the recognizable institution which men call the Catholic Church. Indeed the aspect of the Church that is associated in the mind of St. Augustine with salvation is the mystical body, but he envisages the mystical body as one with the visible *Ecclesia Catholica*.

Writers, who study the axiom "outside the Church there is no salvation" in St. Augustine, agree that the Bishop has in mind the institutional, hierarchical, and social Church. C. Romeis writes: "When St. Augustine says with St. Cyprian that outside the Church there is no salvation, he means thereby the visible Church founded on earth by Christ, which Church he calls Catholic in opposition to all heretical and schismatic sects." <sup>72</sup> The words of A. Robertson follow: "Broadly speaking, it was agreed that the Church, outside of which there was no salvation, was the obviously visible general body of Christians. . . , as to the identity

<sup>69</sup> J. Czuj, "Extra Ecclesiam salus non est w świetle nauki Św. Augustyna," *Przeg. Teol.*, XIII (1932), 205-15.

<sup>70</sup> *Ep.*, 73, 21 (CSEL 32, ed. A. Goldbacher, II, 295); St. Cyprian, *Ep. ad Jubaianum*, c. 21 (CSEL 3, ed. Hartel, II, 795): "Quod si haeretico nec baptismi publicae confessionis et sanguinis proficere ad salutem potest, quia salus extra Ecclesiam non est, quanto magis ei nihil proderit, si in latebra et in latronum spelunca adulterae aquae contagione tinctus, non tantum peccata antiqua non exposuerit, sed adhuc potius nova et majora cumula-verit." Concerning the interpretations of this axiom, cf. E. Dublanchy, *De axiomate extra Ecclesiam nulla salus* (Barri-Ducis: 1895), pp. 379-420.

<sup>71</sup> *De bapt. contra Donat.*, IV, 17, 24 (PL 43, 170; CSEL 51, ed. M. Petschenig, I, 250). The necessity of belonging to the Church to attain salvation is to be drawn not only from this axiomatic principle but from Augustine's vast body of theology, especially from the fact that the sacraments and grace, without which there is no salvation, are properties of the Church. Cf. G. Favara, "Chiesa e grazia in sant' Agostino," *Divus Thomas* (Piacenza), IV (1952), 375-95; *id.*, *La necessità della Chiesa secondo S. Agostino* (Arcireale: 1950).

<sup>72</sup> *Das Heil des Christen ausserhalb der wahren Kirche nach der Lehre des hl. Augustin* (Paderborn: 1908), p. 10.

of which there could be no *bona fide* mistake.”<sup>73</sup> Of the same mind is P. Battifol: “To belong to the Church, to the *Catholica* . . . is a condition of salvation or a necessity of means (*necessitas medii*).” And again: “To belong to the *societas sacramentorum* is an obligation for every believer, and likewise a condition of salvation.” And then: “An obligation exists of being of the *communio sacramentorum*, of being of the *Catholica*, of being of Christ.”<sup>74</sup>

### EUCHARIST

The Eucharist, like the Church, has an external element and an internal one. The external element is the species, the appearances of bread and wine. This, St. Augustine properly calls the *sacramentum*. Such a visible element is required by the external nature of the Church as a visible society. The internal element of the Eucharist is the very body and blood of Christ which produce an invisible effect, that of life—or better, an increase of life and love—in the soul of the person worthily receiving the sacrament. The effect which the Eucharistic communion produces in the soul of the recipient is called the *res* or the *virtus sacramenti*. This invisible, spiritual element of the Eucharist corresponds to the invisible, spiritual nature of the Church, viz., the mystical body of Christ.<sup>75</sup> The unworthy, the heretics, and schismatics may receive the sacrament but they do not receive its life-giving effect because they are not living members of the mystical body of Christ as in the case of sinners, or none at all as in the case of heretics and schismatics, for “they are not in that bond of peace which is expressed by the sacrament.”<sup>76</sup>

It is universally admitted that the Church of the fourth and fifth century was in possession of the doctrine of the real presence of Christ in the Eucharist. St. Augustine is but one of the links in the chain of tradition who evidences this doctrine.<sup>77</sup> What

<sup>73</sup> *Regnum Dei* (London: 1901), p. 187.

<sup>74</sup> *Le catholicisme de saint Augustin* (4 éd.; Paris: 1929), pp. 247, 261, 525.

<sup>75</sup> *De civ. Dei*, XXI, 25, 2 (PL 41, 741; ed. Dombart-Kalb, II, 537); G. Gasque, *L'Eucharistie et le corps mystique* (Paris: 1925), p. 150.

<sup>76</sup> *De civ. Dei*, XXI, 25, 2 (PL 41, 741; ed. Dombart-Kalb, II, 537).

<sup>77</sup> K. Adam, *Die Eucharistielehre des hl. Augustinus* (Paderborn: 1908), p. 6.

is more realistic than Augustine's statement that when Christ said at the last supper, "This is my body" He was holding Himself in His own hands.<sup>78</sup> Indeed to eat the body of Christ and to drink His blood is to abide in Christ in order that Christ also may abide in a person.<sup>79</sup> Whosoever, therefore, receives the Eucharist, even if it be unworthily, receives the body and blood of Christ.<sup>80</sup> The bread and wine are transformed into the body and blood of Christ by a sacramental action which is said to be a benediction,<sup>81</sup> a sanctification,<sup>82</sup> a consecration,<sup>83</sup> a confection.<sup>84</sup>

The Eucharist, therefore, means that Christ's body and blood are in reality present in the sacrament.<sup>85</sup> But the Eucharist is not without a symbolic meaning and it is mostly then that it expresses the relationship which exists between the real body of Christ and His mystical body.<sup>86</sup> The latter does not contradict the former but presupposes it.<sup>87</sup> One of the purposes of the sacramental system in the Church is to unite the individuals becoming the followers of Christ into a visible and organized society for spiritual purposes.<sup>88</sup> This end is attained in its highest degree here upon earth through the Eucharist which unites all of Christ's members into a single body.<sup>89</sup> Following the well-trodden path of tradition (the Didache,<sup>90</sup> St. Ignatius of Antioch,<sup>91</sup> St. Cyprian,<sup>92</sup> the

<sup>78</sup> *Enar. in Ps.*, 33, 10 (PL 36, 306).

<sup>79</sup> *De civ. Dei*, XXI, 25, 4 (PL 41, 742; ed. Dombart-Kalb, II, 539).

<sup>80</sup> *De bapt. contra Donat.*, V, 8, 9 (PL 43, 181; CSEL 51, 270).

<sup>81</sup> *Sermo* 234, 2 (PL 38, 1116): "Non enim omnis panis sed accipiens benedictionem Christi fit corpus Christi."

<sup>82</sup> *Sermo* 227 (PL 38, 1099): "Panis ille quem videtis sanctificatus per verbum Dei corpus est Christi. Calix ille, imo quod habet calix, sanctificatum per verbum Dei, sanguis est Christi."

<sup>83</sup> *Sermo* 272 (PL 38, 1278).

<sup>84</sup> *Sermo* 71, 11, 17 (PL 38, 453).

<sup>85</sup> A. F. N. Lekkerkerker, "De aard van Christus' tegenwoordigheid in het avondmaal," *Kerk en Theologie*, II (1951), 154-65 admits that there are in St. Augustine passages containing the real corporeal presence of Christ but he asserts that these nevertheless must be interpreted in a symbolic sense.

<sup>86</sup> Cf. P. Bertocchi, *Il simbolismo ecclesiologico della Eucaristia in Santo Agostino* (Bergamo: 1937).

<sup>87</sup> W. Staniszewski, *Kościół jako Mistyczne Ciało Chrystusa według św. Augustyna* (Lublin: 1936), p. 127.

<sup>88</sup> *Ep.* 54, 1, 1 (PL 33, 200; CSEL 34, II, 159).

<sup>89</sup> *Contra Faust.*, XII, 20 (PL 42, 265; CSEL 25, 349).

<sup>90</sup> *Didache*, 9, 1 (*Patres Apostolici*, ed. F. X. Funk [Tubingae: 1901], I, 20).

Euchologium of Serapion<sup>93</sup>) St. Augustine sees in bread and wine symbols of unity. Just as bread is formed of many grains of wheat, and just as wine results from many single grapes, and the bread and wine become the body and blood of Christ, so too the multitude of individuals who are justified coalesce into a single body—the mystical body of Christ.<sup>94</sup>

And thus when St. Augustine says that the Eucharist is the body of Christ, this assertion can, and frequently must, be understood in the literal sense as containing the body and blood of Christ, or it can be understood in the allegorical sense, as referring to Christ's mystical body.<sup>95</sup> For this reason there is an easy transition from the Eucharist to the Church: "If you wish to be the body of Christ and His members, your mystery lies on the Lord's table, you receive your mystery. . . . For you bear the body of Christ and you answer, Amen. Be therefore a member of Christ's body in order that your Amen may be true."<sup>96</sup> The Eucharist cannot have its full meaning without the mystical body, nor can the mystical body be complete without the Eucharist. St. Augustine embraces them as correlative elements, and that with a loving heart and pious mind. Speaking of the Eucharist in its relationship to the Church, he exclaims: "O bond of charity, O sacrament of piety, O sign of unity."<sup>97</sup> Interpreting the fourth petition of the Lord's prayer: "Give us our daily bread," the Bishop offers three different interpretations of bread. It means all that is necessary for the body, the visible sacrament of the Eucharist, and the

<sup>91</sup> *Eph.*, 20, 2 (MG 5, 661; ed. Funk, I, 230); *Philadel.*, 4 (MG 5, 700; ed. Funk, I, 266).

<sup>92</sup> *Ep.* 69, 5 (CSEL 3, 2, 754).

<sup>93</sup> Cf. J. Quasten, *Monumenta eucharistica et liturgica vetustissima* (FP 7, 1935-37), 62.

<sup>94</sup> *Sermo* 227 (PL 38, 1100). *Communio sanctorum*, in early Christian literature, frequently means the communion of *sancta*, i.e., communion of the Eucharistic table, but on account of the close relationship it produces, the *communio sanctorum* refers both to the Eucharistic communion and to the oneness of members that it effects in the mystical body of Christ. Cf. W. Elert, *Abendmahl und Kirchengemeinschaft in der alten Kirche hauptsächlich des Ostens* (Berlin: 1954).

<sup>95</sup> G. Lecordier, *La doctrine de Saint Augustin sur l'Eucharistie* (Paris: 1930), p. 73.

<sup>96</sup> *Sermo* 272 (PL 38, 1247).

<sup>97</sup> *In Io. Ev. tr.* 26, 13 (PL 35, 1612).



invisible effect of the sacrament—the bread of the Word of God—consisting in sanctifying grace by which we are more intimately united to Christ and assured of our perseverance in Him.<sup>98</sup>

The Eucharist is said to be a sacrament, a term which has a wide range of meanings in the writings of St. Augustine. The word “sacrament,” applied to the Eucharist, is verified, in St. Augustine’s own language, in this that something else is seen and something else is understood from what is seen. In other words, there is a correlation of a twofold element: the visible element is symbolic (and by this is meant significative of) and causative of the invisible one. Behold “the bread and the chalice,” but “the bread is the body of Christ and the chalice is the blood of Christ.” “What is seen has a corporal appearance, what is understood has a spiritual fruit.”<sup>99</sup> The visible elements taken from the fruits of the earth—wheat and grapes—transformed into bread and wine, if rightfully consecrated by a mystical prayer and acted upon invisibly by the Holy Spirit, become the body and blood of Christ, a power of spiritual life unto the sanctification of souls in memory of Christ’s passion for us.<sup>100</sup>

But how are we to harmonize the effects of baptism with those of the Eucharist in reference to the mystical body? Does not baptism incorporate one into the mystical body? Through baptism we are individually incorporated into Christ and thereby become participants of His life. Through the Eucharist we increase the life of grace in us and perfect the union with Christ by a sacrament whose very purpose is to unite individually with Christ and corporately with all His members. Hence it is that we are what we receive—“for we, too, have become His body and through His mercy we become what we receive,” i.e., His body.<sup>101</sup> If by baptism we are made members of Christ, it is because baptism is intrinsically correlated to the Eucharist and virtually contains in itself the fullness of the Eucharistic life. But the Eucharist, containing the true body of Christ and uniting us to it, expresses in its fullness and accomplishes in a consummate

<sup>98</sup> Hélène Pétré, “Les leçons du ‘Panem nostrum quotidianum’” in *Mélanges Lebreton, Rech. de science rel.*, XL (1952), 63–79.

<sup>99</sup> *Sermo* 272 (PL 38, 1246–47).

<sup>100</sup> *De Trin.*, III, 4, 10 (PL 41, 874).

<sup>101</sup> *Sermo* 229 (PL 38, 1103).

measure our mystical incorporation. To eat Christ's body and to drink His blood is to live: "Eat the life, drink the life, and the life is whole."<sup>102</sup> But he who lives by the Eucharist is by the same token consummately incorporated into Christ's mystical body.<sup>103</sup> And thus without baptism, "the sacrament of salvation," and without the Eucharist, "the sacrament of life" we cannot attain salvation and life eternal.<sup>104</sup>

The Eucharist falls within the category of sacrifices.<sup>105</sup> Leaning heavily on the sacrificial contents of the Epistle to the Hebrews and gleaning from the history of the sacrifices of the human race, Augustine shows his inspiring doctrine on sacrifice and the priesthood throughout the length of his works but expatiates on it with studied precision in Book X, chapters 5 and 6, of his *City of God*, providing us with a grand synthesis of diverse aspects. In general, under the designation of a sacrifice may be meant an invisible sign, which is therefore interior to man, or a visible one which consists in an exterior act performed by man. In its full sense it is

<sup>102</sup> *Sermo* 131, 1 (PL 38, 729).

<sup>103</sup> *In Io. Ev. tr.* 26, 13 (PL 35, 1613). The various ways of expressing the relationship between the sacraments of baptism and the Eucharist in the writings of modern authors are adaptations of St. Augustine's theology. Their explanations hinge around these points: baptism is ordained toward the Eucharist; the ecclesial effect is more prominent in baptism and the Christic in the Eucharist; the *incorporatio* into Christ and the *concorporatio* with Christians are effected in an initial stage by baptism and in a consummate stage by the Eucharist. Cf. Tomás Gonçalves de Oliveira, "Baptismo et Eucharistia: Incorporação em Cristo e seu significado eucarístico," *Ora et Labora*, II (1955), 12-27; W. Van Kempen, "Onze Incorporatie in Christus door Doopsel en Eucharistie," *Studia Catholica*, XXXIX (1954), 1-32; 97-119; A. Piolanti, "Gli effetti del sacramento dell' Eucaristia: Saggio di una nuova sintesi," *Scuola Cattolica*, LXXXIII (1955), 3-28.

<sup>104</sup> *De pecc. mer. et remis.*, I, 24, 34 (PL 44, 128; CSEL 60, ed. C. Urba et J. Zycha, 33). Augustine informs us that "the sacrament of salvation" is the Punic appellation for baptism as is "the sacrament of life" for the Eucharist. Cf. W. M. Green, "Augustine's use of Punic," *Semitic and Oriental Studies*, a volume presented to William Popper (Berkeley and Los Angeles: 1951), 179-90.

<sup>105</sup> On the doctrine of St. Augustine, cf. V. de Montscheuil, "L'unité du sacrifice et du sacrement dans l'Eucharistie," *Mélanges Théologiques* (Paris: 1946), pp. 49-70; A. F. Kreuger, *Synthesis of Sacrifice according to St. Augustine. A Study of Sacramentality of Sacrifice* (Mundelein: 1950); C. W. Dugmore, "Sacrament and Sacrifice in the Early Fathers," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, II (1951), 24-37; J. Lécuyer, "Le sacrifice selon saint Augustin," *Augustinus Magister* (Paris: 1954), II, 905-14.

both: "A sacrifice is the visible sacrament or sacred sign of an invisible sacrament."<sup>106</sup> Genuine sacrifice is due to God alone, for it is a latreutic worship—a *cultus latrae*, a *divinus honor*—<sup>107</sup> but God does not wish the external sacrifice alone for it "is a symbol of the worship which God does wish."<sup>108</sup>

St. Augustine's analysis of the concept of sacrifice is not founded upon an a priori conception of the relationship between man and God, but upon the data of Sacred Scripture. Moreover, the need of sacrifice as a worship is shown from the place it occupied in the course of human history. Of all sacrifices outside of the one of the New Testament those of the Old Testament—also called sacraments—<sup>109</sup> engage our attention most. But they do not have an independent meaning for they point to Christ and to His Church. The sacrificial sacraments of the Old Testament are a foreshadowing of the future—*umbra futuri*—, a prefiguration—*figura*—, an image—*imago*—of the only true sacrifice which God has ordained for all humanity.

The observances of the Old Law have been legitimately in force until they were replaced by the one sacrifice of the Cross<sup>110</sup> and the sacrifice everywhere repeated of Christ which is the Eucharist.<sup>111</sup> The relationship of past and present sacrifices is the following: the sacrifices of the past are a figure, the sacrifice of the Cross, a reality, and the Eucharist sacrifice is a memory of the one reality.<sup>112</sup> In distinguishing between the rites which are an adumbration and the sacrifice of the Cross and the Eucharist which constitute realities, Augustine gives eloquent testimony to his conception of the Eucharistic sacrifice of the altar as a reality and not as a symbol.<sup>113</sup>

<sup>106</sup> *De civ. Dei*, X, 5 (PL 41, 282).

<sup>107</sup> *Contra Faust.*, XX, 17-18 (PL 42, 382).

<sup>108</sup> *De civ. Dei*, X, 5 (PL 41, 282).

<sup>109</sup> H. M. Féret, "Sacramentum-Res, dans la langue théologique de saint Augustin," *Rev. des science phil. et théol.*, XXII (1940), 225-29; C. Couturier, "'Sacramentum' et 'Mysterium' dans l'oeuvre de saint Augustin," *Études Augustiniennes* (Paris: 1953), 179-80.

<sup>110</sup> *De bapt. contra Donat.*, III, 19, 27 (PL 43, 153; CSEL 51, 216); *Contra Faust.*, XIX, 13 (PL 42, 355).

<sup>111</sup> F. Van der Meer, "Sacramentum chez saint Augustin," *La Maison-Dieu*, XIII (1948), 50 ff.

<sup>112</sup> *Contra Faustum*, XX, 21 (PL 42, 385).

<sup>113</sup> F. Van der Meer, *art. cit.*, pp. 58-62.

The one sacrifice of Christ is for St. Augustine the point of departure and the point of arrival for his history and theology of sacrifice.<sup>114</sup> While other sacrifices are true, in their own right, still compared with the one sacrifice of Christ they can be said to be false: for it is the "true and only sacrifice" (*verum et unicum*), it is the "truest and singular sacrifice" (*verissimum et singulare*); that is why "to this supreme and true sacrifice all false sacrifices have given place."<sup>115</sup> If the purpose of sacrifice is to honor God,<sup>116</sup> He cannot be honored more by any priest or victim than by the priest and victim of that nature which was assumed into the unity of the divine Word; and, if the purpose of a sacrifice is "that we may be united to God in holy fellowship,"<sup>117</sup> man's union with God is most perfectly realized in Jesus Christ, in whom the human nature is united with the divine in the unity of the single divine personality. It was for this purpose that He became mediator and intercessor, priest and victim. "The one and the same mediator, reconciling us by the sacrifice of peace, remained one with Him (God) to whom He offered, was the same who offered and what He offered."<sup>118</sup>

By His death, the one true sacrifice for us, Jesus Christ cleansed, destroyed, and extinguished whatever sins (original and personal) man had, has, and will have to account for.<sup>119</sup> The price of His blood was not paid to Satan who unjustly swayed over man, but to God who alone has a just right over man. And thus St. Augustine, as Rivière remarks, rather adapted than adopted the exaggerated theory of the rights of Satan as propounded by some Greek Fathers.<sup>120</sup> And yet it is not easy to make St. Augustine's redemptive doctrine fit into the theory of vicarious satisfaction as propounded by St. Anselm.<sup>121</sup>

What perfection in this sacrifice and what excellence in its

<sup>114</sup> J. Lécuyer, "Le sacrifice selon saint Augustin," *Augustinus Magister* (Paris: 1954), II, 914.

<sup>115</sup> *De civ. Dei*, X, 20 (PL 41, 298).

<sup>116</sup> Cf. A. F. Kreuger, *Synthesis of Sacrifice according to St. Augustine* (Mundelein: 1950), pp. 26-29.

<sup>117</sup> *De civ. Dei*, X, 6 (PL 41, 283).

<sup>118</sup> *De Trin.*, IV, 14, 19 (PL 42, 901).

<sup>119</sup> *De Trin.*, IV, 13, 17 (PL 42, 899).

<sup>120</sup> J. Rivière, *The Doctrine of Atonement* (St. Louis: 1909), I, 151.

<sup>121</sup> A. F. Krueger, *op. cit.*, pp. 86 ff.



priest! It is the only sacrifice which was brought directly before God and the only priest who entered into the immediate presence of God. This He did when, after His immolation and resurrection, He ascended into heaven to offer at the very throne of God His immolated and now glorious humanity to His Father for all the iniquities of mankind. In doing this the new and only true sacrifice penetrated into the holy of holies, into the inner tabernacle, of which the temple of Jerusalem was but a figure.<sup>122</sup> In the heavenly temple there is no longer room for image, figure, symbol: the reality of the union with God is unalterably and inamissibly accomplished; here is the true sanctuary where God resides, here the true priest, here the true victim.<sup>123</sup>

Christ, the High Priest, offers to the Holy Trinity not only His glorified humanity as the most pleasing victim for the redeemed, but also the redeemed members themselves who have already attained their heavenly goal. The head together with those members who constitute the vanguard of His mystical body enter "in even within the veil" (Heb. 6:19), into the holy of holies (Heb. 9:12), into the secret part of the temple (*absconditum templi*) to enjoy the bliss of an eternal life in union with Him. "The whole redeemed city, that is to say, the congregation or community of saints, is offered to God as our sacrifice through the great High Priest, who offered Himself to God in His passion for us, that we might be members of this glorious head, according to the form of a servant. For it was this form He offered, in this He was offered, because it is according to it He is Mediator, in this He is our Priest, in this the sacrifice."<sup>124</sup>

In a way, included in this heavenly oblation are those living upon earth and forming the Church Militant which is His mystical body on earth. Redeemed from sin, separated from the mass of damnation, and reconciled with God, they form the glorious fruits of His sacrifice on the Cross. By dying and arising in the flesh, Jesus makes those who participate in His grace by baptism die to sin and be reborn to a new life. In the ascension of the head into heaven the members of the mystical body have the

<sup>122</sup> *Enar. in Ps.* 130, 4 (PL 37, 1706).

<sup>123</sup> J. Lécuyer, *art. cit.*, 907.

<sup>124</sup> *De civ. Dei*, X, 6 (PL 41, 284).

example and the virtue of their own ascension; in the presence of their head in heaven they have an intercessor in that abode to which they are destined; in fact, having their head in heaven, they, too, in a certain way are present there with it.<sup>125</sup> He has already offered the triumphant redeemed souls (still awaiting the resurrection of their bodies) to the Father, but He alone has entered into the presence of the Father with His resuscitated humanity;<sup>126</sup> He must still intercede for His militant members sojourning on earth, but the day will come when those who persevere shall fully benefit, in soul and body, of the glories of their triumphant head, uniting with it in its heavenly existence.<sup>127</sup>

If the sacrifice of the Cross is a most true sacrifice, so is the Eucharistic sacrifice offered on our altars a—*verissimum et singulare sacrificium*.<sup>128</sup> The sacrifice of the body and blood of Christ<sup>129</sup> is the characteristic sacrifice of the Christians which has replaced the sacrifices of the Old Testament.<sup>130</sup> The daily Eucharistic action on the altars is an oblation<sup>131</sup> and an immolation,<sup>132</sup> but, unlike that of the Old Testament, it is not confined to one temple but is offered in the churches everywhere on earth.<sup>133</sup> While the Eucharistic sacrifice is a reality—<sup>134</sup> a most true sacrifice—it is at the same time a living and perpetual remembrance of Christ's salvific work on the Cross.<sup>135</sup> In conformity with early Christian tradition Augustine makes the distinction between the Eucharist or Mass as a memorial of Christ's passion and the Eucharist or Mass as a sacrifice.<sup>136</sup> As Christ was immolated on

<sup>125</sup> *Sermo* 75, 2, 3 (PL 38, 475); cf. Y. J. M. Congar, *Jalons pour une théologie du laïc* (Paris: 1953), pp. 98–99.

<sup>126</sup> *Enar. in Ps.* 64, 6 (PL 36, 777).

<sup>127</sup> *De Trin.*, I, 10, 20 (PL 42, 835).

<sup>128</sup> *De spir. et lit.*, 11, 18 (PL 44, 211; CSEL 40, 170).

<sup>129</sup> *Enar. in Ps.* 33, 5 (PL 36, 303).

<sup>130</sup> *Adv. Judaeos*, 9, 13 (PL 42, 62).

<sup>131</sup> *De civ. Dei*, X, 6 (PL 41, 283); cf. Krueger, *op. cit.*, pp. 37–41.

<sup>132</sup> *Enar. in Ps.* 75, 15 (PL 36, 966); *Ep.* 98, 9 (PL 33, 363–64).

<sup>133</sup> *Adv. Judaeos*, 9, 13 (PL 42, 62).

<sup>134</sup> *Ep.* 186, 6, 20 (PL 33, 839).

<sup>135</sup> *Enar. in Ps.* 75, 15 (PL 36, 966); *De div. quaest.* 83, 61, 2 (PL 40, 60):

"Holocausti ejus imaginem ad memoriam passionis suae celebrandam dedit." *De Trinit.*, III, 4, 10 (PL 42, 874): "In memoriam pro nobis Dominicae passionis."

<sup>136</sup> J. A. Jungmann, "Das Gedächtnis des Herrn in der Eucharistia," *Theol. Quartalsch.*, CXXXIII (1953), 385–99.

the Cross He continues to be immolated in each Mass. "Is it not true that Christ was immolated once in Himself and that in the sacrament He is immolated not only on each Feast of the Pasch but every day . . . ?" <sup>137</sup>

The sacrifice of the Cross directly signifies and effects the return of men availing themselves of its power to God, whereas the sacrifice of the Mass signifies and contains the sacrifice of the Cross: <sup>138</sup> the Mass is a sacrament of a sacrament. <sup>139</sup> It is a true sacrament because it contains a visible, exterior element and produces, in a mysterious way, an invisible effect, viz., a union with God and unity in the membership of the mystical body. "This is the sacrifice of Christians: we, being many, are one body in Christ. And this also is the sacrifice which the Church continually celebrates in the sacrament of the altar, known to the faithful, in which she teaches that she herself is offered in the offering she makes to God." <sup>140</sup> The Catholic Church is a true temple because in her as the true mystical body of Christ is offered the true sacrifice of Christ: and thus he prays in spirit and truth who prays and offers in the peace of the Church. <sup>141</sup> Her ordained priests are many, spread over the world like her sacrifice, but the High Priest, innocent and holy, is one and the same in heaven and on earth, hence the sacrifice remains holy and pleasing to God even if it is offered by a sinful minister.

In the heart of every Christian there is a temple with its altar on which pleasing sacrifices can be offered to God. Every Christian in virtue of the sacrament of baptism is, in his own right, a priest because he has been made a member of Christ, the High Priest. If he is a priest, he has the power to offer sacrifice: priesthood and sacrifice are correlative terms. Above all, every Christian is to offer himself as a sacrifice; <sup>142</sup> "for what more acceptable offering can such persons make to God than themselves." <sup>143</sup> But

<sup>137</sup> Ep. 98, 9 (PL 33, 363-64); Cf. A. F. Kreuger, *Synthesis of Sacrifice according to Saint Augustine* (Mundelein: 1950), p. 107.

<sup>138</sup> *De civ. Dei*, X, 20 (PL 41, 298).

<sup>139</sup> Y. de Montcheuil, "L'unité du sacrifice et du sacrement dans l'Eucharistie," *Mélanges théologiques* (Paris: 1946), pp. 53-55.

<sup>140</sup> *De civ. Dei*, X, 6 (PL 41, 284).

<sup>141</sup> *Enar. in Ps.* 130, 1-2 (PL 33, 1204).

<sup>142</sup> *Sermo* 48, 2, 2 (PL 38, 317).

<sup>143</sup> *De civ. Dei*, XX, 25 (PL 41, 760).

if we can make of ourselves "the most noble and worthy sacrifice" this cannot be accomplished unless in virtue of the sacrifice of the Cross and in union with that daily sacrifice of Christ which we offer upon our altars: the road leading to God is through Christ, the head, and Christ, the victim.<sup>144</sup> Every act of virtue, whether it be externalized or remain hidden in the recesses of the heart—divine praises, penance, contrition, humility, thanksgiving, the service of thought and tongue—constitutes a sacrifice if it is animated by the warmth of charity.<sup>145</sup> "True sacrifices are works of mercy to ourselves or to others, done with reference to God."<sup>146</sup>

Like every sacrament, the clerical order partakes of the nature of the Church. Initiation into the clerical ranks takes place by sacramental signs, and the bishop and priest are consecrated and ordained by spiritual powers infused into their souls. The ministry of the clergy, as in dispensing the sacraments, offering sacrifice, praying, is in part visible and in part invisible. Here the human and the divine are at work: the human in administering sacramental signs; the divine in sanctifying by internal motions of the Holy Ghost. The episcopate and the clerical orders are elements belonging to the external but essential constitution of the Church. Augustine teaches that without their ministry, men cannot become Christians, and those who are already in the fold of Christ cannot lead good Christian lives and attain their salvation.<sup>147</sup> As in baptism so also in holy orders the recipient of them is stamped permanently with the sign of Christ—"the character of the leader."<sup>148</sup>

Like baptism and holy orders, Christian marriage is a sacrament<sup>149</sup> which has for its purpose the building of the City of God. Neither upon earth nor in heaven can the City of God exist and thrive unless members accrue to it in accordance with

<sup>144</sup> *De civ. Dei*, XIX, 23 (PL 41, 655).

<sup>145</sup> *Enar. in Ps.* 55, 19 (PL 36, 659).

<sup>146</sup> *De civ. Dei*, X, 6 (PL 41, 284).

<sup>147</sup> *Ep.* 228, 4 (PL 33, 1015; CSEL 57, ed. A. Goldbacher, IV, 487): ". . . ne deserat ministerium Christi sine quo non possunt homines vel fieri vel vivere Christiani."

<sup>148</sup> *Sermo ad Caesar. Eccl.*, 2 (PL 43, 691).

<sup>149</sup> *De bono conjug.*, 24, 32 (PL 40, 394).



the designs of God. Reciprocal legitimate love between husband and wife installed here below on a universal level is an anticipation of the mutual love between the elect in heaven. It is in this perspective that Augustine makes his reflections on the goods of marriage without focusing his attention on the end of matrimony. There is no doubt that for him the procreation of offspring is the primary purpose of the married state, but he is more oriented toward the sacredness and intimacy of the matrimonial bond. Indeed, the union of sex is prolific in natural and Christian values: on the natural plane it is this union which requires and strengthens mutual fidelity; in Christian perspective it constitutes an admirable image of the indissoluble and holy union existing between Christ and his Church.<sup>150</sup> Spiritual friendship, a sacred union is for Augustine of the essence of marriage; it is its spiritual form. There are, therefore, two orientations which he did not seek to coordinate for want of a sufficiently crystallized conception of the place of the carnal and temporal elements in marriage and of their role in the plans of God and in the advent of the definitive City of God.<sup>151</sup>

Among the early testimonies to the existence of primitive penance and extreme unction in the Church are those of St. Augustine.<sup>152</sup> Both of these doctrines—as are all of his sacraments—are related to the doctrine of the Church, the mystical body of Christ.

It is evident, therefore, that St. Augustine's concept of the Church and his theology of the sacraments contain indispensable elements that are far apart, namely visible and invisible elements. According to some constitutive elements, it is visible, according

<sup>150</sup> Cf. P. Colli, *La pericope paolina ad Ephesios V, 32 nella interpretazione dei Ss. Padri e del Concilio di Trento* (Parma: 1951), pp. 78–88.

<sup>151</sup> L. Louchet, "Le fins du mariage . . . St. Augustin," *Nouv. Rev. de Théol.*, LXXIII (1951), 561–69; M. Meslin, "Sainteté et mariage au cours de la seconde querelle pélagienne, Saint Augustin et Julien d'Eclane," in *Mystique et continence*; coll. *Les Études Carmélitaines* (Paris: 1952), pp. 293–307; St. Augustine, *Sermons for Christmas and Epiphany*, trans. and annot. by J. C. Lawler, in *Ancient Christian Writers*, n. 15 (Westminster, Md.: 1952): see various notes on Augustine's conception of Christian Marriage.

<sup>152</sup> Cf. B. Poschmann, *Busse und Letzte Ölung in Handbuch der Dogmengeschichte* (Freiburg im Br.: 1951), IV, fasc. 3.

to others it is invisible. To disparage or to destroy the visibility of the Church and to extol and adopt the invisibility of the Church is to misinterpret his mind and to distort his notion of the Church. These elements inseparably constitute the nature of the Church just as the union of the soul and body forms the nature of man. The mind of the Bishop had much opportunity to weigh these matters. Although it is not easy to envisage elements so diverse as belonging to the constitution of the same Church,<sup>153</sup> his mind does not shrink from proclaiming the sacramental and sacerdotal *Catholica* to be the spiritual Church, the mystical body of Christ.

By and large, in Augustine's incontrovertible writings the Church appears in both of these aspects together as living by the life of Christ in the mystical body, and as a hierarchic, social, and sacramental organization. If we envisage the controversies in which St. Augustine was engaged during his whole episcopate, we shall discover that his attention was focused separately either upon the internal constituent of the Church or the external visibility of it.

In his long and stubborn controversy with the Pelagians and semi-Pelagians Augustine is concerned with the grace of Christ, the spiritual life of the Church. Making a thorough study of the nature of grace could not but have some bearing on the nature of the Church, which lives by that grace. Moreover, the Pelagians conceived of the Church as of a pedagogical institution in an ethical sense, disregarding her life of grace. The natural reaction on the part of St. Augustine would be to portray the Church in its supernatural character as the mystical body of Christ.<sup>154</sup>

In his strife with the Donatists, the notion of the sacrament and the notion of the Church are the two hubs around which the whole controversy revolves. In the question of the sacraments Augustine is concerned with both the sign and the grace, and the difficulty cannot be solved without taking both of these into consideration. But in the question of the Church Augustine di-

<sup>153</sup> Cf. H. Stirnimann, "Die Kirche und der Geist Christi," *Divus Thomas*, XXXI (1953), 5.

<sup>154</sup> F. Hofmann, *Der Kirchenbegriff des hl. Augustinus* (München: 1933), pp. 455-85.

verts his attention from the internal life of the Church to the external consideration of the Church.

The Donatist's thesis was this: Ours is the true Church, because we have not been contaminated by sin, hence, we possess sanctity, the Holy Ghost, inner life. St. Augustine's rebuttal does not lie in a refutation of their sanctity or a defense of the sanctity of his own Church. His contention is that sanctity can be found only in the true Church of Christ. This true Church, however, is discernible not through any internal quality, which is an imponderable and as such beyond demonstrability, but by external, palpable signs. It is, therefore, under this pressure, that St. Augustine reverts to the truths contained in Sacred Scripture concerning the external qualities of the true Church of Christ, finds them in a more primitive form in tradition and gives expression to them in a form adapted to his time and adversaries.

In the first works written after his conversion<sup>155</sup> Augustine is not interested in the Church as the mystical body of Christ but in her role as a teacher.<sup>156</sup> Having become skeptical of attaining truth from philosophy and by his own powers, he threw himself into the arms of the Church. She has the divine power to teach men. Her authority must be obeyed. In these earliest writings Augustine accepts without reservation the teaching of the Church, refers to her fundamental doctrines as mysteries without explaining them.<sup>157</sup> He entertains this same notion of the Church in his controversy with the Manichees, as is evident from his work *De moribus Ecclesiae Catholicae et de moribus Manichaeorum*. In it he praises the Church because she has brought peace and happiness to mankind through the purity of religion she preaches and teaches.<sup>158</sup>

<sup>155</sup> *Contra Academicos*, in 386; *De beata vita*, 387; *De ordine*, in 386; *De quantitate animae*, in 387.

<sup>156</sup> *De quant. anim.*, 33, 76 (PL 32, 1077): "Tunc agnosceamus quam vera nobis credenda imperata sint, quamque optime ac saluberrime apud matrem Ecclesiam nutriti fuerimus, quaeve sit utilitas lactis illius, quod apostolus Paulus parvulis se potum dedisse praedicavit."

<sup>157</sup> *Contra Acad.*, II, 1, 1 (PL 32, 919): "Quid est enim aliud, quem mysteria nobis tradunt Dei Filium?"; *De ord.*, II, 5, 16 (PL 32, 1002): "docent veneranda mysteria"; II, 17, 46 (PL 32, 1016): "Admoneo te, ut fidem istam tuam, quam venerandis mysteriis percepisti firme cauteque custodias."

<sup>158</sup> *De mor. Ecc.*, I, 30, 62 (PL 32, 1336).

It is commonly said that Augustine developed the concept of the Church in his encounter with the Donatist schism. In a broad sense, this is true; the Donatists furnished the occasion of his intensified study of the nature of the Church. However, by development of his doctrine on the Church some writers<sup>159</sup> mean that Augustine made substantial contributions of doctrine, arguments, and polemical methods with which antecedent writers were unfamiliar. In effect it means that St. Augustine and the Donatist schism have contributed to a growth of the concept of the Church in the sense that it is no longer the same that it was.

Yet it would be rather difficult to point out any appreciable departures from, or additions to, the concept of the Church as it is found in the pages of Sacred Scripture, and as it is crystallized in the tradition preceding the times of St. Augustine.<sup>160</sup> There is, no doubt, a certain originality but that is a trait which impregnates all that he has written. He was the genius of transforming, welding, and adapting to his present needs. The long-lasting division in the African Church led Augustine to leave no stone unturned in order to prove that the position of the Donatist

<sup>159</sup> So J. Köstlin, "Kirche," *Realencyklopädie für prot. Theologie*, 3 ed. X, 1901, p. 329; F. Böhringer, *Aurelius Augustinus, Bischof von Hippo* (Stuttgart: 1887), p. 170; A. Harnack, *Dogmengeschichte*, III, 142; Reuter, *Augustinische Studien*, p. 14.

<sup>160</sup> McGiffert's remark, made in reference to all of St. Augustine's doctrine is particularly applicable here, *The History of Christian Thought* (New York: 1946), II, 72: "Though most of his (Augustine's) ideas had found expression before his day he made them thoroughly his own, brought them into a larger and more imposing setting, and so worked them over in the light of experience and observation as to give them new significance and influence far wider and more lasting than would otherwise have been possible." F. Loofs, "Augustine," in Schaaf Herzog, *Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge*, I, 370: "The earliest of the extant works against the Donatists present the same view of the Church and its sacraments which Augustine developed later. The principles which he represented in this conflict are merely those which, in a simpler form, had either appeared in the anti-Donatist polemics before his time or had been part of his own earlier belief. What he did was to formulate them with more dogmatic precision, and to permeate the ordinary controversial theses with his own deep thoughts as *unitas*, *caritas*, and *inspiratio gratiae* in the Church, thoughts which again trace their origin back to his Neo-platonic foundations.—It may well be doubted, however, if the practical struggle with schismatics had as much to do with Augustine's development as has been supposed."



schism was untenable. He accumulated and mustered all that the scriptural and traditional sources provided for him. The controversy did not produce a systematic treatise on the Church but the various parts which make up an ecclesiology are found, abundantly worked out, in the writings of the Bishop. Augustine's comprehensiveness and thoroughness manifest themselves in this, that when men were confronted by similar schisms as Augustine encountered they found in his writings a whole arsenal of ready made weapons to use in defense of unity.

#### TESTS OF THE CHURCH

Augustine as a shepherd of souls inculcates the Church as the mystical body of Christ; Augustine as an apologist vindicates the visible Church and defends it *ab externis*. He calls the religious body, of which he was a member, simply *Ecclesia*,<sup>161</sup> a name, he says, that is known to all.<sup>162</sup> This was a name which she had acquired already long ago; by it she is designated as by a proper name. "Everybody knew what the Church was—the empiric, visible Church, which triumphed since the days of Constantine. A definition of the Church was unnecessary."<sup>163</sup> The appellation *Ecclesia* distinguishes her from schismatic bodies. For the schismatics the Bishop has no honorable name, they are simply the *Donatistae*, followers of a certain Donatus, or they are a faction, a *pars*. While his Church (*Ecclesia*) has a history of long standing, and this they cannot deny, their faction is a recent creation. Evidently St. Augustine is arguing from a visible, demonstrable Church, which can be pointed out by the finger and traced back in history.

The Bishop of Hippo is convinced that the African church of his time was a living, homogeneous, and integral part of the universal, historic and factual Church established by Christ. It could not be merely an invisible mystical body, but must also be a visible institution. It could not be detached either from history, for it must have historic continuity, nor from the New Testa-

<sup>161</sup> Cf. F. J. A. Hort, *The Christian Ecclesia* (London: 1897).

<sup>162</sup> *In Io. Ep. tr.* 6, 6 (PL 35, 2022): "Quid enim sumus nos? Aut quid estis vos? Quid, nisi Ecclesia Dei, quae nota est omnibus."

<sup>163</sup> A. Harnack, *Dogmengeschichte* (4 ed.), III, 143.

ment, for it has its founder and foundation in it. St. Augustine, no doubt, would be the first to passionately oppose the contention of a modern outstanding theologian maintaining that it is a great "misunderstanding" to try to find the *Ekklesia* (i.e., Church) of the New Testament in an existing "Church."<sup>164</sup> A church cannot be the true Church of the New Testament unless it can show itself to be of apostolic origin and to be a part of one universal Church.

The existing particular churches must be able to track back their origin to Jesus Christ who made use of the apostles to establish them. By the fact that a particular church is apostolic and is in union at the same time with the universal Church, it belongs to the one true Church of Christ, if it is without apostolicity it cannot be a part of the universal Church.<sup>165</sup> The note of apostolicity can be predicated of a bishop who is in the legitimate line of succession in an apostolic see, or if the bishop occupies a see which is not directly of apostolic origin he must be in union with a see founded by an apostle. Those who sever themselves from the unity of the Church lose those ties whereby they have been and can be apostolic. Such are all who are called schismatics and heretics.<sup>166</sup> The Donatists, for example, cannot claim to possess the note of apostolicity because they are not able to trace their episcopal succession back to the apostles through the Roman see,<sup>167</sup> nor through the chair of the church of Jerusalem, in which James sat.<sup>168</sup>

To show the existence of the note of apostolicity in the African church before and at the time of St. Augustine, it was sufficient to establish a living contact with, and a certain dependence on, the

<sup>164</sup> Such is the contention of E. Brunner, *Das Missverständnis der Kirche* (Stuttgart: 1951).

<sup>165</sup> *Contra Faustum*, 28, 2 (PL 42, 486; CSEL 25, ed. J. Zycha, 740): "Ecclesia ab ipso Christo inchoata et per Apostolos provecta certa successionum serie ad haec tempora toto terrarum orbe dilatata."

<sup>166</sup> *Ep.* 232, 3 (PL 33, 1028; CSEL 57, ed. A. Goldbacher, IV, 513): "Videtis certe multos praecisos a radice christianae societatis, quae per sedes Apostolorum et successiones episcoporum certa per orbem propagatione diffunditur, de sola figura originis, sub christiano nomine, quasi arescentia sarmenta gloriari, quas haereses et schismata nominamus."

<sup>167</sup> *Ep.* 53, 2 (PL 33, 196; CSEL 34, 153).

<sup>168</sup> *Contra lit. Pet.*, II, 51, 118 (PL 43, 300; CSEL 52, 88).

nearest apostolic see, or in particular the see of Rome. If the note of apostolicity in St. Augustine's works "is not made to rest solely upon communion with Rome, but with other apostolic sees as well,"<sup>169</sup> they are nevertheless not of equal authority. It is assumed by Irenaeus, Cyprian, Optatus of Mileve, and St. Augustine that the apostolic churches were automatically in accord with the Roman church, so high is their estimation of apostolic sees. Nevertheless they must recognize the supremacy of the Roman see in its apostolic note as being the chair of St. Peter, the first Apostle. The Roman see holds for Irenaeus the *potentior principalitas*; for St. Cyprian it is the "principal church"; for Optatus it is "the unique chair," the episcopal chair on which sat Peter, the head of all the apostles; for St. Augustine, it is the Church "in which the primacy of an apostolic chair always flourished."

Christian churches possessing an episcopacy accept Augustine's principle necessitating an uninterrupted succession of their bishops from the apostles.<sup>170</sup> They profess that "it is not sufficient to believe of any succession, solely because there existed a ministry of the apostles in the primitive Church."<sup>171</sup> However, Augustine requires more from a church and a bishop than to stand in the succession of the apostles. He thus combines apostolicity with other characteristics of the Church. In addition to being apostolic the church in question must be in communion with the universal Church<sup>172</sup> and the apostolic see of Rome.<sup>173</sup> These two factors—the universal Church and the apostolic see of Rome—he considers as counterparts. The universal Church cannot be without the Roman apostolic see, and vice versa. If you adhere to the one, you will be with the other. This concept of *Ecclesia* he makes more specific by the addition of the term *Catholica*. The combination Catholic Church (*Ecclesia Catholica*) is supplanted by the simple and single term *Catholica*, and this in a countless number of instances throughout St. Augustine's works, especially the anti-

<sup>169</sup> G. G. Willis, *Saint Augustine and the Donatist Controversy* (London: 1950), p. 120.

<sup>170</sup> Cf. *The Apostolic Ministry*, ed. by Dr. Kirk, Bishop of Oxford (London: 1946).

<sup>171</sup> A. Ehrhardt, *The Apostolic Succession* (London: (1953), p. 20.

<sup>172</sup> E.g., *Contra Faustum*, 28, 2 (PL 42, 486; CSEL 25, ed. J. Zycha, 740).

<sup>173</sup> *Contra ep. Fund.*, 4, 5 (PL 42, 475; CSEL 25, ed. J. Zycha, 196).

Donatistic ones.<sup>174</sup> In contrast to the Donatists, Augustine's particular African church was a living branch of the universal Church of Christ. To be universal is so distinctive of the Church of Christ that the note of universality became a designation by which she is known—*Catholica, Ecclesia Catholica*. All that can be said of schismatics, who sever themselves from the life-giving unity of the mystical body of Christ, is that they are a faction, a sect. The Donatists were reproached by St. Augustine as being dissentists and separatists. They were confined to a small part of Africa and were not in communion with the overseas churches possessing apostolic origin.

Like St. Paul, St. Augustine is a champion of universalism. The Donatists' doctrine of the Church accorded admirably with their intense national devotion to things African.<sup>175</sup> But for Augustine the Church of Christ could not be bound up with any one nation, land, or continent. He who had a universal grasp on the history of man's thought and conduct could not but realize that religion like truth must be one and destined for all mankind.<sup>176</sup> He was convinced that such was the Church of which he was a bishop. She had the requisites of a universal teaching because her doctrine comes from God. St. Augustine must have been aware that religious founders proclaimed their religion to be universal, but that they never attained universal expansion.<sup>177</sup> For

<sup>174</sup> Cf. O. Rottmanner, *Geistesfrüchte aus der Klosterzelle* (München: 1908), pp. 74 ff.

<sup>175</sup> W. Thümmel, *Zur Beurteilung des Donatismus* (Halle: 1893); G. G. Willis, *St. Augustine and the Donatist Controversy* (London: 1950), p. 120; W. H. C. Frend, *The Donatist Church* (Oxford: 1952), p. xii.

<sup>176</sup> Cf. M. P. Nilsson, "Universal Religion," *The Review of Religion*, XVII (1952), 5-10.

<sup>177</sup> The founder of the Manicheans, Mani, made this utterance in the newly discovered MS from Egypt: "As for him who chose his church in the West, his church did not reach the East; as for him who chose his church in the (East), the product of his choosing did not reach the West. . . . But my hope will go to the West and also to the East, and the voice of its proclamation will be heard in all languages, and it will be proclaimed in all cities. The earlier churches were chosen in individual places and individual cities, but my church will go forth into (all) cities, and its (message) will reach every land." Kephalaia, ch. 154. C. Schmidt and H. J. Palotsky, "Eine Mani-fund aus Ägypten: Originalschriften des Mani und seiner Schüler," *Sitzungsberichte der Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Phil.-hist. Klasse (Berlin: 1933), p. 45.



the Catholic Church he had abundant evidence that she was destined for all of mankind according to Sacred Scripture, but he also believed that these predictions have been fulfilled in the universal expansion of his Church at the time.

St. Augustine envisages the Church of Christ as being universal not only geographically but also in time. She is coexistent with mankind from one end to the other. "Not this church or that, but diffused over all the world, nor that which exists among men living, for those also belong to it who were before us and are to be after us to the end of the world."<sup>178</sup> And thus the term "Catholica" in the writings of St. Augustine is a name which distinguishes the Church bearing it from all heretical and schismatical factions, and designates as its characteristic a universal existence in time and place. Such is the meaning which this epithet obtained in Rome and North Africa toward the end of the third century. Previously the word was also used to mean "all-embracing" in the sense of perfection, that is the preservation, whole and untarnished, of Christ's heritage especially of His doctrine.<sup>179</sup>

Apostolicity and catholicity of the Church are further determined by unity.<sup>180</sup> Although the Church is founded upon twelve apostles, Christ provided for unity among them as well as the followers in their sees. Just as "the primacy of the apostles shines" in St. Peter, so also the dignity of the bishops' sees differs, since "the chief apostolate is to be preferred to any episcopate."<sup>181</sup> Nor does Augustine envisage catholicity in the sense that all who claim to be followers of Christ form the Church of Christ. Christianity and the Church are not synonymous with St. Augustine. If he were to live today and adhere to the principles he laid down in the fifth century he would not recognize all the

<sup>178</sup> *Enar. in Ps. 56, 1* (PL 36, 662).

<sup>179</sup> Cf. A. Garciadiego, *Katholiké Ekklesia. El significado del epíteto "Católica" aplicado a "Iglesia" desde San Ignacio de Antioquia hasta Orígenes* (Mexico: 1953).

<sup>180</sup> H. C. Sheldon, *History of Christian Doctrine* (New York: 1901), p. 269: "The proper tests, as he claimed, are catholicity and apostolic connections. In other words, the Church which is spread through all lands, and which has remained in communion with the congregations founded by the Apostles, is the true Church."

<sup>181</sup> *De bapt. contra. Donat., II, 1, 2* (PL 43, 126; CSEL 51, 176).

present Christian bodies as being the Church of Christ, because they do not possess that sameness of doctrine and communion of life which are necessary for unity. Unity must be catholic, and catholicity must be one; then we have a "catholic unity" which keeps "the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace."<sup>182</sup> To be separated from this unity was a flagrant and sacrilegious sin.<sup>183</sup> To return to unity was to return to the living root.

St. Augustine who accepted the Church through his own initiative enumerates the reasons for which he is a member of the Catholic Church. As a highly intelligent convert he was fully cognizant of why he was a Catholic. These reasons establish the knowability of the Church as a visible institution characterized by the notes of apostolicity, catholicity, and unity.

There are many things, which rightly keep me in the bosom of the Catholic Church. The consent of peoples and nations keeps me, her authority keeps me, inaugurated by miracles, nourished in hope, enlarged by love, and established by age. The succession of priests keeps me, from the very seat of the Apostle Peter (to whom the Lord after His resurrection gave charge to feed His sheep) down to the present episcopate. And so, lastly, does the name of Catholic, which not without reason, amid so many heresies, the Church has alone retained; so that though all heretics wish to be called Catholics, yet when a stranger asks where the Church is, no heretic will venture to point to his own chapel or house. Such in number and in importance are the precious ties belonging to the Christian name which keeps a believer in the Catholic Church.<sup>184</sup>

<sup>182</sup> *De bapt. contra Donat.*, II, 6, 8 (PL 43, 131; CSEL 51, 183).

<sup>183</sup> *Ibid.*, 7. S. L. Greenslade, *Schism in the Early Church* (London: 1953), pp. 17-18: "However schism is defined positively, it is the negation of unity; and we must always be mindful that the Fathers, together with most early heretics and schismatics, were substantially agreed upon certain principles regarding the unity of the Church. It was held on Biblical grounds not simply that the Church ought to be one, but that it is one, and cannot be but one. This unity was predicated of the visible Church, and the visible Church was thought of organically as one structure, one communion. To their minds divisions, breaches of communion, were not embraced and overcome by a spiritual and invisible unity, nor could a number of denominations aggregate into one Church. There was but one visible Church in one communion; bodies separated from that communion were outside the Church." Cf. R. Paciorewski, *Chrześcijaństwo w Apologetycznej Myśli Św. Augustyna* (Poznań: 1952).

<sup>184</sup> *Contra ep. Fund.*, 4, 5 (PL 42, 175; CSEL 25, ed. J. Zycha, 196).

Although this noted passage is written against the Manichees before the Donatist controversy, in 395, it distinctly contains three characteristics of the Church and strongly intimates the Church's holiness. Theologians usually interpret the passage as expressing the four notes of the Church.<sup>185</sup> In his later writings against the Donatists, Augustine argues directly for the existence of these three characteristics of the Church of Christ, while he takes it for granted that the Church must be holy from the fact that it is the body of Christ.

The contention of J. Turmel that the four notes of the Church have been formulated by the Donatists is hardly correct,<sup>186</sup> since their existence antedates Augustinian and Donatist times. These four characteristics of the Church appear already in the writings of St. Irenaeus, who "deserves to be called the founder of Christian theology."<sup>187</sup> He speaks of the Church's unity,<sup>188</sup> sanctity,<sup>189</sup> catholicity,<sup>190</sup> apostolicity.<sup>191</sup> In order to define the Church more accurately than it was in the baptismal creed, the compilers of the Niceno-Constantinopolitan creed in the fourth century described the Church as being one, holy, catholic, and apostolic.<sup>192</sup>

A parallel case presents itself in the wake of the Reformation. As far as the notion of the Church is concerned the Reformers' concept is much akin to that of the Donatists. According to Luther, it was to be a Church of the just; in the teaching of Calvin, a Church of the predestined; for Huss it is a Church that is free from sinners. Catholic theologians of the Tridentine period who confronted the Reformers chose to meet them on common

<sup>185</sup> S. Hosius, *Opera Omnia*, I, 670; S. Bellarmino, *Disputationum de controversiis Christianae fidei*, tom. II, lib. IV, cap. 3 (ed. Neapoli: 1857, p. 109); Godocus Coccius Beleveldianus, *Thesaurus Catholicus* (Coloniae: 1600), I, 990. Cf. K. Werner, *Geschichte der apologetischen und polemischen Literatur der christlichen Theologie* (Schaffhausen: 1861-67), IV, 530. I. Ottiger, *Theologia fundamentalis* (Freiburg: 1911), II, 501.

<sup>186</sup> *Histoire de la théologie positive depuis l'origine jusqu'au concile de Trente* (Paris: 1904), VI, 162: "La théorie des notes de l'Eglise fut construite, la première fois, par les donatistes."

<sup>187</sup> J. Quasten, *Patrology* (Westminster, Md.: 1950), p. 294.

<sup>188</sup> *Adv. Haer.*, III, 3, 2; I, 10, 2 (PG 7, 848; 531).

<sup>189</sup> *Ibid.*, III, 24, 1 (966).

<sup>190</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 10, 1; I, 10, 2; IV, 36, 2 (549, 552, 553, 1091).

<sup>191</sup> *Ibid.* (901, 1077).

<sup>192</sup> Mansi, III, 565.

ground. They were able to show that precisely in the Scriptures, which the theologians of the Reformation so earnestly espoused to the disparagement of tradition, the Church is portrayed as a visible organization containing the just and the sinners. And in St. Augustine, from whom both the Reformers and the Catholics drank deeply, the Church is not only presented as the spiritual body of Christ, but also delineated as a sacramental and juridic society.

The social nature of the Church is expressed by the terminology used by St. Augustine. There are frequent references in his works to the communion (*communio*) of one church with other churches. A particular church cannot exist independently of others but has to live in communion with other churches. Testing stones for such a communion were adherence to apostolic sees, and particularly to the Roman see. If such a union exists, it can be said that the particular church is one with the Catholic Church and forms a part of it.

The Bishop refers to the Church as being a society of Christ (*societas Christi*). This expression can suggest the more intimate union of the Church's members in the life of grace and charity with Christ, but it denotes that visible society which belongs to Christ. In this sense the Church is for St. Augustine a society of the Church (*societas Ecclesiae*), a society of unity (*societas unitatis Ecclesiae*), a society of the assembled faithful (*ipsa societas congregatorum fidelium*). The religion of the members of the Church is not solely acquitted by rendering worship to God, but contains obligations of member to member. There is a relationship not only of man to God, but also of man to man. In other words, Augustine's religion is a religion not only of the love of God, but also of the love of neighbor.

The social nature of the Church is in itself an indication of its visibility. But Augustine undertakes to prove this point directly. Certain biblical images are adduced to prove that the Church described in the Scriptures was to be of a visible, demonstrable nature, so as to be noticeable by all. Pursuing a particular apologetic scope against the Donatists, who gloried that their separated and local church was the Church of Christ, the Bishop of Hippo defends rather the social and visible universality of the



Church.<sup>193</sup> The Catholic Church was not hidden; it was universally manifest, and was known to everyone.

The Old Testament abounds in image and text. One or other example will suffice to illustrate the nature of the Church as Augustine perceives it. For he compares the Church in her visibility and universality to the strong woman from the book of Proverbs: "That woman so strong who does not see? But already found, already prominent, already conspicuous, already glorious, already adorned, already bright; already, as I shall soon explain, diffused throughout the whole world."<sup>194</sup> Then also the Church is presented "as the mountain which grew from a very little stone, and filled the whole face of the earth" (Dan. 3:35).<sup>195</sup> "Just as we have Christ a mountain such we have the Church; let us love the Church."<sup>196</sup>

The beautiful and familiar images which Christ Himself adjoined to portray the nature of the kingdom He was to establish are appropriated by St. Augustine as arguments for the ostensible and manifest character of the Church. Thus the Church is described as a "light placed upon a candlestick, which shines to all that are in the house" (Matt. 5:15) and "a city seated upon a mountain, which cannot be hid" (Matt. 5:14).<sup>197</sup> The lightning of which Christ speaks is made to apply to the Church because the Church too is manifest so conspicuously.<sup>198</sup> Since the Church is so manifest, heretics and schismatics have no excuse for their error and schism: "God unwilling to let her [the Church] remain hidden that no one may excuse himself: she was predicted to exist throughout the world, she was shown to the whole world."<sup>199</sup>

<sup>193</sup> Cf. E. Commer, *Die Katholizität nach dem hl. Augustin* (Breslau: 1873).

<sup>194</sup> *Sermo* 37, 3 (PL 38, 223).

<sup>195</sup> *Enar. in Ps.* 57, 9 (PL 36, 680); *Enar. in Ps.* 42, 4 (PL 36, 478).

<sup>196</sup> *Sermo* 45, 7 (PL 38, 267), cf. A. Luras, "Deux images du Christ et de l'Église dans la prédication augustinienne," *Augustinus Magister* (Paris: 1954), II, 667-71.

<sup>197</sup> *Enar. in Ps.* 57, 9 (PL 36, 680); *In Io. Ep. tr.* 2, 2 (PL 35, 1990): "Audit stultus, vanus, et quid amplius dicturus sum caecus, qui tam magnum montem non videt; qui contra lucernam in candelabro positam oculos claudit?"

<sup>198</sup> *Quaest. Evan.*, I, 38 (PL 35, 1330): "Convenienter enim Ecclesiam nunc fulgur nominavit, quod maxime solet emicare de nubibus."

<sup>199</sup> *Sermones* (Mai XII), *Sancti Augustini Sermones*, ed. G. Morin (Romae: 1930), p. 286.

Here then is the Church of St. Augustine in contradistinction to that of the Donatists. The Church, as the Donatists portrayed it, was ideal, spiritual, holy, exclusive. St. Augustine does not simply exclude this notion of a Church, but he invests it with a concreteness, a reality, a historicity, a visibility.<sup>200</sup>

The visibility of St. Augustine's Church can hardly be called into question. A. Harnack admits that Augustine conceived the Church as a visible society.<sup>201</sup> C. Gore<sup>202</sup> and A. Robertson<sup>203</sup> go farther by saying that the concept of a visible Church was not originated by him but was introduced and developed anterior to his time, so that Augustine accepted "the classic doctrine of the visible Church, the body of the baptized, dispersed throughout the world."<sup>204</sup> It is claimed by Reuter<sup>205</sup> and B. Warfield<sup>206</sup> that Augustine's writings developed certain elements of power, centralization, and authority for the Church, as a result of which he can be considered as the founder of "Roman Catholicism." "In such matters as power and prestige he promoted the external interests of the Church, and its equipment as a whole, with the greatest energy."<sup>207</sup> And thus but a slight change was necessary

<sup>200</sup> J. Czuj, *Hierarchja Kościelna u Św. Augustyna* (Lublin: 1925), p. 27.

<sup>201</sup> *What is Christianity* (2nd ed.; New York: 1912), p. 292: "The distinction between a visible and an invisible Church dates back as far as the Middle Ages, or even, from one point of view, as far as Augustine."

<sup>202</sup> *The Church and the Ministry* (New York: 1919), p. 13: "Whatever novelty there may have been in Augustine's presentation of the matter, at least he did not originate the idea of a visible Church."

<sup>203</sup> *Regnum Dei* (London: 1901), p. 186: "So it cannot be too often insisted upon that the belief in the Christian Church as the one visible Society, to which the work of Christ's Kingdom is confided and its promises are expressly attached was in no sense 'Augustinian' as if originated by Augustine or under his influence."

<sup>204</sup> G. G. Willis, *Saint Augustine and the Donatist Controversy* (London: 1950), p. 123.

<sup>205</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 499.

<sup>206</sup> B. Warfield, "Augustine," *Hasting's Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*, p. 221: "It was particularly in the doctrine of the Church, which he thus took up and transfigured, that he became in a true sense the founder of Roman Catholicism, and thus called into being a new type of Christianity, in which 'the idea of the Church became the central power in the religious feeling and in ecclesiastical activity.' This idea of the Church was, to be sure, so little the creation of Augustine that he took it over whole from his predecessors, and in his innermost thought, indeed, never thoroughly homologated it."

<sup>207</sup> A. Harnack, *What is Christianity* (2nd ed.; 1912: New York), p. 279.

“to make Augustine’s doctrine of the Church the foundation for the ecclesiastical superstructure of an omnipotent hierarchy set over nations and kingdoms. . . .”<sup>208</sup>

Summarily the Church of St. Augustine, in its external complexion, is a concrete and visible society of men, united by sacramental bonds, social communion, and a hierarchical order. This Church is easily recognizable as the Church of Christ, that is, as the Church portrayed in the pages of Sacred Scripture. Moreover, it is discernible from counterfeit bodies of Christians by certain characteristics: it is one, apostolic, and catholic. It is thus most difficult to understand how St. Augustine can be claimed by those Christian churches who profess an entirely invisible Church.

<sup>208</sup> A. Robertson, *op. cit.*, p. 222.

## CHAPTER 4

### THE HIERARCHICAL AND SOCIAL CHURCH IN ITS RELATION TO THE BODY OF CHRIST

**I**N THE foregoing chapters three different aspects of St. Augustine's Church have been considered: the spiritual, the hierarchical, and the social. The hierarchical and social character of the Church makes it visible and juridical. In this respect the Church can be defined as a social and sacramental organization under the ministry of a hierarchical order. The next question arises as to the relation of the hierarchical, social, and sacramental Church to that other Church which Augustine designates as the body of Christ. In short how is the visible Church related to the invisible Church? Are these two Churches distinct and separate or are they one and the same Church? Or is it possible that the visible Church and the mystical body coincide in part, but not in full, and are thus not altogether identical? In other words, is it possible that some members of the Church are members of the visible Church and mystical body whereas others are members of the one without being members of the other? <sup>1</sup>

The fathers of the Reformation either overlook or take only slight notice of the external and visible Church. They focus their attention on the spiritual and invisible Church of St. Paul and St. Augustine. As a result their conception of the Church has become, if not exclusively, at least chiefly, the invisible Church

<sup>1</sup> This is the problem which every student of St. Augustine's ecclesiology must inevitably place before himself. It is asked also in his study of St. Augustine by A. Robertson, *Regnum Dei* (London: 1901), p. 194: "Taking first the mere question of extent, what was the real Body of Christ, the true Bride of whom the glorious things of Holy Scripture are spoken? Was it the Church as it appears on earth, the organized hierarchical body, or only those members of it who were worthy of their calling?"



constituted of those who possess fiducial faith.<sup>2</sup> Yet, as has been seen, according to Augustine there can be no spiritual Church, unless it is at the same time the Church of the hierarchy, authority, sacraments, social communion, and catholic unity. Unless these elements are sufficiently stressed we lose sight of those factors which must have impressed St. Augustine to such a degree as to have led him into the fold of the Catholic Church.<sup>3</sup> What naturally would appeal to him was, as Reuter puts it, "the grandeur of her organization, the ordered ranks of her episcopate, the authoritative tradition superseding individual inquiry, the uniformity of her dogma in the face of all error and variation of opinion, the majesty of her mysterious rites, the rich resources of her means of grace."<sup>4</sup>

Later investigators belonging to the Protestant and Anglican Churches admit the coexistence of a visible and invisible Church in the Saint's writings, although they are not always so certain that these two Churches are coincident and identical. Thus Reuter affirms the existence of a twofold conception of the Church (*doppelten Kirchenbegriff*) so that the dicta of St. Augustine on

<sup>2</sup> Cf. J. Gottschick, "Hus', Luther's und Zwingli's Lehre von der Kirche," *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, VIII (1886), 551-65; F. Kattenbusch, "Die Doppelschichtigkeit im Luthers Kirchenbegriff," *Theologische Studien und Kritik*, C (1927-28), 226 f.; R. Will, "La conception protestante de l'Église considérée comme le corpus Christi," *Revue d'Histoire et de Philosophie Religieuses*, XII (1932), 465-94; E. Mersch, *Le Corps Mystique du Christ* (2 éd.; Paris: 1936), II, 253-64; E. Rietschl, *Das Problem der unsichtbar-sichtbaren Kirche bei Luther* (Leipzig: 1932); M. Schian, "Sichtbare und unsichtbare 'Kirche,'" *Zeitschrift für systematische Theologie*, IX (1931), 533-51. P. De Vooght, "La part de S. Augustin dans le 'De Ecclesia' de Jean Hus," *Rech. Théol., anc. et méd.*, XIII (1946), 304-36.

<sup>3</sup> A. Robertson, *Regnum Dei* (London: 1901), p. 186, states that the Saint owed his conversion in great measure "to the silent argument of the catholic Church." R. L. Ottley, *Studies in the Confessions of St. Augustine* (London: 1919), p. 105: "The Church appealed to him in this first instance not as an idea but as a visible and impressive fact. It attracted him by the majestic solidity of its order; by its organization, its uniform doctrine, its authoritative tradition, its solemn and picturesque rites." A. C. McGiffert, *A History of Christian Thought* (New York: 1946), II, 107: "This [authority] he [Augustine] found in the Catholic Church, a world-wide institution with a long history, an elaborate ritual, and an imposing system of revealed truth, an institution claiming to be the sole ark of salvation and the supreme authority on earth." G. G. Willis, *St. Augustine and the Donatist Controversy* (London: 1950), p. 123.

<sup>4</sup> H. Reuter, *Augustinische Studien*, p. 98.

the Church fit into the one or the other.<sup>5</sup> A similar opinion is adopted by Robertson<sup>6</sup> and Warfield,<sup>7</sup> according to whom the qualifications proper to the Church as an empirical society are often transferred to the Church as the body of Christ, or vice versa. Loofs concedes more: the two concepts that St. Augustine entertains of the Church penetrate each other.<sup>8</sup> Harnack unequivocally makes the admission of the existence of only one Church, so that whatever is said about the Church is pertinent to the visible, hierarchical Church;<sup>9</sup> consequently, he who wishes to participate in the life of grace and union with Christ must associate himself with this visible Church.<sup>10</sup>

Already A. Dorner interpreted Augustine's writings in the sense that the visible Church is identical with the body of Christ.<sup>11</sup> The present tendency on the part of investigators seems to be

<sup>5</sup> H. Reuter, *op. cit.*, pp. 259-61: "Alle jene akatholischen, beziehungsweise antikatholischen Äusserungen erklären sich aus dem Begriffe der Kirche als *communio sanctorum*, den er neben den vulgärkatholischen hat."

<sup>6</sup> A. Robertson, *Regnum Dei* (London: 1901), 222: "The Church may be regarded in two ways, either as the external Society bound together by the sacraments, the *corruptio*, and the hierarchy, or else as the sum total of those now on earth who are predestined to eternal life. It is the latter aspect of the Church, accordingly, that alone satisfies the Augustinian identification of the Church with the Kingdom of Christ on earth. But Augustine is constantly passing from the ideal to the phenomenal, and he is constantly applying, ideally, to the *external communio* of the Church conceptions derived from the consideration of the *communio sanctorum*, the unalterable number of the elect. Hence the visible hierarchically organized Church acquires in his thought and language much of the ideal character of the Kingdom of God."

<sup>7</sup> B. Warfield "Augustin," *Hasting's Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*, I, 221: "He is, however, not carefully observant of the distinction between the empirical and ideal Church, and repeatedly—often apparently quite unconsciously—carries over to the one the predicates which, in his fundamental thought belonged properly to the other."

<sup>8</sup> F. Loofs, *Dogmengeschichte* (Halle: 1906), p. 377: "Unverkennbar gehen bei Augustin zwei Auffassungen von der Kirche durcheinander, eine vulgär-katholische und eine ethisch-religiöse."

<sup>9</sup> A. Harnack, *Dogmengeschichte* (4 ed.; Tübingen: 1910), III, 150: "allein da es für Augustin schliesslich doch nur eine Kirche gibt, so gilt Alles, was von der Kirche gilt auch von der empirischen Kirche."

<sup>10</sup> A. Harnack, *op. cit.*, p. 124: ". . . nur die katholische Kirche versetzt in die Gemeinschaft mit Christus, und nur durch die Gemeinschaft mit Christus haben wir Teil an der gratia Gottes. . ."

<sup>11</sup> A. Dorner, *Augustinus: Sein theologisches System und seine religions-philosophische Anschauung* (Berlin: 1873), pp. 263-73.

approaching in the direction of this opinion. The dicta of St. Augustine do not postulate a twofold Church—either one separate from the other, or one within the other—but can be verified in the existence of a single Church containing diverse and seemingly disparate elements. Simpson bluntly states: "This Catholic Church is the body of Christ."<sup>12</sup> Willis speaks of a "Church Visible" and a "Church Invisible," but it is rather visible and invisible elements in the one Church that is meant.<sup>13</sup> McGiffert too sees but one Church which is at the same time visible and invisible.

The recognition of this fact led Augustine to distinguish between the visible and the invisible church, between the external institution and the inner kernel of genuine Christians. The former is a true church as well as the latter; it possesses the sacraments and is therefore a holy institution whatever the character of its members. The former, indeed, is the one true Church, for there are not two churches of Christ, and the inner kernel of genuine Christians is simply a part of the larger whole.<sup>14</sup>

In St. Augustine's writings the Church which is the body of Christ is no other than the Church which is a juridic, social, and sacramental institution. There is also identity of membership. Whoever pertains to the body of Christ pertains to the Catholic Church, and whoever is a member of the visible organization is member of the spiritual organism. It is natural that the external, visible characteristics of the Church should be associated *per prius* with the social, visible organization, and the spiritual, invisible characteristics with the name of the body of Christ. But it is likewise true that the mind of St. Augustine does not adhere to these nuances, but mixes spiritual characteristics with social organization, and vice versa. This could not be true unless both were conceived in the mind of the Bishop as identical. Unity is a property of both: a church as a social organization cannot be the Church of Christ unless it is one, and the body of Christ demands by its very nature to be one.

A typical example of how St. Augustine identifies both the conception of the Church considered as a juridical body and the

<sup>12</sup> W. Simpson, *St. Augustine and African Church Divisions* (London: 1910), p. 71.

<sup>13</sup> G. G. Willis, *op. cit.*, pp. 124-25.

<sup>14</sup> *A History of Christian Thought* (New York: 1946), II, 110.

conception of the Church considered as the mystical body is the following passage:

And since the whole Christ is head and body, which truth I do not doubt that you know well, the head is our Savior Himself, who suffered under Pontius Pilate, who now, after He is risen from the dead, sits at the right hand of the Father; but His body is the Church: not this Church or that, but diffused over all the world, nor that only which exists among men living, for those also belong to it who were before us and are to be after us to the end of the world. For the whole Church, made up of all the faithful, because all the faithful are members of Christ, has its head, which governs the body, situated in the heavens; though it is separated from sight, yet it is bound by love.<sup>15</sup>

The fundamental thesis of St. Augustine on the Church that "the Catholic Church alone is the body of Christ"<sup>16</sup> excludes the invisibility and divisibility of Christ's Church and mystical body. This axiomatic statement is incompatible with the contenton of those who maintain that his is an invisible Church. It is also opposed to the views of those who see in the many separated Christian churches sister or branch churches of the one Christian Church which is the body of Christ. Did Augustine not spend a large part of his life in controversy with the Donatists repudiating such divisions of the one and true Church? Did he not condemn them as having no part in the body of Christ, but as being separated from it? Much less can people of all existing empirical churches throughout the world, and those who do not belong to any church but who believe in God through Jesus Christ, belong to the mystical body of Christ.<sup>17</sup>

Inasmuch as the Church as an institution and the Church as

<sup>15</sup> *Enar. in Ps.* 56, 1 (PL 36, 662).

<sup>16</sup> *Ep.* 185, 11, 50 (PL 33, 815; CSEL 57, 43): "Ecclesia catholica sola est corpus Christi."

<sup>17</sup> J. A. Mackay, *A Preface to Christian Theology* (New York: 1940), p. 163: "The great group of people, dead as well as living, belonging to every class and race and nationality, residing in every land and clime, members of all existing empirical churches and of none who have believed in God through Jesus Christ are members of the Body of Christ. This, and this alone, is the church in the fullest Christian sense, the *una sancta*, the one holy Catholic Church. . . . Such churchly reality as any Christian group may possess is due to the measure of its participation in this one Holy Catholic Church."



the mystical body are for St. Augustine coincident and identical, any theory that envisages a plurality of independent churches as constituting the Church of Christ cannot be brought into harmony with his concept of the Church. Thus Mascall admits that it would be difficult to find unity of organization among the varied Christian churches, but he believes they are not without unity of organism, a coherent whole and not a mere aggregate of items, because "the Church is made one by a unifying principle which, while it works in men and binds them both to one another and to Christ their Lord, has supervened and still supervenes upon them from outside themselves and unites them in a way beyond anything that their own activity could achieve."<sup>18</sup> Such views will find no support in patristic tradition. So, too, the World Council of Churches, or the ecumenical movement can form but a moral unity of the many and varied Christian churches<sup>19</sup> but not that ontological unity stemming from a communion of life from Christ and the members of the body.

St. Augustine always presupposes that the true Church exists and that it is recognizable. The same is an institution and the body of Christ. To it one must accede to receive life; who recedes from it loses life. A multitude of regrouping dissident churches will not form the body of Christ. Religious bodies (Augustine does not even call them churches) which are not in accord with the doctrine of the one universal Church dissociate themselves from Christ, the head of the mystical body. They become heretical factions. Religious bodies who sever themselves from the one universal institution for lack of charity likewise dissociate themselves from the mystical body. They become schismatics. "You certainly see many, cut off from the root of the Christian society which is spread by the sees of the Apostles and the succession of bishops, glory like withering branches only of the figure of their origin under the Christian name whom we call heresies and schisms." The only remedy which the Bishop

<sup>18</sup> E. L. Mascall, *Corpus Christi: Essays on the Church and the Eucharist* (London: 1953), p. 4.

<sup>19</sup> W. Nicholls, *Ecumenism and Catholicity* (London: 1952), p. 15, describes the ecumenical movement as "a movement of those who are concerned that the Church should be the Church of Jesus Christ as it is in His will, and who find that this concern drives them together."

recommends is a return to the root from which they have parted. "We are Christian Catholics, which is the one Church of God, as it was predicted in the Sacred Scriptures. Nor did God wish her to remain concealed that no one may excuse himself. Nor should heresies and schisms disturb us: we would have been disturbed so much the more, if they had not been predicted." <sup>20</sup>

If the sources of authority in the Roman Catholic Church maintain that the Roman Catholic Church is a visible society and the mystical body of Christ, and that these two are identical, it is stating nothing more than did St. Augustine fifteen centuries ago. The Vatican Council in its draft of statements prepared for discussion and definition states that this "visible and conspicuous society . . . presents in its conspicuous unity an undivided and indivisible body, which is the very mystical body of Christ." <sup>21</sup> Pope Pius XI declares that the mystical body of Christ cannot be formed of disunited members, and that the mystical body is nothing else than the Church. Arguing from the very concept of a body, he says that it is preposterous for members which are disjoined from a body to be one with that body. "Whoever is not joined to it, is neither a member of it, nor joined to the head." <sup>22</sup> Pope Pius XII insists that "the mystical body of Christ and the Roman Catholic Church are one and the same thing." <sup>23</sup>

In this light must the axiom "outside the Church there is not salvation" be understood. It does not merely mean the internal, spiritual Church which is the mystical body of Christ, but also the empirical, sacramental Church which is at the same time the mystical body of Christ. Salvation must be attained through the visible institution we call the Catholic Church. To her have been

<sup>20</sup> *Sermo*, Mai XII, *Sancti Augustini Sermones*, ed. G. Morin (Romae: 1930), p. 286.

<sup>21</sup> *Acta et Decreta Conciliorum recentium. Collectio Lacensis*, VII, 569: "hanc visibilem conspicuamque societatem . . . totam in se collectam penitus cohaerentem, in sua conspicua unitate indivisum ac indivisibile corpus praeferre, quod est ipsum corpus mysticum Christi."

<sup>22</sup> *Acta Apostolicae Sedis*, XX (1928), 14-15: "Cum enim corpus Christi mysticum, scilicet Ecclesia, unum sit, compactum et connexum, corporis ejus physici instar, inepte stulteque dixeris mysticum corpus ex membris disjunctis dissipatisque constare posse," and then: "Quisquis igitur cum eo non copulatur, nec ejus est membrum nec cum capite Christo cohaeret."

<sup>23</sup> *Mystici Corporis Christi, Acta Apostolicae Sedis*, XXXV (1943), 193 f.; *Humani Generis* (1950), tr. N.C.W.C., p. 13.

confided the means of sanctification and within her are the sacraments efficaciously dispensed. The Church is the sole source of salvific life. Whoever possesses the life of grace is in possession of that for which the Church has been founded. Indeed, the Holy Ghost dispenses salutary aids outside of the Church but with the purpose of leading outsiders to the institution of salvation, since there is no salvation outside the pale of the Church.<sup>24</sup> "Whoever, therefore, is separated from this Catholic Church, no matter how laudably he believes himself to live, by the very fact that he is disunited from the unity of Christ, he has no life: but the wrath of God remains over him."<sup>25</sup>

From what has been said it follows that the body of Christ lies within the empirical Church and not outside of it. Nor is the one merely a part of the other. The visible and invisible Church become identical and coincidental. The invisible Church becomes visible by virtue of the visible Church. And therefore St. Augustine's axiom, "there is no salvation outside the Church" means: 1) there is no salvation outside of the Church, the empirical institution; 2) there is no salvation outside of the Church, the body of Christ.

#### 1) THE HIERARCHICAL CHURCH AND THE BODY OF CHRIST

The Church's hierarchical organization belongs to the visible aspect of the Church. Yet Augustine associates it not only with the juridical Church but also with the mystical body. No artificiality is felt when Augustine makes a transition from the external consideration of the Church to the internal view of it.

<sup>24</sup> K. Adam, *Saint Augustine. The Odyssey of His Soul* (New York: 1932), p. 53: "Augustine's identification of the Church with the Body of Christ is the basis of his teaching that the Church is the only home of salvation, and of his severity towards all schismatical and heretical communities. The older he grew, the less favorable was his judgment on them." F. Hofmann, *Der Kirchenbegriff des hl. Augustinus* (München: 1933), p. 229: "Als gesichertes Resultat unserer Untersuchung können wir somit feststellen: Seit der Gründung der Kirche durch Christus gibt es nach Augustinus Glieder des Leibes Christi nur mehr in der katholischen Kirche; die Verbindung mit ihr, die im Sakrament der Taufe objektiv hergestellt wird, muss für den Erwachsenen auch eine subjektiv-bewusste sein, selbst in jenen Ausnahmefällen, wo der äussere Anschluss ohne jegliches eigene Verschulden nicht möglich ist." Cf. also J. Mausbach, *Die Ethik des hl. Augustinus* (Freiburg im Br.: 1929), II, 127.

<sup>25</sup> *Ep.* 141, 5 (PL 33, 579; CSEL 44, ed. A. Goldbacher, III, 238).

Just as in an organized society there must be members who are invested in authority, so also in a human organism there must be inequality in members to correspond to the diversity of functions. This is St. Augustine's argument for the need of a hierarchical order in the Church. The argument is drawn from the analogy of the human body. "The whole Church, the whole body, all members, distinct and having their own functions, follow Christ."<sup>26</sup>

Let us take notice of the high ranking positions of the hierarchy as explicitly identified with the body of Christ. The Evangelists, on account of their office of writing under the influence of Christ the head, correspond in their function to the hands in the human body.<sup>27</sup> The apostles are with and under Christ co-founders of the Church in its social form, but they are also pastors because Christ, the supreme pastor, has deigned to make them participants in His spiritual powers. They are pastors under the supreme pastoral head; they are members of the sole pastor, Christ.<sup>28</sup> The apostles are said to be eyes in the body of Christ<sup>29</sup> and elsewhere on account of their fortitude the bones, or rather the skeleton of the body.<sup>30</sup>

As has been previously stated, a peculiar exalted position is ascribed among the apostles to St. Peter. They are indeed all shepherds under the chief shepherd, Christ, but among them St. Peter is *par excellence* the pastor. Just as the apostles are chosen from the people and set aside to be coadjutors of Christ, so St. Peter is selected from among the apostles to a primatial dignity. St. Peter is identified with Christ Himself. It is true that the term

<sup>26</sup> *Sermo* 97, 7, 9 (PL 38, 588): "Universa Ecclesia, universum corpus, cuncta membra per officia propria distincta et distributa, sequantur Christum."

<sup>27</sup> *De consensu Evan.*, 1, 35, 54 (PL 34, 1070; CSEL 43, ed. F. Weirich, 60): "Omnibus autem discipulis suis per hominem quem assumpsit, tamquam membris suis corporis caput est. Itaque cum illi scripserunt quae ille ostendit et dixit, nequaquam dicendum est quod ipse non scripserit; quandoquidem membra ejus id operata sunt, quod dictante capite cognoverunt. Quidquid enim ille de suis factis et dictis nos legere voluit, hoc scribendum illis tamquam suis manibus imperavit."

<sup>28</sup> *In Io. Ev. tr.* 47, 3 (PL 36, 1734): "Et quidem, fratres, quod pastor est, dedit et membris suis: nam et Petrus pastor, et Paulus pastor, et caeteri Apostoli pastores, et boni episcopi pastores."

<sup>29</sup> *Enar. in Ps.* 87, 7 (PL 37, 1114).

<sup>30</sup> *Enar. 1 in Ps.* 101, 4 (PL 37, 1297).



"head," (*caput*) so proper to the bishops of Rome in our own days, is not formally applied by St. Augustine himself either to St. Peter or to the bishops of Rome. Yet this appellation is current in the ecclesiastical literature of his time. It even occurs in his work as a quotation from a letter of a certain presbyter to him.<sup>31</sup>

St. Augustine reserves the title and honor of being the head of the Church to Christ. The words "head" and "body" are fixed terms in his theology of the mystical body of Christ. This spiritual consideration of the Church pertains to the inner life of the Church. No apostle, but Christ alone is the sole distributor of it. From Him, as from a source, the grace of life wells forth, and like a bloodstream vivifies and nourishes all that are incorporated in Him—the faithful together with the apostles. In this sense, no one, not even St. Peter, can be said to be the head of the Church. If, however, the term "head" is applied so commonly to St. Peter and the bishops of Rome, it does not mean that they are the head of the mystical body but of the visible, juridical Church. Since the polemical controversies of the sixteenth century the more obvious meaning which underlies the term "Church" is the social and visible organization.

Although he avoids calling St. Peter the head of the Church, Augustine nevertheless associates this apostle very closely with Christ either in the visible organization, or in the mystical body. The spontaneous transition from the one to the other can be expected, since Augustine's visible Church is the mystical body of Christ.

For He (Christ) wished to make Peter, to whom He recommended His sheep as one to another, one with Himself . . . that He (Christ) may be head, and he (Peter) may bear the figure of the body, that is the Church, and that they may be two in one flesh as bridegroom and bride.<sup>32</sup>

The description of St. Peter as "bearing the figure of Church" is more tangible and expressive when related to the Church as the

<sup>31</sup> *Ep.* 36, 9, 21 (PL 33, 145; CSEL 34, ed. A. Goldbacher, II, 50): "Petrus . . . Apostolorum caput."

<sup>32</sup> *Sermo* 46, 30 (PL 38, 287).

body of Christ than to the Church as an empirical society. In St. Peter the whole Church is represented as one body; Christ as the head and St. Peter as the body form but one integral and spiritual being; Christ is the bridegroom, whereas St. Peter, representing the Church, the bride. They are two in number but form one flesh. In another passage he says:

For Peter in many places in the Scriptures appears to represent the Church; especially in that place where it was said, "I give to thee the keys . . . shall be loosed in heaven." What! did Peter receive these keys, and Paul not receive? Did Peter receive and John and James not receive, and the rest of the Apostles? Or are not the keys in the Church where sins are daily remitted? But since in a figure Peter represented the Church, what was given to him singly was given to the Church. Therefore, Peter bore the figure of the Church; the Church is the body of Christ.<sup>33</sup>

Since the text or context of some of these passages deals directly with unity, it is hardly possible not to observe the conclusion that a union with the Church of St. Peter is a union with the head, Christ. Nor can it be in the spirit of St. Augustine to limit these statements to the founders of the Church alone. Augustine dwells too often on the argument of episcopal succession from the apostles that the identity and continuation of the bishops of Rome in the chair of Peter should escape our attention.<sup>34</sup> Besides, when speaking in a passage already referred to about the apostles as pastors, he professes that good bishops are pastors as well: *et boni episcopi pastores*.<sup>35</sup>

The members of the hierarchy, therefore, take their place—and an exalted one it is—in the body of Christ. St. Augustine is fully aware that not all members of the clerical state and hierarchy are holy men,<sup>36</sup> and if such is the case what is the relation of the wicked members to the body of Christ? The relation is the same as that of all other members. Good bishops participate fully in the life of the mystical body of Christ; they, as principal

<sup>33</sup> *Sermo* 149, 6, 7 (PL 802).

<sup>34</sup> *Ep.* 232, 3 (PL 33, 1028; CSEL 57, ed. A. Goldbacher, IV, 513); *Contra Faustum*, XI, 2 (PL 42, 246; CSEL 25, 315); XXVIII, 2 (PL 42, 486; CSEL 25, 739); cf. T. Belpaire, "Autonomie et unité," *Irénikon*, XXII (1949), 58.

<sup>35</sup> *In Io. Ev. tr.* 47, 3 (PL 35, 1734).

<sup>36</sup> *Ep.* 208, 2-5 (PL 33, 950-53; CSEL 57, ed. A. Goldbacher, IV, 343-47).

members, are bound to it by life-giving ties. Bad bishops, may have the jurisdictional powers and authority and belong to the Church, like all sinners not separated from it, but they do not participate in the life of grace. They are not however severed either from the external Church or the mystical body.

The scriptural parable of the good pastor gave St. Augustine the occasion to express himself on good and bad bishops in the Church. He confesses with grief that both classes exist in the hierarchy. The good superiors—*praepositi*—are called sons. They are real pastors and members of Christ.<sup>37</sup> It is possible to have many pastors and yet only one pastor, Christ, because the many bishops partake of Christ's powers, rule in His name, dispense His grace. In a word, they are members of Christ, the supreme pastor.<sup>38</sup> Moreover, the relation of Christ to the bishops of the Church is not different from that to the apostles.<sup>39</sup> The bishops as well as the apostles fall under the name of pastors. Their pre-eminence is seen not so much in their juridical status as in the spiritual union with Christ, the chief pastor and head of His body. "They participated in that head, they were in agreement under that head, they lived by one spirit in the unity of one body; and thereby all belonged to one Pastor."<sup>40</sup>

Till the end of time two categories of pastors are bound to exist. There are shepherds "who occupy a pastoral chair in order to tend to the sheep; others, however, sit on them in order to enjoy temporal honors and secular advantages."<sup>41</sup> Unrighteous bishops are not honored with the name of sons, but are called mercenaries.<sup>42</sup> St. Peter, who is portrayed by St. Augustine as a personification of the Church, is also presented as a symbol of all pastors in the Church of Christ. However, it is only of good pastors and not of mercenaries that Peter is representative.<sup>43</sup> But

<sup>37</sup> *In Io. Ev. tr.* 46, 10, 7 (PL 35, 1731).

<sup>38</sup> *In Io. Ev. tr.* 47, 10, 5 (PL 35, 1730).

<sup>39</sup> *In Io. Ev. tr.* 46, 10, 7 (PL 35, 1731): "Tales (pastores) caeteri Apostoli, excepto Juda filio perditionis. . . Pastores ergo illi? Plane pastores. Et unde unus pastor? Jam dixi, pastores, quia membra pastoris."

<sup>40</sup> *In Io. Ev. tr.* 47, 10, 7 (PL 36, 1731).

<sup>41</sup> *Ep.* 208, 2 (PL 33, 950; CSEL 57, IV, 343).

<sup>42</sup> *In Io. Ev. tr.* 46, 10, 5 (PL 35, 1729).

<sup>43</sup> *Sermo* 147, 2, 2 (PL 38, 798): "in uno Petro figurabatur unitas omnium pastorum, sed bonorum, qui sciant oves Christi pascere Christo, non sibi."

even a mercenary may serve his purpose and be useful to the faithful in so far as they preach Christ, His precepts and doctrine, and thereby lead Christ's sheep to their salvation. "Hearken to the voice of Christ the pastor even through mercenaries, but do not yourself be mercenaries, because you are members of the pastor."<sup>44</sup> In opposition to the other apostles, Judas is reputed to be such a mercenary; and if this happened to one of the apostles, who were so close to Christ, there should not be reason for scandal if his example finds imitators among the apostles' successors. They can have a place in the temporal existence of the Church, but will not enjoy the eternal existence of the mystical body of Christ.<sup>45</sup>

## 2) THE SOCIAL CHURCH AND THE BODY OF CHRIST

Just as for the hierarchy a suitable place has been indicated in the body of Christ, so also passages occur in which the Doctor assigns relevant positions to different classes of the lay state.<sup>46</sup> It is thus that, in general outlines at least, the external social organization of the Church and the body of Christ coincide, presenting not diverse, separate or disparate objects in the mind of the Saint, but one and the same Church. This will be further illustrated.

The sacrament of baptism, if properly administered and received, makes one a member of the visible Church, but it also incorporates one into the body of Christ. To become a member of the Church is expressed by St. Augustine in such a manner as to denote either the organizational, social Church, or the internal, spiritual Church. Thus, the Bishop says baptism incorporates us into Christ (*incorporari Christo*),<sup>47</sup> into His unity (*incorporari unitati ejus*),<sup>48</sup> or that it incorporates us into the Church (*incorporari Ecclesiae*).<sup>49</sup> If the thought conveyed by these and similar

<sup>44</sup> *In Io. Ev. tr.* 46, 10, 6 (PL 35, 1731); *In Io. Ev. tr.* 46, 10, 6 (PL 35, 1730).

<sup>45</sup> *In Io. Ev. tr.* 46, 10, 8 (PL 35, 1732).

<sup>46</sup> *Ep.* 140, 36 (PL 33, 554; CSEL 44, ed. A. Goldbacher, III, 186).

<sup>47</sup> *De anima et ejus orig.*, I, 19, 33 (PL 44, 493; CSEL 60, 333).

<sup>48</sup> *De cons. Evang.*, 4, 6, 7 (PL 34, 1220; CSEL 43, ed. F. Weirich, 402).

<sup>49</sup> *De bapt. contra Donat.*, IV, 21, 28 (PL 43, 173; CSEL 51, ed. M. Petschenig, I, 256).



expressions is carefully studied it will lead us to the conclusion that Augustine conceived both the concept of the visible Church and of the spiritual Church as aspects of one Church. "It follows that nothing else is done when infants are baptized except that they are incorporated into the Church, that is the body of Christ and are associated to His members."<sup>50</sup>

It is instructive to note how the verbal element expressive of St. Augustine's mind advances the view of identity of the external and visible Church with the *corpus Christi*. Thus it occurs very often that the very position of one term, be it *Ecclesia* or *corpus Christi*, evokes the other term as a necessary appositive or correlative. Here are some specimens: "The body of Christ, the holy Church";<sup>51</sup> "the universal Church, the universal body";<sup>52</sup> "this body of Christ, this one Church of Christ."<sup>53</sup> "As long as time is in progress, there will not be wanting the Church of God, the body of Christ upon earth."<sup>54</sup> More apposite to the purpose than these are those testimonies in which the great Doctor passes his own judgment in the case, making the assertion that the Church is the body of Christ, or vice versa: "The Church which is the body of the Lord";<sup>55</sup> "the Church is the body of the Lord."<sup>56</sup>

This is the reason why we often find a promiscuous employment of these terms. Where from the sense and context we should expect to find the word *Ecclesia* or *Catholica* we come across the appellation *corpus Christi* instead, and inversely. It is not in any way intended to destroy or to call into question what has already been said about the specific notion underlying each of these terms, as they have been explained in separate chapters at the outset. Each of them certainly does bear a specific aspect of its own, borne out as a rule consistently enough. This will be

<sup>50</sup> *De pec. mer. et rem.*, 3, 4, 7 (PL 44, 189; CSEL 60, ed. C. Urba and J. Zycha, 133).

<sup>51</sup> *Enar. i in Ps.* 34, 14 (PL 36, 331): "Corpus Christi, sancta Ecclesia."

<sup>52</sup> *Sermo* 96, 7, 9 (PL 38, 588): "universa Ecclesia, universum corpus."

<sup>53</sup> *Enar. in Ps.* 60, 2 (PL 36, 724): "hoc Christi corpus, haec una Christi Ecclesia."

<sup>54</sup> *Enar. in Ps.* 71, 8 (PL 36, 906): "Quamdiu tempora ista volvuntur, non deerit Ecclesia Dei, id est Christi corpus in terris."

<sup>55</sup> *Contra Adimantum Man.*, 15, I (PL 42, 152; CSEL 25, ed. J. Zycha, 155): "Ecclesia quae corpus est Domini."

<sup>56</sup> *Sermo* 149, 5, 6 (PL 38, 802).

readily realized when, against certain heresies or on particular occasions, a relatively steadfast application of the terms displays itself with the notions which are peculiar to them. This correctness, however, does not concern us at present. It is rather the cases of promiscuous substitution of the one for the other that now merit our attention; and these cannot be accounted for in any other manner than that the visible Church and the body of Christ are to the mind of St. Augustine the one and same Church.

But the Church, which is said to be the body of Christ, is not something merely abstract, but in its concrete form is composed of members; it is in them that the Church exists. "Who already are his members you know, brethren; that is the Church of God."<sup>57</sup> Therefore the body of Christ is formed of the faithful as members, and indeed the same members that form the Church. "Truly His body is not one man, for man is but a small member of it; His body is formed of members. The full body, therefore, is the whole Church."<sup>58</sup> Consequently whosoever leaves the Church, parts also with the body of Christ.<sup>59</sup>

It is interesting to note how certain characteristics of the Church, which have been particularly studied by theologians in the controversies ensuing in the wake of Luther, are employed by St. Augustine. From the Reformation to the present they have been connected with the external and empirical side of the Church, whereas in Augustinian ecclesiology they are attached at times to the Church as a juridical body, at times to the Church as the body of Christ, or even to both in the same train of thought. Thus the catholicity of the Church is linked not only with the visible character of the Church, as is altogether natural, but also with the person of Christ in His mystical body. It is indeed striking to hear Augustine speak of Christ in his fullness as spread over the earth to its very confines. For example: "that man [Christ] diffused everywhere";<sup>60</sup> "one man [Christ] diffused to

<sup>57</sup> *In Io. Ev. tr.* 6, 14 (PL 35, 2055).

<sup>58</sup> *Enar. 1 in Ps.* 68, 11 (PL 36, 850).

<sup>59</sup> *In Io. Ep. tr.* 1, 12 (PL 35, 1986): "Qui enim Ecclesiam relinquit quomodo est in Christo, qui in membris Christi non est? quomodo est in Christo, qui in corpore Christi non est?"

<sup>60</sup> *Enar. in Ps.* 43, 1 (PL 36, 476): "Esurit Ecclesia, esurit corpus Christi, et homo ille ubique diffusus, cujus caput sursum est, membra deorsum."

the ends of the earth.”<sup>61</sup> Can this mean anything else than the visible Church? He also directly speaks of the body of Christ as being spread throughout the entire world.<sup>62</sup>

In like manner the Bishop speaks of the other basic characteristic of Christ's Church, namely, unity. The closest evidence that the particular churches possessed of being one with the Church of Christ was communion with the apostolic sees from which they sprung or directly with the Roman see. Unity is preserved by the episcopal successions in the hierarchical institution of the Church. Unity is manifest in the profession of the same faith and the communion of the same sacraments. Furthermore unity is the effect of charity which unites all members together and to Christ. But the deepest source of all unity in the Church is the fact that the Church is the body of Christ. There is but one source of life for the whole body and that is Jesus Christ, the head.<sup>63</sup> The human body with its multiformity of members and unity of life presents the best example of the diversity of members constituting the body of Christ and the unity effected by the life of grace.

Unity and catholicity are the testing stones for determining whether existing churches are parts of Christ's Church or not. If particular churches have communion with the one Catholic Church, they will belong to that Church which has apostolic succession and will participate in the sanctity which is proper to the body of Christ. This is the reason why the Bishop lays so much stress on unity and catholicity in his strife with the Donatists. “This, therefore, possession of Christ, this inheritance of Christ, this body of Christ, this one Church of Christ, this unity which we are, calls from the end of the earth.”<sup>64</sup>

We are in that Church, which although spread to every place and diffused through the world, is according to the will of God one great body of one great head, which head is the Savior Himself

<sup>61</sup> *Enar. in Ps. 122, 2* (PL 37, 1630): “qui etiam diffusus est toto orbe terrarum. . . . Quis est qui clamat a finibus terrae? Quis unus homo diffusus est usque ad fines terrae?”

<sup>62</sup> *Enar. in Ps. 34, 18* (PL 36, 374).

<sup>63</sup> E. Mersch, *Le Corps Mystique du Christ*, II, 45.

<sup>64</sup> *Enar. in Ps. 60, 2* (PL 36, 724): “Haec ergo Christi possessio, haec Christi haereditas, hoc Christi corpus, haec una Christi Ecclesia, haec unitas quae nos sumus, clamat a finibus terrae.”

. . . His Church was to fill by abundant fecundity the whole earth. . . . And, therefore, dearly beloved, remain with a fixed mind and a firm heart under so excellent a head, and in so glorious a body in which we are one another's members. Wherefore, if I were far absent to the most remote lands, we would be together in Him, from the unity of whose body we are not allowed to recede.<sup>65</sup>

It must be concluded that there is for Augustine but one Church in which there are external and internal elements. Therefore, there are not two churches, but one. There are, however, two widely separated viewpoints. Sometimes Augustine views the Church from its external and visible elements, sometimes from its internal and invisible life, but he also frequently associates both aspects of the Church in one breath. The internal and invisible Church—which is that aspect of the Church under the designation of the mystical body of Christ—is the principal consideration: it directly involves the very purpose of the Church's existence, viz., to save souls. Life eternal can come only from a union with Christ, the Savior, in the earthly mystical body. In it man participates in the life of grace which will blossom into life eternal in the heavenly mystical body. But man composed of a body and soul, a material and spiritual element, cannot congruously attain sanctification and salvation unless through the sacramental, social, and juridic institution founded by Christ.

Contemplating this dual conception of the Church, some writers can hardly bring themselves to believe that Augustine successfully combined the spiritual and the material elements into a single Church. Are not these elements incompatible? B. Warfield writes:

To Augustine the Church was fundamentally the "congregatio sanctorum," the body of Christ, and it is this Church which he has in mind when he calls it the *Civitas Dei*, or the Kingdom of God on earth. He is, however, not carefully observant of the distinction between the empirical and ideal Church, and repeatedly—often apparently quite unconsciously—carries over to the one the predicates which, in his fundamental thought, belonged properly to the other. Thus the hierarchically organized Church tends ever with him to take the place of the *congregatio sanctorum*, even when he is speak-

<sup>65</sup> *Ep.* 142, 1 (PL 33, 583; CSEL 44, ed. A. Goldbacher, III, 247).



ing of it as the Kingdom or City of God in which alone any communion with God is possible here, and through which alone eternal blessedness with God is attainable hereafter.<sup>66</sup>

A. Harnack writes along similar lines:

Thus arose the astonishing *complexio oppositorum* which we see in Western Catholicism: the Church of rites, of law, of politics, of world dominion and the Church in which a highly individual, delicate, sublimated sense and doctrine of sin and grace is brought into play. The external and the internal elements are supposed to unite! . . . Up to a certain point, however, these antitheses admit of being reconciled; they admit of it at least so far as the same men are concerned. That is proved by no less a person than Augustine himself, who, in addition to his other characteristics, was also a staunch Churchman; nay, who in such matters as power and prestige promoted the external interests of the Church, and its equipment as a whole, with the greatest energy.<sup>67</sup>

St. Augustine is reputed to be the first modern man,<sup>68</sup> and is recognized as one who can nourish with his spirituality the mind of the modern man.<sup>69</sup> In his writings is to be found a balanced proportion of elements which can bring unity and harmony to Christianity. He is a potent factor for steering the Catholics from the aggrandizement of the institutional and hierarchical elements at the expense of the spiritual organism, but he is also a power for guiding the Protestant bodies away from their traditional view of the redemptive relationship as a purely individual affair involving man and God. Since the Vatican Council the Catholic Church has been retracing its way toward its pre-Reformational evaluation of the doctrine of the mystical body,

<sup>66</sup> B. Warfield, "Augustine," *Hasting's Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*, I, 221.

<sup>67</sup> A. Harnack: *What is Christianity* (2nd ed.; New York: 1912), pp. 278-79.

<sup>68</sup> K. F. Mullany, *Augustine of Hippo*, "The First Modern Man" (New York: 1930); F. Sawicki, "Święty Augustyn Pierwszym Człowiekiem Nowożytnym," *Świty Augustyn*, ed. S. Bross (Poznań: 1930), pp. 222-37; A. Ahlberg, *Augustinus, den första moderna människan* (Uppsala: 1952).

<sup>69</sup> H. Zimmerman, *Auf dem Weg zu Augustinus* (München: 1948); D. D. Williams, "The Significance of St. Augustine Today," in R. W. Battenhouse, ed., *A Companion to the Study of St. Augustine* (New York: 1955), pp. 3-14.

while Protestants of all denominations are advancing inexorably toward an agreement in the rediscovery of the Church and its social need: in other words, Christians are becoming increasingly aware that they belong together.<sup>70</sup> St. Augustine happily combines both facets. They are in the right, therefore, who see in the person of the Bishop of Hippo an actual power for bringing about a rapprochement between Catholics and Protestants.<sup>71</sup>

<sup>70</sup> L. H. DeWolf, "New Agreements in Theology," *Religion in Life*, 1954, pp. 216-25.

<sup>71</sup> A. F. N. Lekkerkerker, "De actualiteit van Augustinus," *Theologisch Tijdschrift*, IV (1949), 92-111.



## PART II

### THE INTERNAL CONSTITUTION OF THE BODY OF CHRIST

If in the Church of St. Augustine there is a visible and invisible aspect, then there must be elements which make it visible and other elements which make it invisible. The visible elements have already been considered in some of the foregoing chapters. The invisible realities are centered around the spiritual life of the individual member and of the corporate membership of the Church. Individuals are joined to the Church, the mystical body of Christ, by faith, hope, and charity. The corporate membership of the Church, the mystical body of Christ, is animated by the Holy Ghost. He is the cause and source of the life of grace for each member and for all the members as a body. Through justification in which He plays a deciding role men are reborn to a life of union with Christ.



## CHAPTER I

### THE HOLY GHOST

IN THE present chapter we shall study: 1) the relation of the Holy Ghost to the mystical body; 2) the relation of the Holy Ghost to men outside the Church; 3) the relation of the Holy Ghost to sinners in the Church; 4) the subsequent history of the doctrine on the Holy Ghost as the soul of the mystical body of Christ.

#### I. THE RELATION OF THE HOLY GHOST TO THE BODY OF CHRIST

There are many members constituting the physical human body, but there is only one soul which gives life to them all. On account of the soul there is not only organic unity but also psychological consciousness of the disparate parts as belonging to one. It is the soul which is fully cognizant of moving the members of the body, of seeing through the eyes, of perceiving by touch, of tasting by tongue, of smelling by nose. What the soul is for the physical body of man, that the Holy Ghost is for the mystical body of Christ. He does not allow the Church to remain a hierarchic and juridic body which would make it belong to the category of the state and social organizations, but raises it to an organic body which is an essentially higher type of being and existence. He makes the Church a living body. He gives her an activity of her own arising from an inward principle which is capable of developing itself by its own action.<sup>1</sup>

The multitude of men forming the Church throughout the length and breadth of this world becomes homogeneous not merely by virtue of being constitutionally organized for the attainment of a common goal, but principally by living a com-

<sup>1</sup> For the concept of life, cf. St. Thomas, *Summa theol.*, Ia, q. 18, a. 1; *Contra Gentes*, I, 97; X, 1.

mon supernatural life. Just as the human soul gives life to the various members of the human body, coordinates their movements for the good of the whole, so that the multitude of acts in a body is the result of a single principle, so too the Holy Ghost brings men into the Church, unites them homogeneously into a spiritual whole, guides them to a common goal. He manifests Himself through the good deeds which are performed by individual members and which are actions belonging to the mystical body because they are performed under the inspiration of its soul.<sup>2</sup>

Who does not feel St. Paul speaking in the words of St. Augustine? For the Apostle of the Gentiles the Holy Ghost is the soul of the mystical body. "Not only does the Holy Ghost dwell in the Church and in each just person as in His temple, but He is there as a principle of cohesion, movement, and life."<sup>3</sup>

St. Augustine appears at a time when the echoes of the pronouncements of Pope Damasus I († 384)<sup>4</sup> and the first Council of Constantinople (381) concerning the divinity of the Holy Ghost against the Macedonians were reverberating throughout Christianity. In this as well as in all the great controversies of Greek Christendom Augustine took a part,<sup>5</sup> not as direct and passionate as when he discomfited Manicheism, Donatism, and Palagianism, but nonetheless important since he was able to furnish a well digested sum total of doctrine on the trinitarian and Christological problems of the times. As a result of the Mace-

<sup>2</sup> *Sermo* 258, 2 (PL 38-1232): "Membra nostra attendite. Multis membris constitutum est corpus, et vegetat membra omnia unus spiritus. Ecce humano spiritu, quo sum ego ipse homo, membra omnia colligo: impero membris ut moveantur, intendo oculis ad videndum . . . officia membrorum dispartita sunt, sed unus spiritus continet omnia. Multa jubentur, multa fiunt: unus jubet, uni servitur. Quod est spiritus noster, id est anima nostra, ad membra nostra, hoc Spiritus Sanctus ad membra Christi, quod est Ecclesia. Ideo Apostolus, cum corpus unum nominasset, ne intelligeremus mortuum corpus: unum, inquit, corpus. Sed rogo te, vivit hoc corpus? Vivit. Unde? De uno spiritu. 'Et unus spiritus.'"

<sup>3</sup> F. Prat, *La Théologie de Saint Paul* (23 éd.; Paris: 1934), I, 360.

<sup>4</sup> See the *Anathematisms* of Pope Damasus released in the IV Roman Synod in 380; cf. P. Coustant, *Epistolae Romanorum Pontificum a S. Clemente I usque ad Innocentium III* (Paris: 1721), 511 A ff.

<sup>5</sup> H. H. Milman, *History of Latin Christianity* (New York: 1892), I, 262: "In every struggle and in every controversy Africa had taken a part."

donian controversy he has marshalled all the arguments of the Greek Fathers in defense of the divinity of the third Person of the Godhead so adroitly within the framework of the whole doctrine on the Trinity that he has furnished Christianity with the deepest treatise on the greatest mystery.<sup>6</sup>

The Holy Ghost whom St. Augustine has in mind is He, "who is in the Trinity consubstantial to the Father and the Son."<sup>7</sup> He is by procession the Spirit conjointly of the Father and the Son,<sup>8</sup> and therefore He is "God from God."<sup>9</sup> He is the same Spirit by which Christ has been sanctified and of whom He was born.<sup>10</sup> It was He whom Christ promised during His earthly sojourn, whom He accordingly after His resurrection and ascension sent to the apostles and to the Church, so that He is termed in St. John<sup>11</sup> and St. Paul<sup>12</sup> the Spirit of Christ. St. Augustine, too, following the lead of Sacred Scripture, correlates the Holy Ghost to Christ, naming Him the Spirit of Christ.<sup>13</sup> This Spirit of Christ becomes the spirit also of Christ's fullness and continuation on earth, that is, of His body, the Church.

Because of the repeated and emphatic presentation of this office of the Holy Ghost in the body of Christ one might easily be inclined to limit this task only to the person of the Holy Ghost with the exclusion of the other divine persons. Yet the Bishop of Hippo teaches that the person of the Holy Ghost, who is consubstantial with and equal to the Father and Son, operates conjointly with them in animating the Church. He explicitly states

<sup>6</sup> S. J. Grabowski, *The All-Present God: A Study in St. Augustine* (St. Louis: 1954), pp. 2-3, 29.

<sup>7</sup> *De div. quaest. ad Simpl.*, II, 1, 5 (PL 40, 132); cf. M. Schmaus, *Die psychologische Trinitätslehre des hl. Augustinus* (Münster: 1927), pp. 121 ff. and 386 ff. The Holy Ghost is, therefore, both divine and personal; cf. L. Hodgson, *The Doctrine of the Trinity* (London: 1951), p. 155.

<sup>8</sup> *Sermo* 71, 20, 33 (PL 38, 463): "Spiritus autem sanctus communiter habetur a Patre et Filio: quia Spiritus est unus amborum."

<sup>9</sup> *In Io. Ev. tr.* 7, 6 (PL 35, 2031).

<sup>10</sup> *De praed. sanct.*, 15, 31 (PL 44, 982): "Natus est de Spiritu sancto et virgine Maria."

<sup>11</sup> Implicitly in John 1:32-33; 15:26; directly I John 4:13.

<sup>12</sup> For instance, Gal. 4:6; Rom. 8:9-10; II Cor. 3:17; cf. F. Prat., *op. cit.*, II, 353-55; E. Mura, *Le Corps Mystique du Christ* (Paris: 1936), I, 198.

<sup>13</sup> *In Io. Ev. tr.* 26, 13 (PL 35, 1612): "Fiant corpus Christi, si volunt vivere de Spiritu Christi. De Spiritu Christi non vivit, nisi corpus Christi." *Ibid.*, 26, 6 (PL 35, 1618).

that the Father and Son are likewise indwellers in the temple which is the body of Christ and consequently vivifiers of Christ's Church. "God therefore dwells in His temple, not only the Holy Ghost, but also the Father and the Son. . . . The temple therefore of God, that is of the whole Trinity, is the holy Church."<sup>14</sup>

It is this same doctrine which underlies the indwelling of the Holy Ghost in individual souls. Although Sacred Scripture frequently focuses our attention upon the person of the Holy Ghost as the soul's indweller,<sup>15</sup> yet it gives unmistakable clue, in our Lord's own words, to the recognition of an inhabitation common to all three divine persons.<sup>16</sup> St. Augustine too pauses, here and there, to remind us of this inseparable indwelling of the persons of the sacred Trinity in the just person. "Who dares to be of the opinion (unless he is altogether ignorant of the inseparability of the Trinity) that the Father and Son can dwell in anyone, in whom the Holy Ghost does not dwell, or that the Holy Ghost dwells in anyone in whom the Father and the Son do not dwell?"<sup>17</sup>

There is more than one reason for making the person of the Holy Ghost the soul of the body of Christ in preference to the other persons of the Godhead. The reasons are associated with the modes of divine processions. By virtue of His procession from the first and the second person by the divine will, the third divine person is called a "Spirit," a Holy Spirit. Whence it is fitting that this divine person be the spirit, the soul of the mystical body. The life of the mystical body is the life of grace, which is a gratuitous gift of God. But the Holy Ghost, too, is called grace—an uncreated grace—because He is the greatest of all gifts.<sup>18</sup> Furthermore, the soul of man cannot be animated with supernatural life unless it is endowed with charity, which basically affects all the actions emanating from the will. The Holy Ghost, proceeding

<sup>14</sup> *Ench.*, 56, 15 (PL 40, 259).

<sup>15</sup> Rom. 5:5; 8:9; 8:11; Gal. 4:6; I Cor. 6:19; II Cor. 6:16.

<sup>16</sup> John, 14:16 ff.

<sup>17</sup> *Ep.* 187, 5, 16 (PL 33, 837; CSEL 57, ed. A. Goldbacher, IV, 94).

<sup>18</sup> *Sermo* 144, 1, 1 (PL 38, 788): "Gratia quippe Dei, donum Dei est. Donum autem maximum ipse Spiritus Sanctus est; et ideo gratia dicitur." Cf. also *De fide et symb.*, 9, 19 (PL 40, 191; CSEL 41, 22); *De Trin.*, VIII, 1 (PL 42, 946); *ibid.*, XV, 17, 29 (PL 42, 1081).



from the divine will by virtue of the Father's and Son's love, is an uncreated and eternal symbol of it.<sup>19</sup> Finally, since the Holy Ghost is the unitive bond whereby the Father and the Son are ineffably united,<sup>20</sup> it is becoming that the office of a unifying soul whereby the faithful are made but one body be appropriated to the Holy Ghost.

### One Spirit, One Body

The doctrine of the Holy Ghost as the soul of the body of Christ is an indispensable part of Augustine's concept of the Church. It has been seen that the Bishop cannot conceive of the Church unless he conceives of it as the mystical body of Christ; nor can he think of the mystical body of Christ unless he thinks of its soul, the Holy Ghost. He instructs the faithful that it is not only heretical to deny that the Holy Spirit is God, consubstantial with the Father and the Word, but equally erroneous to deny that He is the soul of the mystical body. Those who deny His role in the mystical body are likened to the Pharisees, who professed the existence of the Holy Spirit, but who denied that He was in Christ. They preferred to attribute the miraculous deeds of Christ to the prince of devils instead of recognizing them as coming from the Holy Ghost.<sup>21</sup>

The genius of Augustine, steeped in Greek philosophy, always seeks an adequate unity to explain multiplicity. The multitude of created things have their unity in this that they are created by one God; the multitude of men saved, in this that they have been redeemed through Jesus Christ; and the multitude of the faithful from every race and part of the world, in this that they are united by one Spirit.<sup>22</sup> The celestial multitude of the blessed are

<sup>19</sup> *De Trin.*, XV, 31 ff. (PL 42, 1083): "Dilectio igitur, quae ex Deo est et Deus est, proprie Spiritus Sanctus est, per quem diffunditur in cordibus nostris caritas Dei, per quam nos tota inhabitat Trinitas."

<sup>20</sup> *De agone chris.*, 16, 18 (PL 40, 300; CSEL 41, 119): "Quia revera magnum est mente conspiciere . . . ipsam Charitatem et Sanctitatem, qua Generator et Generatus ineffabiliter sibi copulantur." *De Trin.*, XV, 37 (PL 42, 1086): "Et si charitas qua Pater diligit Filium, et Patrem diligit Filius, ineffabiliter communionem demonstrat amborum; quid convenientius quam ut ille dicatur charitas proprie, qui Spiritus est communis ambobus?"

<sup>21</sup> *Sermo* 71, 3, 5 (PL 38, 447).

<sup>22</sup> *Ad Donat. post coll.*, 35, 38 (PL 43, 690): "Qui nos creavit unus est

unified in this that their eternal bliss is in the possession, by vision and love, of God the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost.

It is evident, therefore, that the Church is not only a religious social organization held together by the profession of the same faith, by external sacramental rites, and by hierarchical authority, but also a corporate entity animated by a single principle of supernatural life. Unlike the soul of the body of man, the Holy Ghost is the uncreated soul. He is a divine life-dispensing agent and unifying principle. He is the unique source of spiritual life and the indispensable bond of union in the mystical body. Just as the human soul does not reside outside the human body which it animates, so likewise the Holy Ghost cannot be found outside the one Church of Christ. Here is the very essence of the Church's unity and exclusiveness. The Holy Ghost cannot lose His body or be without it; He cannot unite a multitude of churches as His body. He is, and always was, confined to a body which will never lose its continuity or identity as the Church of Christ.

This is the reason why there can be one source and medium of salvation. Whosoever will be animated by the life of which the Holy Ghost is the source must become a member of the body of which He is the soul. Inculcating the unity of the Church in schismatic Africa the Bishop of Hippo had frequent occasion to remind his countrymen of this theological truth. "Let them become the body of Christ, if they wish to live of Christ's spirit. Only the body of Christ, lives of the Spirit of Christ. . . . Do you also want to live of the Spirit of Christ? Be in the body of Christ." <sup>23</sup> Then it is that one lives "for God in God." <sup>24</sup>

The Donatists admitted the traditional doctrine on the nature of the Holy Ghost, but their interpretation of His indwelling differs from that of St. Augustine. They view the Holy Spirit as an internal gift conferred upon, and abiding within, each individual soul. <sup>25</sup> Augustine does not deny this doctrine, but he makes

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Deus, qui nos redemit unus est Christus, qui nos consociare debet, unus est Spiritus."

<sup>23</sup> *In Io. Ev. tr.* 26, 13 (PL 35, 1612-13).

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.* (1613): "Vivat Deo de Deo."

<sup>25</sup> P. Battifol, *Le catholicisme de Saint Augustin* (4 éd.; Paris: 1929), p. 238 says: "Aux hérétiques, qui voudraient, que l'Esprit soit un don immédiat, Augustin oppose cet axiome que l'Esprit est un don auquel nous

the actual possession of the Holy Spirit dependent upon one's adherence to the corporate body of the faithful, to the body of Christ. If one is not in this body, of which the Holy Ghost is the soul, one cannot have His personal indwelling in one's own soul.

To illustrate his point the Bishop frequently recurs to the analogy of the physical body and the soul. If some member—an arm or a leg—is severed from the body, it no longer is a part of that body for it is separated from that organism to which the soul is confined. The soul can vivify only such members as remain in unity with the body it vivifies. So it is also with the members of the spiritual organism, the mystical body; whoever is not a member of it cannot participate in the life-giving power of the Holy Ghost.

There are certain classes of men that Augustine excludes from a participation in the Holy Ghost. It will be readily manifest that they are such as are not members of the mystical body.

1. Jews and Pagans, not being reborn of the Holy Ghost through baptism, have not the life that this sacrament brings, and are alien to the Church of God. Because this sacrament imparts the new life of God, the lives of all men who are not regenerated by the waters of baptism are to be considered miserable; the existence of the unrebored is death rather than life. By virtue of the life issuing forth from baptism men are not only reborn to a supernal life but become stones of a spiritual edifice which is to remain forever.<sup>26</sup>

2. Without the Holy Ghost are such as have been baptized in heretical and schismatic factions. Unlike St. Cyprian and Cyprianic tradition in Africa, Augustine admits the validity of baptism administered outside the Church. Baptism so administered produces, in the soul of the recipient, an effect which

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participons dans l'Église, l'unique Église étant la *Catholica*." This is not altogether exact. It must be stated that this internal and individual possession of the Holy Ghost is a doctrine which is common to St. Augustine and the Donatists. The Bishop of Hippo, however, maintains that he who leaves the unity of Christ's body loses also the personal indwelling of the Holy Ghost in his own soul, or who stands outside of the unity of the Church cannot be the possessor of the Holy Spirit in his inner being.

<sup>26</sup> *Ep.* 187, 10, 33 (PL 33, 845; CSEL 57, ed. A. Goldbacher, IV, 111).

Augustine calls a "form" (*forma*,<sup>27</sup> *forma pietatis*).<sup>28</sup> However, since it is produced outside the Church, it is irregular and illicit, and consequently it does not convey the life of grace, it does not bring a rebirth of the soul, it does not effect a participation in the Holy Ghost.<sup>29</sup> For Augustine it is one and the same thing to state that one is unregenerated, or without spiritual life, or without the Holy Ghost.<sup>30</sup>

The sacrament of baptism, administered by a heretic or a schismatic, is not worthless. Because it is valid, it impinges a "form" on the recipient; because it is illicitly and irregularly administered, it does not produce the effect which it was intended by Christ to produce, viz., the life of grace.<sup>31</sup> However, on account of the sacramental "form" impressed on the baptized one, when such a person returns from heresy or schism to the fold of the Church, and becomes a member of the mystical body of Christ, he returns to the source of grace, to the fount of charity, and to a participation of the Holy Ghost.<sup>32</sup>

The reason for St. Augustine's line of thought is his doctrine that the sacraments are of divine institution—*sacramenta Dei*,

<sup>27</sup> *Sermo* 268, 2 (PL 38, 1232): "Forma est: nisi intus spiritu vegeteris, frustra foris de forma gloriaris."

<sup>28</sup> *Sermo* 71, 32 (PL 38, 462): "Non enim defuit etiam foris positus ista forma pietatis."

<sup>29</sup> *Sermo* 269, 2 (PL 38, 1236): "Haec itaque distinctio inter acceptionem baptismi, et acceptionem Spiritus Sancti, satis nos instruit, ne habere eos continuo Spiritum Sanctum putemus, quos habere baptismum non negamus."

<sup>30</sup> *Sermo* 268, 2 (PL 38, 1232): "Jam vero si membrum praecidatur de corpore numquid sequitur spiritus? Et tamen membrum agnoscitur quid est: digitus est, manus est, brachium est, auris est; praeter corpus habet formam, sed non habet vitam."

<sup>31</sup> When G. G. Willis, *Saint Augustine and the Donatist Heresy* (London: 1950), p. 156, interpreting St. Augustine states that "grace is there, latent and useless, valid but not efficacious to salvation or to the well-being of souls, . . ." he misses St. Augustine's distinction; it is not grace, which is supernatural life and a participation in the Holy Ghost, that is present as a result of baptism received outside the Church, but the "form" of the sacrament—something distinct and different from grace.

<sup>32</sup> *Sermo* 71, 32 (PL 38, 462): "Quapropter quicumque in schismaticis vel haereticis congregationibus, vel potius segregationibus baptizantur, quamvis non sint renati Spiritu, . . . tamen cum ad catholicam veniunt, et societati Spiritus aggregantur, quem foris procul dubio non habebant, non eis repetitur lavacrum carnis."



*sacramenta Christi*—for the purpose of conveying divine blessings to men: they are the visible channels for invisible divine grace. Furthermore, God or Christ is said to be the true, although invisible dispenser of the sacrament, whereas man is only the minister. Hence, whether the visible minister be a heretic or schismatic outside the unity of the Church, or whether he be a sinner within the pale of the Church, it remains Christ who dispenses His sacrament.<sup>33</sup> The sinner administering it in the Church does not hinder the sacrament from producing that life which he himself does not have, for it is Christ who is the principal minister. The sacrament is not affected by the sinfulness of the dispenser because it is effected by the divine sanctity of the primary cause of all sanctification.<sup>34</sup> If the sacrament, however, does not produce the supernatural life it is intended to convey, the reason is because it is administered or received outside the pale of the Church of Christ. This Church is the sole legitimate possessor of the sacraments. Just as they are said to be the sacraments of Christ, so too they are the sacraments of the Church—*sacramenta Christi et Ecclesiae*.<sup>35</sup> Properly administered and received within her pale, incorporation into the body of Christ and participation in the soul of the body of Christ automatically follow.<sup>36</sup>

3. Finally, heretics and schismatics manifestly are not a part of the one true Church, are not members of the one mystical body of Christ, and consequently do not participate in the unique soul of that body, the Holy Ghost. Unity is an essential characteristic of the visible as well as invisible Church. Heretics dissociate themselves from the Church's doctrinal unity, and schismatics

<sup>33</sup> *Ep.* 105, 3, 12 (PL 33, 401; CSEL 34, 604): "Quare ergo non verum dicimus, et recte sapimus, quia semper Dei est illa gratia et Dei sacramentum, hominis autem solum ministerium; qui si bonus est, adhaereat Deo, et operatur cum Deo; si autem malus est, operatur per illum Deus visibilem sacramenti formam, ipse autem donat invisibilem gratiam."

<sup>34</sup> J. Hamer, "Le baptême et l'Église: La synthèse augustinienne," *Irénikon*, XXV (1952), 286-94.

<sup>35</sup> *De bapt. contra Donat.*, III, 10, 13 (PL 43, 144; CSEL 51, ed. M. Petschenig, 205).

<sup>36</sup> *Contra Cresc.*, II, 12, 15 (PL 43, 476; CSEL 52, ed. M. Petschenig, II, 374): "Merito creduntur hi, qui extra Ecclesiam baptismum Ecclesiae perceperunt non habere Spiritum Sanctum, nisi cum ipsi Ecclesiae in vinculo pacis per connexionem caritatis adhaerescunt."

separate themselves from the Church's social and hierarchical unity. Augustine constantly admonishes his hearers of the vexed African Church to avoid dissension and separation. His motive? "Remember that those who are opposed to unity do not have the Holy Ghost."<sup>37</sup>

Unity can be understood in a twofold sense. It can mean an external union of members through the external profession of the same faith, through participation in the same sacramental rites, and through association in the same religious observances. It can mean an internal union, one that binds the members of the Church inwardly by internal ties. These two modes of unity correspond to the two principal aspects of the Church. As is evident, the external union corresponds to the juridic organization of the Church, the internal union to the spiritual Church as the mystical body of Christ. These two kinds of unities are not independent: the one exists in order that the other may be attained. The external Church exists because of the internal Church: members are united to the Church by external bonds with the intent that an internal, spiritual union may result.<sup>38</sup>

Both the external, social, and moral union on the one hand, and the internal, spiritual, and mystical union on the other hand are necessary in the Church of Christ. But it is the latter, the union which forms the mystical body of Christ, the union which leads to eternal salvation that is the goal of the Bishop and pastor of souls. His call to the Africans to embrace unity, to seek peace, to foster charity does not merely mean understanding and sympathy, but also expresses an intercommunion of life of the Holy Ghost.

To belong to the "unity of the Spirit in bonds of peace" (*unitas Spiritus in vinculo pacis*),<sup>39</sup> to adhere to the "Church by the bonds of peace through the union of charity" (*Ecclesiae vinculo pacis per connexionem caritatis*)<sup>40</sup> to participate in an inter-

<sup>37</sup> *Sermo* 7, 11 13 (PL 38, 74).

<sup>38</sup> W. Simpson, *St. Augustine and African Church Divisions* (London: 1910), p. 72: "But what is unity? At times it means external intercommunion; at other times it denotes the deeper conception of inward identity."

<sup>39</sup> *Sermo* 71, 32 (PL 38, 462).

<sup>40</sup> *Contra Cresc.*, II, 12, 15 (PL 43, 476; CSEL 52, ed. M. Petschenig, II, 374).

change of spiritual things,<sup>41</sup> to communicate in this body to the extent as to be animated inwardly by the spirit (*intus spiritu vegeteris*)<sup>42</sup>—all of these dicta necessarily carry us into the sphere of those communions which are intrinsic and imperceptible, yet real as resulting from spiritual bonds which are real.

Hence the Holy Ghost is the soul of all who have been made the body of Christ. As a soul He provides not only life but also the power by which the intimate, spiritual union is accomplished. The life which He imparts is through grace, the power through which He binds Christ's members into unity is charity.<sup>43</sup> Like cells that grow into an organism by virtue of the mysterious powers of the soul so, too, the individual members of the Church are brought into a homogeneous unity by the invisible power of the Holy Ghost. To underscore this unity the Bishop uses at times phrases taken from the rude tangible world as when he says that men are cemented together or are agglutinated to form but a single entity. More appropriate in his employment of the term *compago* used by classical Latin writers to express also the unity and organic structure of the body.<sup>44</sup> It is a *compago corporis*, a *compago charitatis*,<sup>45</sup> a *compago unitatis et charitatis*;<sup>46</sup> it is an *adificium ad Christi compagem*.<sup>47</sup> The *compago* of Christ's body is the living temple of God which is His Church.<sup>48</sup> It is the soul which imparts the life and virtue by which bodies remain in the form and beauty which they are to have according to the design of the creator; "for the soul holds the very structure of the body lest it should dissolve and fall apart."<sup>49</sup> Whoever is not a cell or a part of this organic unity (*compago*) does not possess the Holy Ghost who is the life-giving soul of it.<sup>50</sup> Whatever member is to

<sup>41</sup> *Sermo* 212, 1 (PL 38, 1058): "Et vestra societas est commercium spiritualium, ut similes sitis negotiatoribus bonam margaritam quaerentibus (Matt. 13:45). Haec est charitas. . . ."

<sup>42</sup> *Sermo* 268, 2 (PL 38, 1232). Cf. *In Io. Ev. tr.* 27, 6 (PL 35, 1618).

<sup>43</sup> *In Io. Ev. tr.* 27, 6 (PL 35, 1618).

<sup>44</sup> Cicero, *De senectute*, 20, 77 (ed. W. A. Falconer [London-Cambridge Mass.: 1953], p. 88): "Dum sumus in his inclusi compagibus corporis."

<sup>45</sup> *Enar. in Ps.* 149, 2 (PL 37, 1949).

<sup>46</sup> *In Io. Ev. tr.* 27, 6 (PL 35, 1618); *Ep.* 185, 46 (PL 33, 813; CSEL 57, IV, 40).

<sup>47</sup> *Enar. in Ps.* 86, 4 (PL 37, 1104).

<sup>48</sup> *Ep.* 187, 12, 35 (PL 33, 845-46; CSEL 57, IV, 113).

<sup>49</sup> *Retract.*, I, 11, 4 (PL 32, 601; CSEL 36, ed. P. Knöll, 54).

<sup>50</sup> *Ep.* 185, 46 (PL 33, 813; CSEL 57, ed. A. Goldbacher, IV, 40): "Sed

be healed is to be healed in the body and not separated from it." <sup>51</sup>

Just as in describing the relationship of the members of the mystical body of Christ to Christ the head, so too in showing the relationship of the Holy Ghost to the mystical body of Christ, St. Augustine never leaves out of sight the image of the human body with which he compares the various phases of the mystical body. Look at your body and its members, he says, if you wish to understand the nature of the mystical body of Christ. In your body there is only one soul, one spirit, yet it holds all the members together; it animates them while holding them together. Although it gives life equally to all, this life manifests itself diversely in diverse members. The soul works differently in the eyes, differently in the nose, differently in the touch, etc. So also the Holy Ghost, animating the multitude of members of the mystical body of Christ, affects various members diversely with His spiritual life according to the various functions they are to perform.

There is one fundamental law in the relationship of the soul to the body, and that law is also verified in the relationship of the Holy Ghost to the mystical body. Just as the human soul does not vivify and move members outside of its own organism, so also the Holy Ghost is limited as a soul to the body of Christ. Because of this principle there can be only one true Church of Christ and not many churches, just as there can be only one living body with the same soul. "Now if the member is severed from the body, does the spirit also follow?" <sup>52</sup> Whoever separates himself, either by erroneous teaching from the one faith, or by schism from the one communion, cannot rightly claim to be a part of the mystical body and to be animated by the Holy Ghost. "Whoever

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multo magis isti [haeretici et schismatici] eum [Spiritus Sanctum] non acceperunt, ubi a corporis compage divisi, quod solum corpus vivificat Spiritus Sanctus. . . ."

<sup>51</sup> *Ep.* 157, 3, 22 (PL 33, 686; CSEL 44, ed. A. Goldbacher, III, 472).

<sup>52</sup> *Sermo* 7, 11, 13 (PL 38, 74). So also *In Io. Ev. tr.* 27, 6 (PL 35, 1618): "Nam spiritus qui est in te, o homo, quo constas ut homo sis, numquid vivificat membrum quod separatum invenerit a carne tua? Spiritum tuum dico animam tuam: anima tua non vivificat nisi membra quae sunt in carne tua; unum si tollas, jam non vivificatur ex anima tua, quia unitati corporis tui non copulatur."



has the Holy Ghost is in the Church, . . . Whoever is outside the Church, has not the Holy Ghost.”<sup>53</sup> The Church alone is the body of Christ. . . . Outside of this Church the Holy Ghost vivifies no one. . . . They have not the Holy Ghost who are outside the Church.”<sup>54</sup>

It is easy to perceive that the doctrine of the exclusiveness of the Holy Ghost in the one Church of Christ is accentuated and developed under the influence of existing heresies and schisms. Augustine was well acquainted with the many errors which existed from the founding of the Church, as is evident from his attempt to catalogue all existing heresies. Nor was he less interested in the schism that plagued Christian Africa before and during his time. What could be more painful to heretics and schismatics than to be told that they did not possess the Holy Ghost? Yet that is what St. Augustine bluntly says: “So much the more they (heretics and schismatics) did not receive Him (the Holy Ghost) where they (are) divided from the organism which alone the Holy Spirit vivifies.”<sup>55</sup>

### Heresy and Schism

Augustine instinctively feels what a heresy is,<sup>56</sup> yet he confesses that it is impossible or most difficult to draw up a definition which would embrace its essential characteristics.<sup>57</sup> As a practical example of this difficulty he refers to the existence of two catalogues of heresies—the one of Philastrius, Bishop of Brixen, the other of Epiphanius, Bishop of Cyprus.<sup>58</sup> These two men, he

<sup>53</sup> *Sermo* 268, 2 (PL 38, 123f).

<sup>54</sup> *Ep.* 185, 11, 50 (PL 33, 815; CSEL 57, ed. A. Goldbacher, IV, 44).

<sup>55</sup> *Ep.* 185, 11, 46 (PL 33, 813; CSEL 57, IV, 40).

<sup>56</sup> Cf. J. de Guibert, “La notion d’hérésie dans S. Augustin,” *Bull. Litt. Eccl.*, 1920, pp. 368–82.

<sup>57</sup> *Ep.* 222, 2 (PL 33, 999; CSEL 57, IV, 447–48): “. . . quid sit haeresis, . . . revera hoc omnino definire difficile est”; *De haer.* (PL 42, 23): “Quid ergo faciat haereticum, regulari quadam definitione comprehendi, sicut ego existimo, aut omnino non potest, aut difficillime potest.”

<sup>58</sup> Cf. G. Bardy, “Le ‘De Haeresibus’ et ses sources,” *Miscellanea Agostiniana* (Romae: 1931), II, 397–416; B. Altaner, “Augustinus und Epiphanius von Salamis: Eine quellenkritische Studie,” *Mélanges Joseph de Ghellink* (Gembloux: 1951), I, 265–75; Silvia Jannaccone, *La dottrina eresiologica di S. Agostino. Studio di storia letteraria e religiosa a proposito del trattato ‘De haeresibus’* (Catania: 1952).

points out, differ much, even when they cover the same period, in what they consider to be heresies. This, Augustine concludes, "Would not have happened, if one thing did not appear to be a heresy to the one, and another thing to the other."<sup>59</sup> For this reason Augustine warns us not to be too hasty in calling or considering someone a heretic for there can be danger of making heretics of those who are not.<sup>60</sup>

An element which underlies all heresy is divergence in doctrine from the rule of faith (*a regula veritatis*). Heretics participate not in the oneness of doctrine, but in the sameness of the Christian name.<sup>61</sup> It is not always easy to determine whether there is actually a departure in some doctrine from the accepted tradition. "A heretic is one who, in my opinion, creates or follows false and new opinions for the sake of temporal gain, or personal glory and prestige."<sup>62</sup>

Besides doctrinal divergence from the teaching of the Church—in which consists the objective element of heresy—a subjective or psychological element enters into the notion of heresy. Those who walk paths untrodden by tradition must be cognizant of their novelty and opposition to the Church. St. Augustine does not explicitly classify such as heretics who are not cognizant that what they hold is not consonant with the teaching of the Church; but if the same are made aware of their error and they continue to entertain it, they become heretical. On the part of the subject obstinacy, perversity, intractability are characteristics which make one a heretic.<sup>63</sup> Such are not heretics, although their beliefs

<sup>59</sup> *Ep.* 222, 2 (PL 33, 999; CSEL 57, IV, 447).

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.* (CSEL, 448): "Cavendum, cum omnes (haereses) in numerum redigere conamur, ne praetermittamus aliquas, quamvis haereses sint; aut annumeremus aliquas, cum haereses non sint."

<sup>61</sup> *Quaest. sept. in Mt.*, XI, 1 (PL 35, 1367): "[haeretici] pravis opinionibus ad falsa dogmata convertuntur . . . bene intelliguntur haeretici, quia non societate unius Ecclesiae vel unius fidei, sed societate solius nominis christiani in hoc mundo permiscetur bonis . . . haeretici falsa credunt. . . ."

<sup>62</sup> *De util. cred.*, I, 1 (PL 42, 65; CSEL 25, ed. J. Zycha, 3).

<sup>63</sup> *De civ. Dei*, XVIII, 51, 1 (PL 41, 613; ed. Dombart-Kalb, II, 335): "Qui ergo in Ecclesia Christi morbidum aliquid pravumque sapiunt, si correpti ut sanum rectumque sapiant, resistunt contumaciter, suaque pestifera et mortifera dogmata emendare nolunt, sed defensare persistunt; haeretici fiunt, et foras exeuntes habentur in exercentibus inimicis." Cf. *De Gen. ad lit.*, 7, 9, 13 (PL 34, 360; CSEL 28, ed. J. Zycha, I, 208); *De bapt. contra*.

be erroneous, who *bona fide* are of the opinion that theirs is the teaching of the Church.<sup>64</sup> Nor are those to be deemed heretics who have inherited errors from their heretical parents, but are willing to abandon them when they have discovered the falsity of their beliefs.<sup>65</sup>

The place for heretics is to be outside the Church. For heresy makes one cease to be a member of the Church of Christ in which there must be unity of His doctrine. It can happen, however, that a Christian, apparently attached to the unity of the body of Christ and living in communion with other members, entertains steadfastly and unhesitatingly some erroneous belief about God or some revealed truth, but does not make his error known to others for fear of being expelled from the Church. Such a one, observes St. Augustine, must be considered a heretic: he or she does not really belong to the Church, the body of Christ, whose member he or she appears to be.<sup>66</sup> Moreover Augustine was convinced that in his time there were many such heretics concealed within the pale of the Church. They were expelled only then when they began to defend their error openly and to agitate the minds of the people.<sup>67</sup>

Heretics are classified along side of schismatics. So far as the violation of the Church's unity is concerned, heretics and schismatics belong to the same category: they do not belong to the one Church of Christ. St. Augustine remarks that it is frequently asked what difference there is between a heretic and a schismatic. He answers that what makes a heretic is diversity of belief; what makes a schismatic is disruption of social unity: the heretic is

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*Donat.*, 4, 16, 23 (PL 43, 169; CSEL 51, ed. M. Petschenig, I, 249); *Ep.* 43, 1, 1 (PL 33, 160; CSEL 34, ed. A. Goldbacher, II, 85).

<sup>64</sup> *Contra mend.*, III, 4 (PL 40, 521; CSEL 41, ed. J. Zycha, 474-75).

<sup>65</sup> *Ep.* 43, 1, 1 (PL 33, 160; CSEL 34, ed. A. Goldbacher, II, 85): "Sed qui sententiam suam, quamvis falsam atque perversam, nulla pertinaci animositate defendunt, praesertim quam non audacia praesumptionis suae pepererunt, sed a seductis atque in errorem lapsis parentibus acceperunt, quaerunt autem cauta sollicitudine veritatem, corrigi parati, cum invenerint, nequaquam sunt inter haereticos deputandi."

<sup>66</sup> *Quaest. sept. in Mt.*, XI, 1 and 2 (PL 36, 1367); *De bapt. contra Donat.*, IV, 16, 23 (PL 43, 169; CSEL 51, ed. M. Petschenig, I, 249).

<sup>67</sup> *Quaest. sept. in Mt.*, XI, 2 (PL 35, 1367-68).

opposed to unity of faith, the schismatic to unity of communion.<sup>68</sup>

Augustine does not furnish us with a definition of schism. In fact, he calls the Donatists at times schismatics, and at times heretics. Cresconius, a Donatist, resented having his fellow-Donatists called heretics.<sup>69</sup> He argued that the stigma of heresy can be applied to the Manichees, Arians, Marcionites, and the Novatians, but not to the Donatists, asserting that the teaching of the former groups is discordant with Catholic doctrine, whereas the Donatists have, with the Catholics, the same Christ, the same faith, the same religious observances and the same sacraments. This Donatist polemist not only registers an objection but also proposes a positive and trenchant description of what he believes to be the difference between heretics and schismatics. Heresies are factions believing different things: a schism is a separation believing the same. *Siquidem haeresis est diversa sequentium secta: schisma vero eadem sequentium separatio.*<sup>70</sup>

St. Augustine does not dissent from Cresconius' description of a heresy. Theoretically, a schism consists in the separation of some body or group of people from the true and living Church. Practically, however, such separatists, as experience shows, become also dissociated, as time goes on, from the doctrine which they once professed in the Church from which they separated themselves. It is only in communion with the living Church that the integrity and orthodoxy of the rule of faith can be preserved. Consequently the objection of Cresconius is the occasion for St. Augustine's distinction that schism is a recent separation (*recens dissensio*), whereas heresy is an old schism (*schisma inveteratum*).<sup>71</sup> The very Donatist faction afforded St. Augustine with

<sup>68</sup> *Quaest. sept. in Mt.*, XI, 2 (PL 35, 1367): "Solet autem etiam quaeri, schismatici quid ab haereticis distent; et hoc inveniri quod schismaticos non fides diversa faciat, sed communione disrupta societas."

<sup>69</sup> *Contra Cresc.*, II, 2, 3 (PL 43, 469; CSEL 52, ed. M. Petschenig, 363).

<sup>70</sup> *Contra Cresc.*, II, 3, 4 (PL 43, 469; CSEL 52, 363).

<sup>71</sup> *Contra Cresc.*, II, 7, 9 (PL 43, 471; CSEL 52, 367): "Proinde quamvis inter schisma et haeresim magis eam distinctionem approbem, qua dicitur schisma esse recens congregationis ex aliqua sententiarum diversitate dissensio—neque enim et schisma fieri potest, nisi diversum aliquid sequantur qui faciunt—haeresis autem, schisma inveteratum. . . ."



a classical doctrinal difference which he points out to Cresconius. You pretend to have the same sacraments as we do in the Catholic Church, yet you do not accept our baptism, but rebaptize those who come from the Church into your "part."<sup>72</sup> Is this not a doctrinal difference, and does it not constitute a heresy?

With the experience of barely three centuries of Church history behind him, Augustine was already able to lay down the rule that any separation from the Church of Christ could not remain a schism as such for any long period of time, but would necessarily transform itself into a heresy. Any faction severed from the source of truth, from the unbroken living stream of tradition, from the legitimate succession of authority established by Christ could not for any length of time make itself immune to heretical innovations. The principle which dominates St. Augustine's attitude toward heretics and schismatics is that he considers them as severed from the only body in which resides the life-giving Holy Ghost. And just as in severed members of the body, when there is neither life nor growth, they cannot remain what they were but withering and decomposition sets in, so also schismatics will deteriorate to heresy, and both heretics and schismatics are on the way to a long process of decay.

It is easy to ascertain those separations from the Church which take place in bodies or groups. They are visibly divided from Catholic unity, do not recognize established authority and do not communicate with the faithful of the universal Church. But St. Augustine also recognizes the existence of individual schismatics within the pale of the Church. Such as commit schismatic acts among the members of the Church sin against the Church's unity. There are such who envy the good and consequently try to stir up and foment dissension and create disunity. Although such persons do not separate themselves visibly from the unity of the Church, they are hidden schismatics. Corporally they appear to be a part of the Church, but in spirit they are already separated.<sup>73</sup>

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 5, 7 (PL 43, 471; CSEL 52, 366): "Una nobis vobisque religio est: quibus autem baptismus unus non est, non est una religio."

<sup>73</sup> *Quaest. sept. in Mt.*, XI, 2 (PL 35, 1367).

Whether a schismatic can be in good faith, remain outside the Church, and yet really belong to the Church and thereby attain salvation, St. Augustine nowhere explicitly determines. The Bishop of Hippo was engaged in a loud conflict with the Donatists; Christian Africa was divided into two distinct camps; the division had lasted many years; it had taken on violent forms; the Church and the State were interested; it was known to everyone. In a matter so violently agitated there was hardly any question of ignorance and hardly any room for good or bad faith. Augustine does not explicitly bring the distinction between schismatics in good or bad faith into the dispute.

By implication, however, it would seem that if there were such as found themselves outside of the Church through no fault of their own and who were ignorant of the issues, St. Augustine would not condemn them. He would rather go a long way in order to extenuate their case and even would try to justify them, as he does in the analogous case of unfortunate heretics who are in good faith. Authors,<sup>74</sup> therefore, who read the distinction between formal and material heretics and schismatics, as is current in the theology of our times, into the works of St. Augustine, apparently have good grounds for doing so, for the Saint differentiates between the culpable and inculpable schismatics, separated from the Church. Furthermore, if he is willing to allow them the attainment of salvation, he must also consider it possible for them to be inculpably outside the visible Church, and yet belong, in some manner or another, to that Church, which is the mystical body of Christ, because outside of it there is no salvation. However Augustine, who usually studies all phases of

<sup>74</sup> Of this opinion are: T. Specht, *Die Lehre von der Kirche nach dem hl. Augustin* (Paderborn: 1892), pp. 97-98; D. Zähringer, *Das kirchliche Priestertum nach dem hl. Augustinus* (Paderborn: 1931), p. 47. Of the same opinion is Schwane, Romeis, Mausbach, Walter, Krebs, Portalié, Weinand, Göller, Mersch and O. Heggelbacher, *Die Christliche Taufe nach dem Zeugnis der frühen Christenheit* (Freiburg in der Schweiz: 1953), pp. 179-80. Battifol, *Le catholicisme de saint Augustin* (Paris: 1929), p. 250, withholds his judgment; F. Hofmann, *Der Kirchenbegriff des hl. Augustinus* (München: 1933), p. 226, does not find this distinction in St. Augustine and consequently places all heretics and schismatics outside the pale of the Church and of salvation.

a doctrine in his polemical disputes, leaves this part of the doctrine on heretics and schismatics in good faith in relation to the Church almost unexplored.

## 2. THE HOLY GHOST OUTSIDE OF THE CHURCH

It has been shown that the Holy Ghost is the soul of but one Church, the Catholic Church, which is the mystical body of Christ. Just as in man there is one soul and one body, so there is one Holy Ghost and one mystical body. Whatever other churches there may be cannot claim to be the body of Christ, or to possess the Holy Ghost as their soul. However, when it is stated that Christ's Spirit is nowhere else as a soul, this does not mean that the Holy Ghost is so confined to the Church that He is not found elsewhere at all. As the Church's unique soul, He is in that capacity in the mystical body and only in it; He is God and as such He is everywhere present. Together with the Father and the Son, He is active in the order of nature, creating, sustaining, concurring with the actions of creatures. He operates likewise in the order of supernature enlightening the minds of men and drawing their wills to the universal source of sanctification, the mystical body of Christ.

Pasquier Quesnel, imbued with the teaching of Baius and Jansenius,<sup>75</sup> wrote that no grace was granted outside the Church.<sup>76</sup> This statement is neither in conformity with the teaching of the Catholic Church<sup>77</sup> nor in accordance with the doctrine of St. Augustine. The large masses of pagans and the numerous separated churches are not without some beneficial influence of the Holy Ghost. The analogy of the body and soul does not serve to illustrate the relation of the Holy Ghost to the outside world,

<sup>75</sup> Both Michael Baius (de Bay) and Cornelius Jansenius (Jansen) were steeped in the writings of St. Augustine. In fact, the aim of Jansenius in his work *Augustinus*, published posthumously, was to restore the genuine doctrine of St. Augustine on grace, which was supposedly abandoned or at least obscured for a long time in the Church.

<sup>76</sup> "Extra Ecclesiam nulla conceditur gratia."

<sup>77</sup> C. Du Plessis d'Argentré, *Collectio Judiciorum de novis erroribus, qui ab initio XII saeculi . . . usque ad a. 1733 in Ecclesia proscripti sunt et notati* (Lutetiae Parisiorum: 1755 ss), III, II, 462 ss. This doctrine and many others of Quesnel were condemned by Pope Clement XI (1700-1721) in the *Constitutio dogmatica* "Unigenitus," Sept. 8, 1713.

and Augustine does not use it for this purpose. But as the sun which in its substance is confined to the heavens sends forth its invigorating rays to all parts of the world and affects all creatures, bringing life, exuberance and joy to them all, so, too, the Holy Spirit is operative in the hearts of all men, although He resides by way of inhabitation in the souls of the just and the mystical body of Christ.

It was the Holy Ghost who manifested Himself through fiery tongues on that first Pentecost of the Church. He testified through this appearance to the universal character of the Church that He was introducing to the world. It was His work that brought men of every race into the Church that was in the visible process of formation at Jerusalem. He was then forming the body of Christ around the apostles and first disciples as a core. From that day on to our times He is its soul—principle of unity, cohesion, and life. But He continues His work on the outside of the temple which He inhabits and outside of the body which He animates. He imparts His light to the minds of men outside the Church for without His aid faith and charity cannot be engendered in the minds and hearts of men. In doing this He draws them to the only source of the life of grace—the mystical body of Christ—and to the only institution of salvation, the Catholic Church.<sup>78</sup>

The doctrine concerning the activity of the Holy Ghost in the souls of infidels is fundamentally involved in the strifes with the Pelagians and Semipelagians. A basic issue was whether faith originated from man or from God. Faith, insisted St. Augustine against the Pelagian errors, does not depend primarily upon the efforts of our own will, but upon the call of God. In order to believe we must have the beckoning of God—the *vocatio fidei*, the *vocatio Dei*. Consequently this call of God to embrace the faith precedes all merit,<sup>79</sup> and even free will itself, for no one can believe who is not called. God thus causes the good will itself by

<sup>78</sup> *Sermo* 270, 6 (PL 38, 1243): "Ipse Spiritus sanctus colligit nos. . . . Congregatur enim unitas corporis Christi ex omnibus linguis, per omnes scilicet gentes toto terrarum orbe diffusas."

<sup>79</sup> *Contra duas ep. Pelag.*, I, 19, 37 (PL 44, 567–68; CSEL 60, ed. C. Urba et J. Zycha, 453–54); *De grat. et lib. arb.*, 31 (PL 44, 899).



virtue of which man is inclined to believe and wants to believe.<sup>80</sup> Because the call to faith is unmerited it is called the grace of faith.<sup>81</sup> "The faith in thee," says St. Augustine, "is a gift of God."<sup>82</sup>

The call to faith may be external or internal. Usually God makes use of external means, such as preaching of the Gospel by missionaries, to make infidels embrace the faith. But even the call of the preacher would be futile unless it were accompanied by the call of God affecting the inward man.<sup>83</sup> The intellect must be enlightened, the will must be drawn. Following in the footsteps of St. John, who gives us Christ's own words: "No one is able to come to me unless the Father draw him,"<sup>84</sup> St. Augustine designates the grace of calling to faith a *tractio*—a drawing. To come to Christ is to be converted to Christ through faith.<sup>85</sup>

It is through faith that we come to Christ and enter into the Church which is His mystical body. Faith is a divine gift, but the way leading to faith is prepared by the Holy Ghost. Regeneration and sanctification are His works.<sup>86</sup> He draws and aids infidels to become faithful,<sup>87</sup> He sanctifies those that are already

<sup>80</sup> *De div. quaest. ad Simpl.*, I, 2, 7 (PL 40, 115); I, 2, 12 (PL 40, 117): "Etiam ipsam bonam voluntatem in nobis operandi Dei fieri." Cf. A. Tymczak, *Nauka Św. Augustyna o Wierze* (Przemyśl: 1933), pp. 137 ff.

<sup>81</sup> *De div. quaest. ad Simpl.*, I, 2, 2 (PL 40, 111).

<sup>82</sup> *Sermo* 168, I, 1 (PL 38, 911).

<sup>83</sup> *De spir. et litt.*, 60 (PL 44, 240; CSEL 60, ed. C. Urba et J. Zycha, 220): "Visorum suasionibus agit Deus, ut velimus et ut credamus, sive extrinsecus per evangelicas exhortationes, ubi et mandata legis aliquid agunt, si ad hoc admonent hominem infirmitatis suae, ut ad gratiam justificantem credendo confugiat, sive intrinsecus, ubi nemo habet in potestate quid ei veniat in mentem, sed consentire, vel dissentire propriae voluntatis est." Cf. *De grat. et lib. arb.*, 43 (PL 44, 909); *De dono pers.*, 35 (PL 45, 1014).

<sup>84</sup> *John* 6:44.

<sup>85</sup> *Ep.* 194, 3, 11, and 12 (PL 33, 878; CSEL 57, ed. A. Goldbacher, IV, 185); *De grat. et lib. arb.*, 10 (PL 44, 888); *In Io. Ev. tr.* 26 (PL 35, 1606). In his commentaries upon St. John, St. Augustine has much occasion to speak of grace, and touches precisely upon this doctrine against the Pelagians although he prescinds from using their name. Cf. M. Comeau, *Saint Augustin, exégète du quatrième évangile* (Paris: 1930), p. 214.

<sup>86</sup> E.g., *Expositio quarundam propositionum ex ep. ad Rom.*, 61 (PL 35, 2079). Cf. M. Löhrer, *Der Glaubensbegriff des hl. Augustinus in seinen ersten Schriften bis zu den Confessiones* (Einsiedeln: 1955), p. 247.

<sup>87</sup> *Ep.* 194, 4, 18 (PL 33, 880; CSEL 57, ed. A. Goldbacher, IV, 190): "[Spiritus Sanctus] nondum inhabitans adjuvat ut sint fideles."

faithful. It is the mission of the Holy Ghost to be active outside of the Church; it is His office to sanctify within the Church. Outside of the Church He draws like a magnet toward the Church; within the Church like a soul He animates those who form it. The purpose of His activity within and outside is to regenerate, to sanctify, and to save. His mission of salvation cannot be exercised independently of the already established institution of salvation. Hence He imparts the grace of faith in order to incorporate those begotten in faith through baptism into the body of Christ. The Holy Ghost is not only operative in the infidels through the *vocatio fidei*, but is also solicitous about drawing back into the Church brethren separated by heresy or schism.<sup>88</sup>

In studying the relations of the Holy Ghost to man standing outside of the Church, there is one case that particularly strikes us. It is that of Cornelius the centurion. Its frequent repetition in the works of St. Augustine indicates that it presented a problem to solve and a lesson to convey. Even before the reception of the visible sacrament, he is said to have been cleansed (*mundatus*),<sup>89</sup> justified (*justificatus*),<sup>90</sup> and sanctified (*sanctificatus*).<sup>91</sup> Indeed, all these predicates are to be considered as the effects of the activity of the Holy Ghost. But the Doctor proceeds farther and directly brings in the very person of the Holy Ghost. For he explicitly asserts that Cornelius received objectively the gift of the Holy Ghost,<sup>92</sup> or the Holy Ghost Himself, by whom he and his associates were invisibly sanctified, in opposition to that sanctification which is visible through the sacrament of baptism;<sup>93</sup> and,

<sup>88</sup> *In Io. Ev. tr.* 7, 3 (PL 35, 1439).

<sup>89</sup> *Quaes. in Hept.* (in Num.), 4, 33 (PL 34, 735; CSEL 28, ed. J. Zycha, II, 346).

<sup>90</sup> *De bapt. contra Donat.*, IV, 21, 28 (PL 43, 173; CSEL 51, ed. M. Petschenig, 257).

<sup>91</sup> *Quaes. in Hept.* (in Lev.), 3, 84 (PL 34, 713; CSEL 28, ed. J. Zycha, II, 306).

<sup>92</sup> *Quaest. in Hept.* (in Lev.), 4, 33 (PL 34, 735; CSEL 28, II, 346): "Cornelius audiens et credens quod praedicaverat Petrus, ita mundatus est, ut ante visibilem baptismum, cum suis qui aderant, acciperet donum Spiritus sancti; verum tamen nec visibile sacramentum contemni potuit, ut ablatus etiam extrinsecus, lavaret quodammodo vestimenta sua."

<sup>93</sup> *Quaest. in Hept.*, 3, 84 (PL 34, 713; CSEL 28, II, 306): "Hinc est quod Cornelius et qui cum eo erant, cum jam invisibiliter infuso sancto Spiritu sanctificati apparerent, baptizati sunt tamen (Act. Apost. 10:44-48); nec superflua iudicata est visibilis sanctificatio, quam invisibilis jam praecesserat."

finally, in the strongest terms yet, he states that Cornelius and his group were filled with the Holy Ghost.<sup>94</sup>

One is inclined to infer from these unequivocal, repeated, and studied assertions that sanctification and justification, together with the Holy Ghost who causes them, are obtainable outside of the Church, at least in some such exceptional cases as the one described. The Saint even compares this gift of the Holy Ghost to that which, according to the testimonies of Sacred Scripture, those that are legitimately baptized ordinarily receive.<sup>95</sup> And yet in a statement made in the same work, he discloses that Cornelius (and his friends), even with his acquisition of the Holy Ghost, was not yet qualified for salvation—*ad capessandum regnum coelorum*.

The good deeds of Cornelius were the cause of him being cleansed and justified, but Augustine now introduces a distinction to clarify his former statements. The pagan centurion attained a certain inchoate stage of sanctification (*ad quendam modum*), but not such a measure of it that would be sufficient for the attainment of the kingdom of heaven. A salutary degree of sanctification cannot be obtained without belonging to the body of Christ. Augustine explicitly states that the prayers and good works of the Roman gentile would have been unprofitable, had he not become a member of the body of Christ.<sup>96</sup> Cornelius'

<sup>94</sup> *Contra ep. Parm.*, II, 15, 34 (PL 43, 76; CSEL 51, ed. M. Petschenig, 88): "... et constituto jam ordine Ecclesiae, centurionem Cornelium ante ipsum baptismum, ante impositionem manus cum eis qui secum erant eodem Spiritu sancto repletum, Petrus ipse miratus est."

<sup>95</sup> *De bapt. contra Donat.*, IV, 22, 29 (PL 43, 173; CSEL 51, ed. M. Petschenig, 257): "Nam multo magis in Cornelio et in amicis ejus, quam in illo latrone, posset videri superfluum ut aqua etiam tingeretur, in quibus jam donum Spiritus sancti, quod nonnisi baptizatos alios accepisse sancta Scriptura testatur, certo quoque indicio, quod illis temporibus congruebat, cum linguis loquerentur, eminuerat, baptizati sunt tamen: et in hoc facto apostolica exstat auctoritas."

<sup>96</sup> Accordingly we may judge the statement on this topic made by A. J. Gendreau, *Sancti Augustini Doctrina de Baptismo* (Baltimore: 1939), p. 75: "Secundum exemplum talis justificationis affert, scribens de Cornelio, quem jam donum Spiritus Sancti etiam non baptizatum accepisse sancta Scriptura testatur, quum ipse et amici ejus linguis loquerentur; plane justificati sunt viri illi etiam sine baptismo." It is true as far as it goes—yet this justification which is to be qualified does not go the whole length of justification, as we understand it today. Augustine requires incorporation

incorporation into the mystical body of Christ was accomplished by the reception of the sacrament of baptism.<sup>97</sup>

Nor have the prayers of Cornelius the Gentile been unheard. . . . But whatever good there was in his prayers and almsgivings, could not benefit him, unless he were incorporated into the Church by the bonds of Christian society and peace; he is ordered to go to Peter, and through him he learns Christ; baptized by him (Peter), he is joined to the communion of the Christian people, to whom he was united only by a likeness of good deeds.<sup>98</sup>

From the instance of Cornelius it can be seen how Augustine insists in his polemical works against the Donatists on the necessity of the reception of baptism, which for him is a visible guarantee that one is a member of the Church.

The same view is expressed in an earlier, but unpolemical work, viz., *De diversis quaestionibus*, written in 397 to Simplician. Here, too, Augustine makes a clear-cut distinction between the "grace of faith" (*gratia fidei*) which does not suffice for obtaining the kingdom of heaven and that fullness of justification which is accompanied with membership in the body of Christ and with the indwelling of the Holy Ghost in our souls. What makes the difference between an actual grace and the state of grace, between partial and full justification, between an inchoate life and a consummate state? In the inchoate stages of sanctification there is only the activity of the Holy Ghost in the soul of those outside of the Church, but in the consummate state, there is an individual indwelling of the Holy Ghost in the soul of the just man and a union with the Holy Ghost in the mystical body of Christ. By receiving the sacrament of baptism one becomes visibly sanctified in a permanent way by being incorporated into the body of Christ which is animated by the Holy Ghost.

The distinction which Augustine implies, but does not express

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into the Church through the sacrament for full justification and makes eternal salvation dependent upon actual inherence in the body of Christ through the sacrament of baptism.

<sup>97</sup> *De bapt. contra Donat.*, IV, 22, 29 (PL 43, 173; CSEL 51, ed. M. Petschenig, 257).

<sup>98</sup> *De bapt. contra Donat.*, I, 8, 10 (PL 43, 115; CSEL 51, ed. M. Petschenig, 155).



in this doctrine of the supernatural life and order, is what is termed actual grace and habitual grace. The process of justification takes place in those outside the Church under the influence of the workings of the Holy Ghost through actual grace; accession to the membership in the Church by virtue of the sacrament of baptism betokens the existence of habitual grace and a lasting state of justification. Joined to Christ's body, we now live by the life of Christ the head, and participate in the Holy Ghost who is the abiding soul of that body and the abiding indweller of our soul. For this reason, after his first experiences with the Holy Ghost, Cornelius is said to have been conceived, whereas after the reception of the sacrament of baptism to have been born to a new life.<sup>99</sup>

It follows then that baptism is necessary for, what we may call, full justification, incorporation into the Church and salvation. On this absolute necessity of baptism, however, as the consummating point of full justification, St. Augustine is not too steadfast. Up until about A.D. 400 he wavers. Whilst, on the one side, he urges its absolute necessity, on the other, he admits cases where baptism can be supplanted by other means. Thus he allows that in case someone suffers the death of a martyr, his blood is a substitute for the waters of baptism. He also asserts that as a result of much consideration he came to the conclusion that "faith and conversion of heart" can produce the same effect as the baptismal fount, if the pressure of circumstances does not permit one to be brought to it.<sup>100</sup> Soon afterwards<sup>101</sup>—after A.D. 400—he abandons the substitutes just enumerated, at least the latter—the *fides* and

<sup>99</sup> *De div. quaest. ad Simpl.*, I, 2, 2 (PL 40, 111), composed in 397.

<sup>100</sup> *De bapt. contra Donat.*, IV, 22, 29 (PL 43, 173; CSEL 51, ed. M. Petschenig, I, 257): "Baptismi sane vicem aliquando implere passionem, de latrone illo cui non baptizato dictum est, 'Hodie mecum eris in paradiso' (Lc. 23:43), non leve documentum idem beatus Cyprianus assumit: quod etiam atque etiam considerans, invenio non tantum passionem pro nomine Christi id quod ex baptismo deerat posse supplere, sed etiam fidem conversionemque cordis, si forte ad celebrandum mysterium baptismi in angustiis temporum succurri non potest. . . . Sed tunc impletur invisibiliter cum ministerium baptismi non contemptus religionis, sed articulus necessitatis excludit."

<sup>101</sup> Cf. K. Adam, *Die Eucharistielehre des hl. Augustinus* (Paderborn: 1908), p. 129; D. Zähringer, *Das kirchliche Priestertum nach dem hl. Augustinus* (Paderborn: 1931), p. 212; A. S. Gendreau, *Sancti Augustini Doctrina De Baptismo* (Baltimore: 1939), p. 81.

*conversio cordis in angustiis temporum*—and passes on to profess the absolute necessity of baptism for eternal salvation.

It is the view of some scholars that St. Augustine changed his mind, as far as adults are concerned, on the unconditional necessity of baptism for salvation around 418 and allowed other extra-sacramental means to replace it under certain conditions. But this opinion is not borne out by his writings. On the contrary he corrects the statements made at an earlier period allowing, in certain circumstances, for extra-baptismal justification.<sup>102</sup> Even at the end of his life when he reviewed all his works, correcting or reinterpreting his doctrines, he did not reinstate these extra-baptismal means for justification, but withdrew them. Hence the views expressed on extra-sacramental substitutes for baptism by Battifol,<sup>103</sup> Mura,<sup>104</sup> and Gendreau<sup>105</sup> were entertained by St.

<sup>102</sup> *De anima et ejus orig.*, I, 9, 11 (PL 44, 480; CSEL 60, ed. C. Urba and J. Zycha, 311).

<sup>103</sup> The annotation made by P. Battifol, *Le catholicisme de Saint Augustin* (4 éd.; Paris: 1929), p. 239, that the Bishop teaches also the possibility of incorporation into the body of Christ by faith alone does not stand in accord with what has been just said; but neither does this statement find sufficient premises in what is adduced by the renowned author from the writings of St. Augustine. Let us examine his assertion and texts supporting it. He says: "La rigueur d'Augustin sur ce point est corrigée ailleurs, en ce qui concerne les adultes par cette considération que Dieu, en leur faisant la grâce de la foi, peut par cette foi les incorporer au corps du Christ: 'In quibusdam tanta (gratia fidei) est ut jam corpori Christi et sancto Dei templo deputentur.' *De div. quaes. ad Simplicianum*, I, quaest. II, 2. Rapprocher *De Bapt.* IV, 29: '... invenio non tantum passionem pro nomine Christi id quod ex baptismo deerat posse supplere, sed etiam fidem conversionemque cordis, si forte ad celebrandum mysterium baptismi in angustiis temporum succurri non potest.' Et tel est le cas du bon larron." So much is his. Now with regard to the first testimony which is adduced from the book *De div. quaes. ad Simp.* beginning with: "In quibusdam. . ." It must be said that in order to attain that grace "ut jam corpori Christi et sancto Dei templo deputentur" precisely the sacrament of baptism is presupposed; that grace by means of which we are incorporated is consequent upon the sacrament. This lies in the very text quoted. St. Augustine distinguishes between grace and grace, or, as he not so fortunately expresses it, between degree of grace and degree of grace. Catechumens have grace, which however is not sufficient for incorporation; after baptism they receive grace by means of which they are inserted into the body of Christ. Here is the whole passage from St. Augustine: "Sed interest quibus articulis temporum vel celebratione sacramentorum gratia plenior et evidenter infundatur. Non enim catechumeni non credunt, aut vero Cornelius non credebat Deo, cum eleemosynis et orationibus dignum se praeberet cui angelus mitteretur: sed

Augustine before the year 400, but had been changed after that time in favor of a less compromising attitude.

In adopting the rigorous view of the indispensability of the sacrament of baptism as the only means for salvation, St. Augustine drifted from the doctrine of tradition. The foregoing Fathers taught that under certain pressing circumstances the rightful intention created a sufficient disposition in the soul to induce God to justify it by the infusion of His grace. There are evidences of this traditional doctrine in the earlier works of the Bishop, but

nullo modo ista operaretur, nisi ante credidisset; nullo modo autem credidisset, nisi vel secretis per visa mentis aut spiritus, vel manifestioribus per sensus corporis admonitionibus vocaretur. Sed in quibusdam tanta est gratia fidei, quanta non sufficit ad obtinendum regnum coelorum; sicut in catechumenis, sicut in ipso Cornelio *antequam sacramentorum participatione incorporaretur Ecclesiae*. In quibusdam vero tanta est, ut jam corpori Christi et sancto Dei templo deputentur. 'Templum enim Dei sanctum est,' inquit apostolus, 'quod estis vos' (I Cor. 3:17). Et ipse Dominus, '*Nisi quis renatus fuerit ex aqua et Spiritu sancto, non intrabit in regnum coelorum*' (John 3:15). Fiunt ergo inchoationes quaedam fidei, conceptionibus similes: non tamen solum concipi, sed etiam nasci opus est, ut ad vitam perveniatur aeternam."

The sense of the second testimony quoted in the above passage is to be granted; it is to be noted however that those words proceed from the year 400, about the time that the African Bishop lapses into his rigorism. So that the change is from the more lenient to the more severe and not vice versa, as Battifol indicates.

"Et tel est le cas du bon larron." It is also true that St. Augustine quotes this as the example of a particular case in which salvation may be obtained without the sacrament. But even with regard to this example he manifested his change of mind in *Retract.*, II, 18 (PL 32, 638): "In quarto libro (*De bapt.* c. 22, n. 29) cum dicerem 'vicem baptismi posse habere passionem' non satis idoneum posui illius latronis exemplum, qui utrum fuerit baptizatus, incertum est." In another passage of a later date than the work *De bapt. contra Donat.*, namely, from the year 419, he asserts that the good thief was baptized by the water flowing from the side of the dying Jesus: *De anima et ejus orig.*, I, 9, 11 (PL 44, 480; CSEL 60, 311).

<sup>104</sup> E. Mura, *Le Corps Mystique du Christ* (Paris: 1936), I, 205: "Mais comme on peut recevoir l'effet du baptême par le désir, au moins implicite, qu'on en a, de même peut-on bénéficier du bienfait de l'incorporation, et des influences vivifiantes de l'âme du Christ total, par cette appartenance de désir, *in voto*, à l'unité du Corps mystique."

<sup>105</sup> A. S. Gendreau, *Sancti Augustini Doctrina de Baptismo* (Baltimore: 1939), p. 81: "Sententiam suam mutavit aliquod post annos (that is around or after 418). Ergo legitime concludendum esse videtur quod, etsi non praeclare dicat quomodo salvi fieri possint hujusmodi homines, attamen clare affirmat eos posse salvos fieri, sed etiam hoc gratiae Dei debetur."

the strife with the Donatists, so recent and so turbulent, diverted him from it and led him to make the unqualified requirement of visible membership in the one true Church. The visible sign of belonging to the right visible Church was the sacrament of regeneration received in it. Baptism was the door by which one made his entrance into the *Catholica*; baptism was the regenerating life by which one was incorporated into the mystical body of Christ. And thus in the course of the controversy Augustine abandoned the extra-sacramental means of justification which would function in exceptional cases and under certain circumstances in favor of the visibly administered and visibly received sacrament of baptism.

As the Donatist strife was ending Augustine found himself deeply engaged in the fray with Pelagianism, an adversary more universal and more insidious than the Donatist. The doctrine of grace and the whole supernatural order were at stake. Against their teaching St. Augustine takes the position that the sacrament of baptism cannot be replaced by other means either for adults or infants if they are to attain salvation, since salvation is inseparable from membership in the Church and the only means of entry into the Church is through the visible sacrament.

As for infants, the question was one of the more important disputed points between St. Augustine and the Pelagians. The Pelagians did not admit the existence of original sin;<sup>106</sup> consequently they denied the need of baptism for the remission of it. It was necessary however, they said, for the remission of the personal sins committed by adults; and as far as children are concerned it sanctified them without any remission of sin<sup>107</sup> and opened to them the kingdom of heaven.<sup>108</sup> They distinguished, therefore, between the kingdom of heaven (*regnum coelorum*) and eternal

<sup>106</sup> *Contra duas ep. Pel.*, IV, 2, 2 (PL 44, 611; CSEL 60, ed. C. Urba and J. Zycha, 521-22): "... ad hoc referre conantur, ut non sit originale peccatum." Cf. *ibid.*, IV, 2, 2 (PL 44, 609-10; CSEL 60, 520-21).

<sup>107</sup> *De pec. mer. et remis.*, III, 6, 12 (PL 44, 193; CSEL 60, ed. C. Urba and J. Zycha, 139): "Non ideo parvulos baptizari, ut remissionem accipiant peccatorum, sed ut sanctificentur in Christo."

<sup>108</sup> *Contra duas ep. Pel.*, I, 22, 40 (PL 44, 570; CSEL 60, ed. C. Urba and J. Zycha, 457): "Parvulis videlicet baptismum necessarium non propter remissionem peccatorum, sed tantummodo propter regnum coelorum."



life (*vita aeterna*). Without baptism children can attain eternal life outside of the kingdom of heaven.<sup>109</sup>

Opposed to these Pelagian tenets is the doctrine of St. Augustine that all men are born in sin and all are freed from it by Christ.<sup>110</sup> Christ has become the head of mankind through His incarnation;<sup>111</sup> through His passion and death He has taken definitive possession of His body, the Church,<sup>112</sup> and communicated to it the fruits of His redemptive work.<sup>113</sup> Baptism, instituted by Christ and confided to His Church, is the token of Christ's death,<sup>114</sup> the destroyer of original sin,<sup>115</sup> and the sacrament of incorporation into the Church, the body of Christ.<sup>116</sup> Since the Church of Christ is necessary for salvation, so too the sacrament of incorporation is necessary.<sup>117</sup> For through this sacrament not only adults but also infants receive the Holy Ghost,<sup>118</sup> grace,<sup>119</sup> charity<sup>120</sup>—all of which are identified with a new spiritual life.<sup>121</sup>

<sup>109</sup> *Ibid.*: "Datis enim eis extra regnum Dei locum salutis et vitae aeternae, etiamsi non fuerint baptizati." Cf. *Ep.* 178, 1 (PL 33, 773; CSEL 44, ed. A. Goldbacher, III, 689-90); *Sermo* 294, 1-7 (PL 38, 1336, 1339); *Ep. Innocentii I ad Conc. Milev.* (PL 33, 784, 786; CSEL 44, III, 715-23; PL 20, 588, 593).

<sup>110</sup> *De pecc. mer. et remis.*, II, 30, 49 (PL 44, 180-81; CSEL 60, 120).

<sup>111</sup> *Enar. in Ps.* 118, *Sermo* 19, 6 (PL 37, 1556).

<sup>112</sup> *De Gen. contra Manich.*, II, 24, 37 (PL 34, 216); *In Io. Ev. tr.* 15, 8 (PL 35, 1513); *Sermo* 5, 3 (PL 38, 55).

<sup>113</sup> *De pecc. mer. et remis.*, I, 26, 39 (PL 44, 131; CSEL 60, ed. C. Urba and J. Zycha, 37).

<sup>114</sup> *De spir. et litt.*, 6, 10 (PL 44, 205; CSEL 60, ed. C. Urba and J. Zycha, 162).

<sup>115</sup> *Contra Jul.*, II, 10, 32 (PL 44, 697).

<sup>116</sup> *Contra Jul.*, VI, 9, 27 (PL 44, 838).

<sup>117</sup> *De pec. mer. et remis.*, I, 23, 33 (PL 44, 128; CSEL 60, ed. C. Urba and J. Zycha, 32): "In cuius regnum non intrabit nisi qui renatus fuerit ex aqua et Spiritu sancto."

<sup>118</sup> *Op. imp. contra Jul.*, IV, 7 (PL 45, 1343).

<sup>119</sup> *De pec. mer. et remis.*, I, 39, 70 (PL 44, 150; CSEL 60, ed. C. Urba and J. Zycha, 70): "In parvulis certe gratia Dei per baptismum ejus qui venit in similitudinem carnis peccati id agitur ut evacuetur caro peccati."

<sup>120</sup> *Op. imp. contra Jul.*, II, 165 (PL 45, 1212).

<sup>121</sup> *Contra Jul.*, VI, 9, 27 (PL 44, 838): "Non autem habere parvulos vitam, nisi habeant Christum quem procul dubio habere non possunt, nisi induerint eum, eo modo quo scriptum est, 'Quotquot in Christo baptizati estis, Christum induistis' (Gal. 3:27): ergo eos non habere vitam, nisi habeant Christum."

St. Augustine asserts against the Pelagians that there is no *medius locus* between the kingdom of God and hell for unbaptized children. There can be no eternal life outside of the kingdom of God, which is the same as the kingdom of heaven. Who does not attain the kingdom of God is subject to damnation.<sup>122</sup> The Bishop of Hippo expressly places unbaptized children in this category, and subjects them to the punishment not only of the loss of God (*poena damni*) but also of the pains of fire (*poena sensus*). To the objection of a Pelagian that it would be cruel for God to punish in this manner infants who have neither merited nor demerited,<sup>123</sup> Augustine asserts that their punishment will be the least of all pains (*mitissima omnium poena*),<sup>124</sup> although he confesses that he does not know what kind of suffering and how much of it will fall to their lot.<sup>125</sup> Some subsequent Fathers, upon whom St. Augustine exerted a powerful influence as St. Fulgentius,<sup>126</sup> St. Gregory,<sup>127</sup> and St. Anselm<sup>128</sup> have adopted this view of the Bishop of Hippo.

Augustine returns to the case of Cornelius—"this exceptional case"<sup>129</sup>—in his treatise "On the Presence of God," written in 417, at a time when Augustine reached a high degree of theological maturity. In this small, but precious work, in answer to a query of a certain Dardanus, Augustine expatiates *ex professo* on the modes of the presence of God. The creator can be present in the universe in four ways (the same doctrine can be expressed

<sup>122</sup> *Sermo* 294, 3, 3 (PL 38, 1336): "Hoc novum in Ecclesia prius inauditum est: esse vitam aeternam praeter regnum coelorum, esse salutem aeternam praeter regnum Dei. . . . Nullus relictus est medius locus, ubi ponere queas infantes."

<sup>123</sup> *Op. imp. contra Jul.*, I, 48 (PL 45, 1070).

<sup>124</sup> *Enchir.*, 93 (PL 40, 275).

<sup>125</sup> *Contra Jul.*, V, 11, 44 (PL 44, 809): "Quis dubitaverit parvulos non baptizatos, qui solum habent originale peccatum nec ullis propriis meritis aggravantur, in damnatione omnium levissima futuros? Quae qualis et quanta erit, quamvis definire non possim, non tamen audeo dicere, quod iis ut nulli essent, quam ut ibi essent, potius expediret."

<sup>126</sup> *De fide ad Petrum*, 27, 68 (PL 65, 701).

<sup>127</sup> *Moral.*, IX, 21, 32 (PL 75, 876-77).

<sup>128</sup> *De conceptu virginali*, 23 f. (PL 158, 457 f.).

<sup>129</sup> *Sermo* 269, 2 (PL 38, 1253): ". . . quod singulare occurrit exemplum, eum (Spiritus) ante baptismum percepisse. . . ."

in stating that creatures can participate in God in four ways):

1. The first mode of the divine omnipresence is the divine inbeing in the creation. Nothing can be created out of nothing unless there is an omnipotent power to create, and nothing can continue in existence after it is created unless the divine omnipotence continues, as it were, to reside with the created object sustaining it in existence. This constitutes the divine omnipresence which is conceived by St. Augustine not so much as a static abidance in the created universe but rather as a dynamic inbeing in it. The divine immensity is an absolute attribute of God, true of Him even if no creation took place; by virtue of His perfection God would be made present to all realities as soon as they exist without any local accession.<sup>130</sup> The divine presence permeates the whole universe, but it is also pervasive of each, even the minutest creature. However, the diffusion of God through the universe is not to be envisaged as the physical extension of material beings, but rather according to the manner that qualities are present in bodies, which whether large or small, do not determine the size of the inherent qualities. Thus a large and a small man may be equally healthy.<sup>131</sup>

God is not present in the universe as material beings are. These occupy the whole place and the corresponding parts of the material being occupy the corresponding parts of place. God is present in the universe in the manner that a soul is present in the human body; the soul is whole in the entire body and at the same time whole in each part of that body: *in toto (corpore) tota est, et in qualibet parte tota est*.<sup>132</sup> God is present in and to the whole universe in such a manner as to be entirely in the whole universe and entirely in every part of creation, including the minutest and most insignificant part.<sup>133</sup> God is everywhere whole (*ubique totus*);<sup>134</sup> He is everywhere whole at the same time (*ubique simul totus*).<sup>135</sup> And just as the soul is present in the body by a certain

<sup>130</sup> S. J. Grabowski, *The All-Present God: A Study in St. Augustine* (St. Louis: 1954), p. 121.

<sup>131</sup> *Ep.* 187, 4, 13 (PL 33, 836; CSEL 57, ed. A. Goldbacher, IV, 91-92).

<sup>132</sup> *De Trin.*, VI, 6, 8 (PL 42, 929).

<sup>133</sup> *Ep.* 187, 5, 17 (PL 33, 838; CSEL 57, ed. A. Goldbacher, IV, 95).

<sup>134</sup> *Sermo* 277, 13 13 (PL 38, 1264-65).

<sup>135</sup> *De symb. ad. catech.*, II, 2 (PL 40, 662).

vitalizing power (*quadam vitali intentione*),<sup>136</sup> so likewise the presence of God is to be conceived primarily as dynamic, creating, and sustaining.

The one God who is universally and wholly present to the universe in this manner is the Trinity: Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. Although this type of presence is simply associated with God, or the divine nature, yet it is mentioned also in connection with the divine persons. Thus, the Holy Ghost is said to be present in this wise not only to the universe<sup>137</sup> but also to the human body. The spiritual presence of the soul, suffused throughout the body and the omnipresence of the Holy Ghost do not preclude each other, but they can co-exist even in a sinful soul.<sup>138</sup>

2. There is a higher mode of divine presence than that already described. St. Augustine carefully and emphatically distinguishes between the universal presence of God and His indwelling presence. The former is general, essential, and indispensable; the latter is special, gratuitous, and voluntary. It is an attribute of His divinity to be everywhere totally present (*per divinitatis praesentiam*); it is a condescension of His grace to dwell in human beings (*per habitationis gratiam*). The Bishop sees in the divine omnipresence a perfection of the creator and a need of the creature, but he considers the indwelling of God in the soul of man as something wonderful and as a token of God's love (*gratia dilectionis*).<sup>139</sup> The presence of indwelling is usually attributed to the Holy Ghost, who is said to dwell in the soul of the just man, but it is also expressly attributed to the Father and the Son, according to the principle of the Trinitarian theology that all extra-divine action is common to all three divine persons.

It is called the presence of divine inhabitation because it is likened to the presence of God in a temple, where He is envisaged as dwelling in a special manner.<sup>140</sup> Nor does He dwell in all men as in a temple, but in only those who have been regenerated.<sup>141</sup>

<sup>136</sup> *De orig. anim.*, II, 4 (PL 33, 722; CSEL 44, 551).

<sup>137</sup> *De div. quaest. ad Simpl.*, II, 1, 5 (PL 40, 133).

<sup>138</sup> *Ep.* 187, 4, 15 (PL 33, 837; CSEL 57, ed. A. Goldbacher, IV, 92).

<sup>139</sup> *Ibid.*, 5, 16 (PL 33, 837; CSEL 57, ed. A. Goldbacher, IV, 92); 5, 17 (PL 33, 838; CSEL 57, IV, 94).

<sup>140</sup> *Ibid.*, 13, 38 (PL 33, 847; CSEL 57, IV, 115).

<sup>141</sup> *Ibid.*, 12, 35 (PL 33, 845; CSEL 57, IV, 113).



In regeneration through baptism by some mysterious power of God, men are made the temples of God.<sup>142</sup> But even in those in whom God dwells, He does not dwell in equal intensity, in equal fullness: dwelling in men "He is received by some more, by others less" (*capitur autem habitans, ab aliis amplius, ab aliis minus*).<sup>143</sup> Justification admits of degrees; further sanctification depends on merit; final glorification will be as unequal in men as their salutary deeds and lives have been unequal upon earth.

Whether we consider God as present in the universe, or whether we consider Him as present in the soul of man by way of indwelling, the divine inbeing is primarily envisaged as an active one. Although technical terms are not used to designate two diverse orders, it is evident that the one divine action pertains to the natural order of things, the other to the supernatural order. By virtue of His omnipresence in the universe, God preserves the things which He has created. Being present in this way in man God sustains him in existence and concurs with his actions. If man is not yet regenerated the Holy Ghost is also present to him in a supernatural way, not as inhabiting, but as enlightening and alluring to the acceptance of faith and baptism, in order that the Holy Spirit may also be present to such a one in the form of a sanctifying indweller. In those already justified and inhabited He is active in them by His grace of friendship in order that they may persevere and grow to their full stature of spiritual perfection.<sup>144</sup>

Augustine applies this diversity of the modes of presence to the case of Cornelius. The scriptural narration indicates that the

<sup>142</sup> *Ibid.*, 8, 26, 27 (PL 33, 341; CSEL 57, IV, 103-4): ". . . habitare autem ideo et in talibus dicitur, quia in eis occulte agit, ut sint templum ejus." See also *De Gen. ad lit.*, VIII, 12, 26 (PL 34, 383).

<sup>143</sup> *Ibid.*, 13, 38 (PL 33, 847; CSEL 57, IV, 116); so also 5, 17 (PL 33, 838; CSEL 57, IV, 94-95): "Cum igitur qui ubique est, non in omnibus habitet; etiam in quibus habitat, non aequaliter habitat. Nam unde est illud quod Elisaeus poposcit, ut dupliciter in eo fieret Spiritus Dei qui erat in Elia (IV Reg. 2:9) et unde in omnibus sanctis sunt aliis alii sanctiores nisi abundantius habendo habitatorem Deum?"

<sup>144</sup> *Ep.* 194, 4, 18 (PL 33, 880; CSEL 57, ed. A. Goldbacher, IV, 190): "Fatendum est, aliter adjuvat Spiritus Sanctus nondum inhabitans, aliter inhabitans. Nam nondum inhabitans adjuvat ut sint fideles, inhabitans adjuvat jam fideles." Cf. A. Turrado, "La inhabitación de la Sma Trinidad en los justos según la doctrina de San Agustín," *Augustinus Magister* (Paris: 1954), I, 589.

Roman centurion possessed the presence of the Holy Ghost who produced certain sanctifying effects in him. But this presence was not that of inhabitation which belongs to those regenerated by baptismal waters, but the presence whereby the Holy Ghost is everywhere present and everywhere active, whether that activity pertains to the order of nature or supernature.

Augustine makes use of the same distinction, founded on the modes of divine presence, in explaining the words of the Genesis: "and the spirit of God moved over the waters."<sup>145</sup> He wants to determine the meaning of the words "spirit of God," and in determining them distinguishes the two types of presence. He argues that the "spirit of God" in this and other passages of Sacred Writ refers to no other spirit but to the Holy Spirit, as is evident from the fact that omnipresence and inhabitation of men are ascribed to Him, which would not be the case if some other spirit were meant.<sup>146</sup> Of the same spirit that moved over the waters, it is said that "the Spirit of the Lord hath filled the whole world."<sup>147</sup> Of the same spirit it is said that He fills men by sanctifying and inhabiting them. Thus St. Stephen is described as being full of the Holy Spirit.<sup>148</sup>

For God does not fill heaven and earth without the Holy Ghost. What is there strange if it has been said of the Holy Ghost, 'He filled the earth'? Otherwise does He fill by sanctifying, as it is said of Stephen, 'He was filled with the Holy Ghost'; and so of others: otherwise, therefore, does He fill by His sanctifying grace,<sup>149</sup> as He did certain saints; and otherwise by His witnessing and ordaining presence (*attestante atque ordinante praesentia*),<sup>150</sup> as (He fills) all things.<sup>151</sup>

<sup>145</sup> Gen. 1:2, cf. K. Smoroński, "Spiritus Dei ferebatur super aquas," *Biblica*, VI (1925), 140-56; M. Gruenthaner, "The Scriptural Doctrine on First Creation," *The Catholic Biblical Quarterly*, IX (1947), 52.

<sup>146</sup> Cf. S. J. Grabowski, "Spiritus Dei in Gen. 1:2 according to St. Augustine," *The Catholic Biblical Quarterly*, X (1948), 13 ff.

<sup>147</sup> Wisd. 1:7.

<sup>148</sup> Acts 6:5; 7:55.

<sup>149</sup> The Augustinian expression *sanctificante gratia* has no technically established meaning, although it coincides with the technical *gratia sanctificans* of a much later date as distinguished from *gratia actualis*.

<sup>150</sup> The reading in Mss is: *praescientia*.

<sup>151</sup> *De div. quaest. ad Simpl.*, II, q. 1, 5 (PL 40, 133): "Non enim sine suo Spiritu Sancto implet Deus coelum et terram. Quid ergo mirum si de

3. Apart from that divine presence which is common to all creatures, and apart from that special presence of inhabitation to the regenerated and just souls, there is that presence of the Holy Ghost which is proper to the body of Christ. The theology of St. Augustine embraces a twofold inhabitation: an individual one whereby He resides in the soul of each just person, and a corporate one whereby He resides in all the just forming the mystical body. The Bishop expressly states that God dwells in the individual as in a temple, and in all individuals corporately taken as in one temple.<sup>152</sup>

This conception of a twofold inhabitation is borne out by the composition of the human body from which Augustine draws His image of the mystical body. We may consider the human body in its multitude of cells, each of which has its own life, or we may consider the totality of cells as one, animated and permeated by one soul. This twofold consideration of the body corresponds to Augustine's twofold consideration of the soul in its relation to the body. The human soul is entirely in the whole body (*tota in toto corpore*), but is also entirely in each cell of the body (*tota in qualibet parte corporis*), giving the whole life to the whole and the whole life to each cell. So, too, the Holy Ghost animates each individual member of the body of Christ, dwelling in each as in a temple, and is the soul which animates the whole aggregate of members, inhabiting this corporate being as the body of Christ.

Speaking of the individual inhabitation of the Holy Ghost, a question arises in our minds whether it is possible to be outside the Church, which is the mystical body of Christ, and to possess the Holy Ghost as a personal inhabitant of the soul. There is no explicit statement of St. Augustine to the effect that individuals outside the Church possess the Holy Ghost as an inhabiting divine person. With regard to heretics and schismatics the Bishop allows

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Spiritu Sancto ejus dictum est, 'Replevit orbem terrarum?' Aliter enim replet sanctificando, sicut de Stephano dicitur, 'Repletus est Spiritu Sancto'; et de ceteris talibus: aliter ergo replet sanctificante gratia, sicut quosdam sanctos; aliter attestante atque ordinante praesentia, sicut omnia."

<sup>152</sup> *Ep.* 157, 13, 38 (PL 33, 847; CSEL 57, ed. A. Goldbacher, IV, 105): "Habitat itaque in singulis Deus tamquam in templis suis, et in omnibus simul in unum congregatis, tamquam in templo suo."

for cases in which individuals are outside the Church in good faith. We can only deduce that because they are inculpable and are able to attain salvation, they must in some way be associated with the Holy Ghost and the Church, since it is impossible to attain salvation without the mystical body of Christ, the only medium of salvation, and the Holy Ghost, the source of all spiritual life. With regard to the unbaptized, as was the case of Cornelius, Augustine labors in order to show how the sanctifying effects attributed to him in Sacred Scripture do not belong to the Holy Ghost inhabiting an individual by virtue of habitual grace but to the omnipresent Holy Ghost who beckons and draws men to the mystical body by virtue of actual grace.

Speaking of the corporate inhabitation of the Holy Ghost, the question arises whether it is possible to belong to the Church, which is the body of Christ, and still be without the personal inhabitation of the Holy Ghost. This problem, a vital one in the theology of St. Augustine's doctrine on the Church, shall engage our attention when the relation of sinners in the Church to the Holy Ghost will be treated under a separate heading. It will be shown that a member may be attached to the Church, and by the same token inhere in the membership of the mystical body of Christ without possessing the inhabitation of the Holy Ghost in his or her particular soul. And thus while such a member inheres in the Church, it must be reckoned a dead member of the mystical body of Christ.

4. The last mode of divine presence is proper to God's eternal abode. Heaven is the most consummate and most proper place of His dwelling. As in the Church upon earth, so too in heaven we cannot dissociate His presence from the mystical body. "When you think of His dwelling," says St. Augustine, "think of unity, and the congregation of the saints, especially in heaven, where on that account He is especially said to dwell, because there His will is fulfilled perfectly by the obedience of those in whom He dwells."<sup>153</sup> Christ Himself may be considered in a threefold capacity in heaven; as God, He dwells in the temple of God as God does; as man, He has some place in heaven on account of the mode of presence proper to a human, glorified body;

<sup>153</sup> *Ibid.*, 13, 41 (PL 33, 848; CSEL 57, IV, 118).



as head of the mystical body, He is one with the congregation of the saints.

If the body of Christ is formed here upon earth, and God dwells in it as in His temple, it is solely for the purpose that that temple may be dedicated at the end of time and become the eternal temple of God.<sup>154</sup> If it is a temple here below in which the holy of holies is pleased to dwell, how much more will it be a temple in heaven, formed of angels and saints? <sup>155</sup> It is in union with Christ, the head of the Church, through the sanctifying powers of the Holy Ghost, the soul of the body of Christ, that men arrive at God's eternal abode for the fruition of His presence in the beatific vision.<sup>156</sup> It was a corporate sojourn with God on earth in quest of salvation; it will be a corporate bliss with God in the eternal abode of salvation.

Augustine portrays the Church on earth as being in continual formation and growth under the influence of its life-giving principle, the Holy Ghost. As a body it is continually growing, as a temple it is ever in building, as a city it is always expanding. Even here upon earth it is a holy temple, a living body, a city of God, because God is in the Church, dwelling in it, even while it is in the process of formation. In describing this process of formation and growth Augustine is solemn and dramatic. He visualizes those masses of human beings who, throughout the long history of mankind, are in sin, original and actual, and who through the grace of faith and baptism are reborn to life and incorporated into the unity of Jesus Christ. These, he asserts, are transferred from the powers of darkness—"from the mass of ruin," "from the mass of damnation"—into the kingdom of God's Son (Col.

<sup>154</sup> *Ibid.*: ". . . in terra, ubi aedificans habitat domum suam in fine saeculi dedicandam."

<sup>155</sup> *Ibid.*, 5, 16 (PL 33, 838; CSEL 57, IV, 94): "Si enim populus Dei nondum factus aequalis Angelis ejus adhuc in ista peregrinatione dicitur templum ejus, quanto magis est templum ejus in coelis, ubi est populus Angelorum, quibus aggregandi et coaequandi sumus, cum, finita peregrinatione, quod promissum est, sumpserimus."

<sup>156</sup> D. J. Leahy, *St. Augustine on Eternal Life* (London-New York: 1939), p. 120: "Our Lord, indeed, is our Leader, our Head: we are members of His Mystical Body, and He is leading us to the vision of God. To consider St. Augustine's teaching on the Word made flesh, and omit all reference to the beatific vision, would be to lose sight of the ultimate reason for our union with Christ."

1:13). Men who do not enter into the body of Christ must be considered as unfortunate and miserable; their lives are to be deemed as death rather than life.<sup>157</sup>

### 3. THE HOLY GHOST AND SINNERS IN THE CHURCH

St. Augustine's disputes with the Donatists gave rise to the problem whether sinners belong to the body of Christ and consequently participate in the Holy Ghost. On the one hand, the Bishop of Hippo, relying on numerous texts and especially the parables of Scripture, includes and staunchly defends their membership in the Church. In this instance the term Church is usually interpreted as signifying the external and visible organization. On the other hand, he seems to exclude them from the Church in so far as the Church is the mystical body of Christ. This is the problem: the antinomy of inclusion of sinners and their exclusion from one and the same Church, although viewed under diverse aspects.<sup>158</sup>

The many and various statements made by St. Augustine on this topic have led later writers, who have relied upon him for their doctrine, to the assumption of a twofold Church not completely coincident one with the other. The Church considered as a visible institution was identical with the Church considered as the mystical body of Christ, in so far as those who constituted the mystical body were also members of the empirical Church. But the empirical Church, so it was believed by some, contained members which did not belong to the mystical body. Consequently both concepts were not coextensive.

The distinction and division of a twofold Church occur in the early Scholastic period.<sup>159</sup> In the golden period there are strong traces of it in the writings of St. Bonaventure.<sup>160</sup> In the fifteenth century Thomas Waldensis Netter (1375-1430)<sup>161</sup>

<sup>157</sup> *Ep.* 187, 12, 35 (PL 33, 845-46; CSEL 57, IV, 113).

<sup>158</sup> Cf. P. Battifol, *La Catholicisme de Saint Augustin* (4 éd.; Paris: 1929) pp. 256-66; J. Tixeront, *Histoire des dogmes* (4 éd.; Paris: 1912), II, 387 f.

<sup>159</sup> Cf. A. Landgraf, "Sünde und Trennung von der Kirche in der Frühscholastik," *Scholastik*, XI (1930), 246.

<sup>160</sup> Cf. D. Culhane, *De Corpore Mystico Doctrina Seraphici* (Mundelein, Ill.: 1934), pp. 36 ff.

<sup>161</sup> *Doctrinale Antiquitatum Fidei Ecclesiae Catholicae* (Venetiis: 1571 and 1757), lib. II, art. 2, cap. XII and XXVIII. As a confirmation that he

makes a clear-cut distinction of a twofold Church, the one invisible which is composed of the just and predestined, the other visible which is formed of all men, even sinners, visibly constituting the Church. In this same century Cardinal Turrecremata (1388-1486)<sup>162</sup> likewise induced a distinction of a twofold Church: the one embracing sinners, the other only the just, for faith without charity is not sufficient to make one a member of the body of Christ.

This antinomy constituted a problem for the Catholic theologians of the sixteenth century, who arrayed themselves against the onslaught of the Reformers and found themselves in an identical controversy on doctrine pertaining to the constitution of the Church as St. Augustine in his struggles with the Donatists. Augustine, whose doctrine constituted the heart and soul of Scholastic thought, was still a potent factor in influencing religious thought of the sixteenth century. But the circumstance of the likeness existing in the controversies of both periods stimulated and enhanced the interest of both sides locked in deadly strife in the ecclesiology of the great luminary of the Western world.

It is not our intention to undertake at the present time a study of the problem of sinners in the Church as it is found in St. Augustine. We intend to return to this antinomy of membership in the Church of St. Augustine in later chapters. Therefore, it is taken for granted presently that there is but one Church in the teaching of St. Augustine and that Church is presented under two aspects which are equally essential to her being and definition. The experimental and institutional Church, which is but one aspect, is at the same time the body of Christ which is the other essential aspect of a complex conception. Or, if one prefers to view the juridical and social Church under one concept and the body of Christ under another concept, as having distinct charac-

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really made the distinction is the refutation of this twofold Church by a contemporaneous writer of some reputation, namely by Antonius de Corduba (1578) who opposed this explanation on the grounds that it was unorthodox and savored of Lutheranism. *Opera in V Libros Digesta* (Venetiis: 1569-Toledo: 1570), lib. IV, fol. 255-56.

<sup>162</sup> *Summa de Ecclesia* (Veneriis: 1561), l. I, fol. 7 (fac. 2)—fol. 8 (fac. 1); l. I, c. 57, fol. 69 (fac. 1).

teristics, one must still come to the conclusion that they are verified and coalesce in the one identifiable Church of Christ. Of this Church St. Augustine considered himself to be a bishop.

The oneness of the experimental Church with the mystical body will be made more evident if we consider the Church from the viewpoint of its members. The good, that is those who possess the life of grace are in the body of Christ and properly form it. By the same token they are in the institutional Church and form it. Sinners, those who are devoid of the life of grace, certainly belong to the visible and social Church as long as they participate in her external life. But the crux of the matter is whether they belong to the body of Christ. A patient and sustained study of St. Augustine's many works will lead one to the conviction that they belong to the body of Christ but that they do not constitute His body in the form of living cells, but are tolerated as dead, distorted, and putrid members. The reason for considering them a part of the body of Christ is that they adhere through the profession of the same faith and observances of the same external rites to the visible Church with which the body of Christ is one and the same. While the bonds uniting the sinner to Christ's body are external, those of the just are internal; and, therefore, while sinners merely adhere, the just constitute that body.<sup>163</sup>

We may conclude from this summary of St. Augustine's teaching that from the viewpoint of membership the juridical and social Church is identical and coextensive with the body of Christ. The difference, therefore, does not lie in the extension or number of members, but in the internal condition or qualities of members. Internal ties and life are essential requisites for genuine membership in Christ's body.

This summation of doctrine on the oneness of the institutional Church with the mystical body was made as an introduction to the relationship of the Holy Ghost to sinners in the Church. If they are in the Church which is the mystical body of Christ must they not be in the possession of the Holy Ghost, who is the soul of the mystical body? How can a sinner be what he is if he is in possession of the Holy Spirit?

<sup>163</sup> *De bapt. contra Donat.*, VII, 99 (PL 43, 241; CSEL 51, ed. M. Petschenig, 370-71).



A distinction is to be made between the presence resulting from the divine immensity and the presence consisting in the divine inhabitation of a just man's soul. Speaking of the immensity of God, Augustine realizes the apparent difficulty in the statement that God is everywhere present when it is applied to sinners, since we are wont to associate His presence with the souls of the just. Through His omnipresence God "is wholly present not only to the whole universe but equally to each part of it."<sup>164</sup> But sinners are said to be far from God because they render themselves unlike God in their actions, whereas through piety man is said to approach to God because he becomes like to Him.<sup>165</sup> Yet God is untainted by the sin of man which stems from man's perverse will, but He pervades in His being and presence, the sinner as well as the just, as He does all creation, and consequently He is wholly ever present to both.

It is otherwise with the Holy Ghost in His capacity as the indweller of the individual. The presence of inhabitation is a magnificent gift bestowed by God upon the soul, which cannot receive Him if it is attached to sin: "For He is the Holy Ghost, whom the wicked cannot receive."<sup>166</sup> Furthermore, the Holy Ghost is not a benefit which cannot be lost by those who have already received Him in justification, for the Bishop solemnly warns his audience that through sinful offense they will expel the divine indweller from their soul. "See to it," he warns them, "that you offend not the indweller lest He should desert you, and you turn to ruin."<sup>167</sup>

St. Augustine distinguishes clearly enough between sin and sin, and even presses this point in defense of certain doctrines against heretics. The basic division of sins is: those that deprive or separate us from the kingdom of God and those that do not. The sins that deprive us of the possession of God's kingdom enu-

<sup>164</sup> *Ep.* 187, 5, 17 (PL 33, 838; CSEL 57, ed. A. Goldbacher, IV, 95): "Non solum universitati creaturae verum etiam cuilibet parti ejus totus pariter adest."

<sup>165</sup> *Ibid.*: "Hique ab eo longe esse dicuntur, qui peccando dissimillimi facti sunt: et hi ei propinquare, qui ejus similitudinem pie vivendo recipiunt."

<sup>166</sup> *In Io. Ep. tr.* 7, 6 (PL 35, 2032).

<sup>167</sup> *Sermo* 83, 10 (PL 38, 512).

merated by St. Paul and repeated by St. Augustine<sup>168</sup> have a direct effect upon the spiritual condition of a man's soul. They are the sins that are death-bringing (*graviora peccata*,<sup>169</sup> *magna, majora scelera*)<sup>170</sup> because they deprive the soul of its spiritual life. In opposition to this category of sins there are the many and more frequently committed sins which are called venial or daily (*venialia, minuta, modica, quotidiana*);<sup>171</sup> these are said to creep into the soul due to human frailty and are atonable through fasting, almsgiving, and prayer, and especially through the Lord's prayer.<sup>172</sup>

Death-bringing sins are such because they expel life or the life-bringing factors in the soul: through the commission of such sins one is deprived of grace, of charity, and the Holy Ghost. These are precisely the internal, spiritual elements which make a member adhering to the body of Christ a living one of which the body is constituted. The point that the Bishop of Hippo repeatedly presses against the sacramental doctrine of the Donatists is that he who does not possess spiritual life cannot give it when he administers the sacrament of baptism, but this does not matter so far as St. Augustine was concerned; for according to his doctrine the principal agent in administering the sacraments was Christ, and as a result the sinfulness or spiritual lifelessness of the minister did not obstruct the reception of life in the recipient of the sacrament.

Venial sins, on the other hand, from which we cannot be altogether free in this life, do not deprive us of everlasting life.<sup>173</sup> Nor do they kill the spiritual life of the soul in this life. In the main, when the Bishop of Hippo contends that there are sinners in the Church, or better in the body of Christ, it is to those who are sullied with venial sins that he refers. A great part of his early polemics focused upon this point. Against the Donatist schis-

<sup>168</sup> *De mend.*, 18, 38-39 (PL 40, 513-14; CSEL 41, ed. J. Zycha, 458-59).

<sup>169</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>170</sup> *Sermo* 9, 11, 18 (PL 38, 88); cf. E. F. Durkin, *The Theological Distinction of Sins in the Writings of St. Augustine* (Mundelein, Ill.: 1952) pp. 18 ff.

<sup>171</sup> Cf. Durkin, *op. cit.*, pp. 83 ff.

<sup>172</sup> *Sermo* 9, 11, 17 (PL 38, 88).

<sup>173</sup> *De spir. et lit.*, 28, 48 (PL 44, 230; CSEL 60, ed. C. Urba and J. Zycha, 203).

matics, whose fundamental doctrine was that the Church of Christ was a church of the pure and immaculate, the Saint distinguishes between the Church as it is now composed of the sinful, at least through venial sins, and the Church in heaven which will be "a glorious Church, not having spot or wrinkle, or any such thing, but . . . holy, and without blemish."<sup>174</sup>

The Holy Ghost, therefore, cannot be received by a sinner as long as the sinner adheres to his sins. Death-bringing sin and the life-bringing Holy Ghost are two opposing forces in the life of the human spirit. Furthermore, those who already possess Him through the sacrament of baptism and are united to Him in the mystical body may lose Him by the commission of a mortal sin. Finally, it must be remembered that those who possess the life of the Holy Ghost do not possess it in equal measure; as a result they participate in the possession of the Holy Ghost in the measure of their sanctification. Corresponding to the degree of our sanctification and possession of the Holy Ghost here on earth will be our measure of glorification in heaven, provided one perseveres in holiness to the end.<sup>175</sup>

As has previously been pointed out, Augustine views the inhabitation of the Holy Spirit in a twofold way: first, as a personal inhabitation of each just individual,<sup>176</sup> and, secondly, as a personal inhabitation of the corporate Church, composed of all individuals who form the mystical body of Christ.<sup>177</sup> The question now arises whether sinners who were just and holy members of the mystical body of Christ deprive themselves of both the individual and corporate inhabitation of the Holy Ghost. There is no doubt that a sinner who loses the life of grace through the commission of a sin that separates one from the kingdom of God, loses the abiding presence of the Holy Ghost's indwelling. But just as such sinning members do not sever themselves from the

<sup>174</sup> Eph. 5:27.

<sup>175</sup> *De spiritu et lit.*, 28, 48 (PL 44, 230; CSEL 60, 203).

<sup>176</sup> *Ep.* 187, 13, 38 (PL 33, 847; CSEL 57, ed. A. Goldbacher, IV, 115).

<sup>177</sup> *Ep.* 187, 13, 41 (PL 33, 848; CSEL 57, IV, 118): "Cum vero habitationem ejus cogitas, unitatem cogita congregationemque sanctorum: maxime in coelis, ubi propterea praecipue dicitur habitare, quia ibi fit voluntas ejus perfecta eorum, in quibus habitat, obedientia; deinde in terra, ubi aedificans habitat domum suam in fine saeculi dedicandam."

body of Christ by virtue of their death-bringing sin, so likewise they do not cut themselves off from the Holy Ghost, the soul of that body.

The economy in the sanctification of man is through individual inhabitation and at the same time through membership in the mystical body corporately inhabited by the Holy Ghost. However if one loses the individual inhabitation but remains in the unity of the body, he remains in unity with its soul. Whilst depriving them of the life of grace and the Holy Ghost, Augustine does not detach sinners from the body of Christ. He denounces them as putrid and distorted members because they do not live in the mystical body the life of the Spirit that was imparted to them. The Church is ashamed of such members. As deformed members they ought to be severed from the body, but as long as they adhere to it they must be considered as its rightful members.<sup>178</sup>

If this twofold inhabitation of the Holy Ghost, viz., that of the individual and that of the mystical body is ignored, the consequence will be that the sinful person who is without the individual indwelling of the Holy Ghost, will be removed from the corporate indwelling of the Holy Ghost. As a result the sinner will be detached from the mystical body of Christ.<sup>179</sup> In determining the position of the sinner in the mystical body of Christ, St. Augustine has his eye fixed on the condition of the members of the physical body. He realizes fully well the difference between a living, healthy, vigorous member and a paralyzed, distorted, dead one. And he is fully aware of the difference between a sick and disfigured member that remains attached to the body

<sup>178</sup> *In Io. Ev. tr.* 26, 13 (PL 35, 1613): "Qui vult vivere, habeat ubi vivat. Accedat, credat; incorporetur ut vivificetur. Non abhorreat a compage membrorum, non sit putre membrum quod resecari mereatur, non sit distortum de quo erubescatur . . . vivat Deo de Deo."

<sup>179</sup> This unreserved conclusion is drawn by Zähringer, *op. cit.*, p. 48: "Es gibt für Augustin in der Kirche auch solche, die drinnen zu sein scheinen, in Wirklichkeit aber draussen sind. Sie sind nur quasi intus. Wohl stehen sie im empirischen Verbande der Kirche, aber sie sind nicht geistig belebt, gehören also nicht dem corpus Christi an." So likewise, p. 50: "Wenn der Geist das belebende Prinzip der Kirche ist, so können alle, die nicht Träger des Geistes sind, auch nicht Glieder der Kirche Christi sein . . . sie trennen sich selber von der lebendigen Kirche, indem sie absterben."



and one that is amputated. Certainly in the spiritual homologue, in the body of Christ, it is more advantageous to be attached to the body of Christ as a distorted or dead member than to be severed completely as heretics and schismatics are. For while the sinner remains attached to the body, he remains close to the fountainhead of life, and he is more apt to be converted in the temple of the Holy Ghost than if he is separated from it.

For this reason Augustine encourages those who have "grown cold in charity," those who have become weak in the body of Christ not to be severed from it, because God is able to restore sick and weak members to their former state of health. As long as the member is united to the body it is not to be despaired of; if it is disunited from the body, it can neither be cured nor healed.<sup>180</sup> Augustine expresses his own policy with regard to the straying soul when he says: "We prefer that they be cured within the Church's community than to be severed from its body as incurable members, if indeed this is permitted by the circumstances."<sup>181</sup>

There is one more category of men whom St. Augustine designates as "ficti" or "simulati." They seem to have been those who because of the commission of certain grave sins incurred ecclesiastical penance, which they failed to do. Because of their special grievous sin they have severed themselves from the Church, to the extent of losing membership in it which they have not regained, since they have not rehabilitated themselves by penitential works. In some cases, these terms can be understood, not in any technical sense, but in the ordinary meaning of simulated members.<sup>182</sup> In the first and second instance, these members behave externally as all other members do; they live the same social religious life, communicate in the same sacraments, receive

<sup>180</sup> *Sermo* 137, 1 (PL 38, 754): "Quicumque in charitate friguerit, infirmatur in corpore Christi. Sed potens est ille, qui jam exaltavit caput nostrum, etiam infirma membra sanare: dum tamen non nimia impietate praecedantur, sed haereant corpori donec sanentur. Quidquid adhuc haeret corpori, non desperatae sanitatis est: quod autem praecisum fuerit, nec curari nec sanari potest."

<sup>181</sup> *Ep.* 157, 3, 22 (PL 33, 686; CSEL 44, III, 472).

<sup>182</sup> *Enar. in Ps.* 147, 20 (PL 37, 1930).

the same Eucharist, and appear to participate in the very inner life of the Church.

It is not so, however. The "ficti" or "simulati" have not the Holy Ghost. They are in the Church but merely according to appearance. St. Augustine excludes not only the individual indwelling of the Holy Ghost in this category of men as he does in all sinners, but also that indirect union which they would have with the Holy Ghost as the soul of the body of Christ, if they were dead members of it. "They do not belong," asserts the Bishop, "to the Church, and to that society of the Spirit." They must cease their simulation before they can coalesce with the tree of life.<sup>183</sup> It is only after they acquire the spirit of penance that the Holy Ghost is imparted to them through the imposition of hands, and that they are reincorporated into the body which He animates.<sup>184</sup> He who makes a pretense of becoming a member of the Church, is outside the Church.<sup>185</sup>

#### 4. ST. AUGUSTINE AND THE SUBSEQUENT HISTORY OF THE DOCTRINE OF THE HOLY GHOST AS THE SOUL OF THE MYSTICAL BODY OF CHRIST

St. Augustine stands as intermediary between the earlier teaching of the Fathers on the role of the Holy Ghost in the Church and later patristic and Scholastic tradition. The Latin and Greek Fathers are unanimous in making the Holy Spirit the soul of the Church, the mystical body of Christ.<sup>186</sup> On account of the power-

<sup>183</sup> *Sermo* 71, 19, 32 (PL 38, 462): "Sed nec ille dicendus est esse in Ecclesia, et ad istam societatem Spiritus pertinere, qui ovibus Christi corporali tantum commixtione ficto corde miscetur." *Ep.* 185, 50 (PL 33, 815; CSEL 57, ed. A. Goldbacher, IV, 44): "Non habent itaque Spiritum sanctum, qui sunt extra Ecclesiam. . . . Sed nec ille eum percipit, qui fictus est in Ecclesia. . . . Qui ergo vult habere Spiritum sanctum, caveat foris ab Ecclesia remanere, caveat in eam simulatus intrare: aut si jam talis intravit, caveat in eadem simulatione persistere, ut veraciter coalescat arbori vitae."

<sup>184</sup> Cf. K. Adam, *Die kirchliche Sündenvergebung nach dem hl. Augustin* (Paderborn: 1917), p. 69.

<sup>185</sup> *Enar. in Ps.* 147, 20 (PL 37, 1929): "Intret qui intraturus est. Qui illuc manifestus intrabit, huc fictus non intrat. Qui autem huc fictus intrat, foris est."

<sup>186</sup> For patristic tradition, cf. S. Tromp, *De Spiritu Sancto Anima Corporis Mystici*. Testimonia Selecta e Patribus Graecis (Textus et Documenta,

ful influence Augustine exerted on the later patristic and post-patristic thought, it is natural to expect that a doctrine that is so unequivocal and emphatic in his writings would remain a Christian heritage.<sup>187</sup> To mention but some most prominent names of the Scholastic period, Hugo of St. Victor,<sup>188</sup> St. Bonaventure,<sup>189</sup> and St. Thomas<sup>190</sup> teach that the person of the Holy Ghost is the soul of the mystical body.

Although the writers of the patristic, Scholastic, and post-Scholastic periods were steeped in St. Augustine and had no intention of deviating from his doctrine on the Church there were nevertheless certain developments of his doctrine on the Holy Ghost as the soul of the mystical body—there were applications of it to the changing circumstances. To obviate the needs of the time some modifications were introduced into the theology of the mystical body that were actually a departure from his doctrinal position. Among the deviations, unintended as they were, from his doctrine of the role of the Holy Ghost in the mystical body are to be enumerated: 1. Not the Holy Ghost Himself but the created gifts of the Holy Ghost are the soul of the mystical body. 2. The Holy Ghost is called by some the heart of the mystical body. 3. A distinction was induced into the theology of the mystical body concerning its members making them belong to the body and the soul of the Church, to the body alone, or to the soul alone.

These doctrines, taught occasionally in the past and present times, can be traced back to St. Robert Bellarmine (1542–1621). To him is attributed the distinction of being the most illustrious

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ser. theol., I, Univ. Greg., Romae: 1932); *Id.*, *De Spiritu Sancto Anima Corporis Mystici*. Testimonia selecta e Patribus Latinis (*ibid.*, VII); J. Brunni, "The Soul of the Mystical Body," *Ecc. Rev.*, XCVII (1937), 545–53.

<sup>187</sup> E. Mersch, *Le Corps Mystique du Christ* (2 éd.; Bruxelles-Paris: 1936), II, 162: "Le point de départ du tout le mouvement, comme c'est d'ordinaire le cas pour la théologie médiévale, se trouve chez saint Augustin."

<sup>188</sup> *De Sacr.*, p. II, c. 2 (PL 176, 416).

<sup>189</sup> Although he does not state explicitly that the Holy Ghost is the soul of the mystical body, this doctrine is expressed in equivalent terms. Cf. D. Culhane, *De Corpore Mystico Doctrina Seraphici* (Mundelein: 1934), p. 67.

<sup>190</sup> *Summa theol.*, IIIa, q. 8, a. 1 ad 3; *Summa theol.* II–II, q. 183, a. 2 ad 3; In III *Sent.*, d. 13, q. 11, a. 2, sol. 2; In Col. 1, lect. 5; In Rom. 8, lect. 2.

of the many apologists defending the position of the Catholic Church during the period of the Reformation. It is clear that, in opposition to the Church of the Reformers, one of the cardinal points of his apologetics is to make conspicuous those elements which manifest the visibility of the Church and its members.<sup>191</sup>

The thesis of Luther<sup>192</sup> and the Reformers<sup>193</sup> was that the church is the body of Christ. As such, it must be holy and untainted by the sinful. Formed of those who are justified by faith

<sup>191</sup> *De Controversiis Christianae Fidei* I. III, c. 2, *Opera Omnia Bellarmini* II (Neapoli: 1856) p. 75: "Hoc interest inter sententiam nostram et alias omnes, quod omnes aliae requirunt internas virtutes ad constituendum aliquem in Ecclesia, et propterea Ecclesiam veram invisibilem faciunt; nos autem, et credimus in Ecclesia inveniri omnes virtutes, fidem, spem, charitatem, et caeteras; tamen ut aliquis aliquo modo dici possit pars verae Ecclesiae, non putamus requiri ullam internam virtutem, sed tantum externam professionem fidei et sacramentorum communionem, quae sensu ipso percipitur." It will be observed that the Cardinal employs the terms *aliquo modo* from which it is evident that the spiritual factors causing an internal union bring about a more perfect inherence and membership in the Church, but the external elements which he names are sufficient for membership in the true Church.

<sup>192</sup> A. Harnack, *History of Dogmas* (Boston: 1897-1900), VII, 187: "For him [Luther] the Church was the community of Saints, i.e., of believers, whom the Holy Spirit has called, enlightened and sanctified through the Word of God, who are continually being built up by means of the Gospel in the true faith, who look forward confidently and joyfully to the glorious future of the sons of God, and meanwhile serve one another in love, each one in the position in which God has placed him. That is the whole creed regarding the Church—the community of believers (saints), invisible, but recognizable by the preaching of the Word."

<sup>193</sup> *Confessio Augustana*, Art. VII: "Ecclesia (est) congregatio sanctorum, in qua Evangelium recte docetur, et recte administrantur Sacramenta." J. T. Müller-Kolde, *Die symbolischen Bücher der evangelisch-lutherischen Kirche* (Gütersloh: 1912), p. 40; *Corpus Reformatorum* (Halis Saxorum, Brunsvigiae, Berolini: 1834-1911), XXVI, 276, 356. The explanation of this definition contained in the *Apologia Confessionis*, Art. VII, is the following: "Ecclesia non est tantum societas externarum rerum ac rituum, sicut aliae politicae, sed principaliter est societas fidei et Spiritus Sancti in cordibus. . . . Et haec ecclesia sola dicitur corpus Christi, quod Christus Spiritu suo renovat, sanctificat et gubernat." Mühler-Kolde, *op. cit.*, p. 152; *Corpus Reformatorum*, XXVII, 525. Elsewhere: "Nos juxta Scripturas sentimus ecclesiam proprie dictam esse congregationem sanctorum, qui vere credunt evangelio Christi et habent Spiritum Sanctum." *Concordia Triglotta. Die symbolischen Bücher der evangelisch-lutherischen Kirche* (St. Louis: 1921), p. 236. There can be no denial that the phraseology and the concepts it expresses are easily traceable to the works of St. Augustine, but they are merely a partial, one-sided and inadequate presentation of his doctrine.



and faith alone, they are united and sanctified by the Holy Ghost in order to form a communion of saints. If the true church is formed of those who are justified by faith, and there is no way of determining the existence of this condition in the soul of man, then such a church must remain invisible, and its true members are unknown to men, but known to God.<sup>194</sup> Besides this principal consideration of the nature of their church, the Reformers admitted a subsidiary aspect by allowing, in various ways, the co-existence of visible elements in their church.<sup>195</sup> And with this concession, they established a sort of twofold Church—an invisible one (by far the principal one) and a visible one.<sup>196</sup>

The antithesis to their belief was the doctrine proposed and defended by St. Robert Bellarmine. There can only be one visible Church, recognizable as that of Christ: it is formed of those who profess the same faith, participate in the same sacraments, and submit themselves to the same authority, especially by recognizing one visible head which is representative of Christ here upon earth.<sup>197</sup> Bellarmine expresses this visible aspect of the Church

<sup>194</sup> Basel. Bekennt.: "Allein den augen Gottes offen und bekannt," E. F. K. Müller, *Die Bekenntnisschriften der reformierten Kirche* (Leipzig: 1903), p. 96; Concl. Lausan., E. F. K. Müller, *op. cit.*, p. 110; Prof. Per. Franc., E. F. K. Müller, *op. cit.*, p. 663.

<sup>195</sup> *Conf. August.* VII, cf. footnote above. See also Zwingli's *Fidei ratio* VI, E. F. K. Müller, *op. cit.*, p. 85; *Confes. Tetrapolitana* (1530), XV, E. F. K. Müller, *op. cit.*, p. 70; *Catech. Genev.*, E. F. K. Müller, *op. cit.*, p. 126; *Artic. Anglic.* XX, E. F. K. Müller, *op. cit.*, p. 512.

<sup>196</sup> Article VII of the Augsburg Confessions has been and is to this day an occasion of much discussion in the Lutheran Church as to what constitutes the real nature of the Church. Thus M. Schian, "Sichtbare und Unsichtbare Kirche," *Zeitschrift für systematische Theologie*, IX (1932), 535: "Über das Wesen der Kirche ist unendlich viel verhandelt worden. In Konferenzen, Religionsprachen, engeren Disputationem haben die Lutheraner, wie Kahnis einmal bemerkte, an der Bestimmung der Kirche Art. VII der Augsburgerischen Konfession sich die Zähne zerbissen, ohne sich einigen zu können."

<sup>197</sup> *De Controversiis Christianae Fidei*, I. III, c. 2, *Opera Omnia* (Neapoli: 1856), II, 75: "Nostra autem sententia est Ecclesiam unam tantum esse, non duas, et illam unam et veram esse coetum hominum ejusdem Christianae fidei professione, et eorundem sacramentorum communione colligatum, sub regimine legitimorum pastorum, ac praecipue unius Christi in terris vicarii, romani pontificis." The words just quoted have become a prevalent definition of the Church.

concretely when he says that "the Church is a society of men as visible and palpable as the society of the Roman people, or the kingdom of France."<sup>198</sup> His description of the visible Church has been crystallized into a definition of the Church, and has been adopted by theologians, and is in use since his time until the present.

One can easily see that such a definition or description of the Church is a onesided presentation of the external and visible aspect of the Church. It does not do justice to the inner life of the mystical body and its invisible relationship to Christ the head. Its justification lies in the fact that Bellarmine's adversaries, the Reformers, made their church invisible by making it depend on one invisible factor, namely, faith. Hence Bellarmine is bent on pointing out the necessary visible factors that make the Church of Christ a visible society. There can be no doubt that this polemist has had great influence on succeeding generations of theologians and writers in establishing the preponderance of the visible elements in the concept of the Church.

This does not mean that the Church for St. Robert is not the mystical body of Christ. It certainly is that, but his attention is centered on the visible and controllable elements of the Church, the mystical body of Christ. His conception, however, of the term "body" in the designation "body of Christ" has not that spiritual denotation which is common to St. Paul and St. Augustine. In their theology we practically lose sight of the physical body and think of a spiritual reality. In Bellarmine's ecclesiology the corporal and juridical meaning is preponderant. In a sermon on the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary he speaks thus:

The Church is a certain whole and most beautiful body, whose head is Christ, God and Man. . . . The heart which is in the middle of the body, . . . is the Holy Ghost. . . . The neck, . . . is the Virgin Mother: she is closest to the head. . . . Moreover, the shoulders are the apostles, bishops, and other shepherds . . . the arms . . . (are) the martyrs. . . . The chest (are) . . . the prophets. . . . The kidneys are those who are given to penance, fasting. . . . The viscera are virgins. . . . The knees are those who on bent knees are given

<sup>198</sup> *Ibid.*

over to prayer. . . . Finally, the feet . . . designate those who are united in marriage. The stomach . . . clerics.<sup>199</sup>

The most conspicuous and comprehensive passage drawn from Bellarmine's works and dealing with the role of the Holy Ghost in the mystical body of Christ is the following:

It is to be observed from St. Augustine's *Breviculus Collationis (cum Donatistis)* in collation three, that the Church is a living body, in which there are a soul and a body; the soul is the gifts of the Holy Ghost, viz., faith, hope, charity, etc. The body is the external profession of faith and the communion of sacraments. From this it follows that some are of the soul and body of the Church, and consequently are united to Christ the head internally and externally; and these belong most fully to the Church; for they are, as it were, living members in a body, although even among these some participate in life more, others less, and others have only faith without charity. And again, others are of the soul and not of the body, as the catechumens, or the excommunicated, if they have faith and charity. Finally, some are of the body, and not of the soul, as he who has no internal virtue, and nevertheless they profess faith by hope or some temporal fear, and communicate in the sacraments under the leadership of pastors, and such are as hair and nails or vicious tumors in the human body.<sup>200</sup>

As the introductory words of Bellarmine's passage indicate, the doctrine contained in it is purported to be found in Augustine's *Breviculus collationis cum Donatistis*.<sup>201</sup> It is not, however, to be found there, either in word, or in effect. The closest general thought which is expressed in the "collation of the third day" is St. Augustine's defense of the existence of a single Church. Notwithstanding the fact that the Church is formed of the just and of sinners, we need not on that account assume the existence of a twofold Church—the one the mystical body of Christ, formed of the good and just, and the other a sort of hidden and

<sup>199</sup> Concio XLIII, "De Nativitate Beatae Mariae Virginis," *Opera Omnia* (Parisiis: 1873), IX, 378–80. Cf. J. De la Servièrre, *La Théologie de Bellarmin* (Paris: 1909), p. 170.

<sup>200</sup> *De Controversiis Christianae Fidei*, l. III, c. 2, *Opera Omnia Bellarmini*, II, 75.

<sup>201</sup> *Collatio tertii diei* (PL 43, 622 ff.; CSEL 53, ed. M. Petschenig, III, 50 ff.).

secondary church, constituted of the wicked. The Church's membership composition finds some analogy in the composition of man. Of the one and same man we predicate attributes that are very remote from one another because some pertain to his spiritual soul and others to his material body. The Church, too, being an organized institution and a spiritual organism binds members that are most disparate—saints and sinners. They are internally separated and will also eternally be separated hereafter. The good who now form the Church and tolerate the wicked will arise to life immortal without the admixture of the evil.<sup>202</sup>

Not only is Bellarmine's exposition not to be found in the part alluded to by him, but from the doctrine on the mystical body of Christ and from the role that was assigned to the Holy Ghost in the mystical body, it is evident that the presentation of Bellarmine cannot be considered a digest of the teaching found in the other works of St. Augustine. It is difficult to see, therefore, how J. Specht who, among Catholic scholars, made one of the first comprehensive and ex professo studies of St. Augustine's concept of the Church can quote Bellarmine in a tone of approval, as if this were an interpretation of the Bishop's mind.<sup>203</sup>

St. Augustine does not make the distinction between "the body of the Church" (*corpus Ecclesiae*) and "the soul of the Church" (*anima Ecclesiae*), as Specht interprets. As to Bellarmine, one is inclined to assume that he is not so interested in investigating and interpreting the mind of St. Augustine as he is in adapting the Bishop's doctrine to the needs of the sixteenth century controversies. Bellarmine is intent on further developing, in concrete theological terms, the doctrine of the manner in which members can belong to the Church and in what degrees.

The term "the body of the Church" (*corpus Ecclesiae*) does not occur in St. Augustine. The expression "the body of Christ" occurs a countless number of times, but the designation "the body of Christ" is certainly not the same as the "body of the Church"; for in St. Augustine, the body of Christ bears a connotation of the spiritual nature of the Church of Christ, whereas the "body of the Church," in Bellarminian apologetics, signifies

<sup>202</sup> *Brev. collat. cum Donat.*, 3, 10, 20 (PL 43, 635; CSEL 53, 69).

<sup>203</sup> *Die Lehre von der Kirche nach dem hl. Augustin* (Paderborn: 1892), p. 63.



the external elements of the Church. Nor is the other expression "the soul of the Church" (*anima Ecclesiae*) literally found in St. Augustine.<sup>204</sup> The Bishop never speaks of the soul in connection with the Church, which has an external connotation to him, but with the mystical body, which has an internal connotation. Moreover Augustine and Bellarmine differ in the interpretation of the soul. The former sees in the person of the Holy Ghost the soul of the mystical body, the latter assigns the role of the soul of the Church to the gifts of the Holy Ghost.

In reference to the origin of the terminology, the expression *corpus Ecclesiae* certainly occurs before the time of St. Bellarmine. It is as old as Christianity itself. It is found in St. Paul: "Et ipse est caput corporis Ecclesiae."<sup>205</sup> This text, however, is to be interpreted in the sense of the body of Christ, as is evident from the Greek text.<sup>206</sup> The same expression is employed by St. Thomas, e.g., "omnes christiani qui sunt de corpore Ecclesiae idem credunt."<sup>207</sup> But this *corpus Ecclesiae* of St. Thomas is not to be taken in the sense of the technical distinction of Bellarmine, but seems to be equivalent to "the body which is the Church,"<sup>208</sup> and thus corresponds to the phrase recurring so often in St. Augustine, *corpus Christi, quod est Ecclesia*. The other term, viz., *anima Ecclesiae* seems to have been introduced by St. Robert himself into theology.

In reference to the doctrine that is conveyed by these expres-

<sup>204</sup> Battifol, *Le catholicisme de Saint Augustin*, p. 250: "Specht a tort de dire que le term 'âme de l'Église' est augustinien."

<sup>205</sup> *Col.* 1:18.

<sup>206</sup> The Greek text places the word Church in apposition to the Body by dividing both words with a comma. E. Nestle, *Novum Testamentum Graece et Latine*, p. 510: "καὶ αὐτός ἐστιν ἡ κεφαλὴ τοῦ σώματος, τῆς ἐκκλησίας." This punctuation is sustained by von Soden, Merk, Vogels; it is omitted by B. Weiss and L. Cerfaux, *La théologie de l'Église suivant saint Paul* (Paris: 1948), pp. 250-51.

<sup>207</sup> *Expos. in Symbolum*, in art. 9. It was F. Ott, "Der Kirchenbegriff bei den Scholastikern, besonders bei Richard von Mediavilla," *Franziskanische Studien*, XXV (1938), 335, who pointed out that Alexander of Hales introduced the distinction between the Church or the mystical body and the "body of the Church."

<sup>208</sup> M. J. Congar, "The Idea of the Church in St. Thomas Aquinas," *The Thomist*, I (1939) 336, footnote 8: "St. Thomas frequently compares the *corpus Ecclesiae*, that is the body which is the Church, and the natural body."

sions, all seems to point that Bellarmine is the author of it. It can be deduced from the general trend of this period as well as from the apologist's own works that his intention was to make a digest of the ecclesiological thought of St. Augustine and to accommodate it to the needs of the day. Hence he introduced these distinctions which he probably believed corresponded to the theology of St. Augustine. We do not find them anterior to his times.

In an author of great name and merit of this time, who writes upon the same subjects as the Jesuit Cardinal in defense of the Catholic doctrine against the Reformers, and who had not a little influence upon subsequent writers,<sup>209</sup> we find neither the phraseology *corpus Ecclesiae* and *anima Ecclesiae* nor the interpretation given by St. Bellarmine. The man to whom I am referring is Cardinal Hosius of Poland, Prince-Bishop of Ermland, one of the papal legates presiding over the Council of Trent. He preceded Bellarmine by about thirty years and faced the very same problems. In defending and explaining the position and doctrines of the Catholic Church in his works which enjoyed great popularity in his day,<sup>210</sup> Hosius draws, in great part, his material from St. Augustine and employs the polemical technique that Augus-

<sup>209</sup> Among the authors of this period who recognize the authority of Cardinal Hosius, refer to, or make use of his works the following may be mentioned: S. Robertus Bellarmini, *De controversiis Christianae Fidei*, I. I, c. 2; I. III, c. 1; I. III, c. 10, *Opera Omnia Bellarmini* (Neapoli: 1856), II, 13, 73, 89; Th. Stapleton, *Principiorum Fidei doctrinalium demonstratio methodica* (Parisiis: 1582), fol. 14 (fac. 2); Bartholomaeus Medina, *Expositio in tertiam D. Thomae partem* (Venetiis: 1590), q. 8, a. 3, p. 142; Michael Medina, *Christianae paraenesis sive de recta in Deum fide* (Venetiis: 1564), I. VII, c. 10, fol. 244 (fac. 1); Antonius Cordubensis, *Opera in quinque libros digesta* (Venetiis: 1569-Toleto: 1570), I. IV, fol. 221, 223-24, 225, 229, 230, 235, 254, 256, 257; Gregorius de Valentia, *Commentaria theologica III* (Ingolstadii: 1803), Disp. 1, q. 1, Punct. VII, q. 4, col. 163 B, 172 B. Moreover Hosius is recognized as an authority and is praised by Popes Paul IV, Pius IV, Pius V; cf. S. Frankl, *Doctrina Hosii de notis Ecclesiae in luce saeculi XVI considerata* (Romae: 1934), p. 174.

<sup>210</sup> His *Confessio fidei catholicae christianae*, published partly at Cracow in 1553, and partly at Mainz in 1557 was considered "one of the best pieces of polemical literature produced during the period of the Reformation . . . more than thirty editions of it were printed during the lifetime of the author, and translations were made into German, Polish, English, Scotch, French, Italian, Flemish, Moravian, Arabic, and Armenian." M. Ott, "Hosius," *Catholic Encyclopedia*, VII, 473-74.

tine used so effectively against the Donatists.<sup>211</sup> For this reason he merited in the estimation of some the appellation of the Augustine of his time—an *alter Augustinus*.<sup>212</sup>

The apologetics of Hosius centers about two main doctrines that were called into question by the Reformers, viz., the nature of justification and the nature of the Church of Christ. While Bellarmine defines the Church from a consideration of its visible nature, Hosius envisages it from its mystical aspect, and makes it the center of his theology.<sup>213</sup> The former states: "It is our doctrine that the Church . . . is a society of men with the profession of the same Christian faith, united by a communion of the same sacraments, under the leadership of legitimate pas-

<sup>211</sup> J. Umiński, "Zagadnienie wpływu Św. Augustyna na St. Hozjusza," *Collectanea Theologica*, XI (1930), 524-30; S. Frankl, *Doctrina Hosii de notis Ecclesiae* (Romae: 1934), pp. 144 ff.

<sup>212</sup> Cf. Stanislaus Hosius, *Opera omnia in duos divisa tomos* (Coloniae: 1584), II, Epistola dedicatoria, in which are contained the words of Hosius' secretary, Stanislaus Reszka, summing up the opinion of his contemporaries concerning Card. Hosius: "Non vereor . . . , ne me quisquam existimet diuturnae consuetudinis, quae mihi cum Hosio intercessit et eius benevolentiae, qua me ad extremum usque vitae suae diem persecutus est, dulcedine delinitum, haec, quae dico, omnia libentius, quam verius praedicare; cum ita communis, ita constans, ita perpetua sit omnium de Hosii nostri pietate opinio, ut, etsi praecipuum meum erga illum studium esse deberet, pene tamen aequali cum caeteris versari videatur. Hoc enim in omnibus pene libris et litteris summorum et doctissimorum virorum, qui nostra hac tempestate floruerunt, observavi, quod magna sit inter omnes in omnibus orbis partibus de Hosii praestantia consensus. Alii vocant ecclesiae columnam, alii malleum haereticorum, alii ornamentum collegii Cardinalium, alii Polonicum Patriarcham . . . alii . . . Magnum Hosium . . . alii nostri temporis Augustinum . . . alii . . . numquam satis laudatum ecclesiae defensorem, rectae fidei custodem vigilantissimum. . . . Neque etiam dubitavit vir quidam eruditus Germanos suos admonere, ut Hosii Christianae Ecclesiae fidei confessio in omnibus templis et cathedris ab omnibus parochis populo praelegeretur et iterum atque iterum repeteretur, cum vix quisquam isto, ut ait, saeculo plenius, utilius, apertius, magis etiam ordinate, totum corpus doctrinae christianae, totamque illius vim et rationem complexus esse, nec efficacius Lutheri errores et aliarum sectarum vanitates refutasse videatur. Ita et merito possit, propter admirabilem vitae sanctitatem et divinam pene eruditionem, rerumque maximarum usum et experientiam non pro qualibet ecclesiae Dei columna, sed pro altero huius temporis Augustino reputari." Cf. *Rescii Epistolarum liber unus* (Neapoli: 1598), pp. 176 f.

<sup>213</sup> S. Frankl, *Doctrina Hosii de notis Ecclesiae in luce saeculi XVI considerata* (Romae: 1934), p. 108; G. Grabka, *Cardinalis Hosii doctrina de Corpore Christi Mystico* (Washington, D.C.: 1945), p. 153.

tors, and especially of the one Vicar of Christ on earth, viz., the Roman Pontiff.”<sup>214</sup> The latter defines it thus: “The Catholic Church is one body, and has diverse members, as St. Paul states: <sup>215</sup> the soul which vivifies, is the Holy Ghost, the head of it (the body) is Christ.”<sup>216</sup> The Church is a supernatural organism with a social organization.<sup>217</sup>

Bellarmino's division of those who belong to the “soul of the Church,” and, finally, those who belong to “the body and soul” of the Church does not occur in Hosius' ecclesiological polemics. Following in the footsteps of St. Augustine, Hosius places the mystical body of Christ within the empirical, juridical society of the Church. The mystical body and the social Church are related to one another as two concentric circles: the mystical body forms the inner and smaller circle which does not however extend beyond the limits of the empirical society. Membership in the visible Church is a condition of belonging to the mystical body and union with Christ.<sup>218</sup>

In the writings of Hosius the term “body” (*corpus*) of the designation the “body of Christ,” is, according to the letter, the same as in St. Augustine, but not according to the spirit. As in Bellarmine and the other writers of the Reformation and post-Reformation period, the term assumed a juridical and visible aspect, so that we are apt to lose sight of its spiritual and mystical meaning in order to become aware of a juridical and visible society which is united to Christ as the body is to a head. The metaphor of head and body, understood in this sense, furnished the apologists with the argument for its visibility and indivisibility. Whoever wishes to belong to Christ's body must belong to His Church, for the visible Church is the body of Christ, the head.<sup>219</sup>

<sup>214</sup> *Op. cit.*, I. III, c. 2, p. 75.

<sup>215</sup> Rom. 12:4-5; I Cor. 12:12 ff.

<sup>216</sup> *Confessio*, c. 20, *Opera Omnia Hosii*, I, 28.

<sup>217</sup> G. Grabka, *Cardinalis Hosii doctrina de Corpore Christi Mystico* (Washington, D.C.: 1945), p. 155.

<sup>218</sup> J. Smoczyński, *Eklezjologja Stanisława Hozjusza* (Pelplin: 1937), pp. 88-89.

<sup>219</sup> *Confessio*, c. 48: *Opera Omnia Hosii*, I, 59: “Dominus noster Jesus Christus, quemadmodum ab Augustino legimus [*Enar. in Ps. 61* (PL 36, 730); in Gal., 38 (PL 35, 2135)] 1, unus est homo cum capite et corpore suo, Salvator corporis et membrorum corporis, duo in carne una.” *Confessio*, c. 56; *Opera*



There are various degrees of adherence to, and union with, the body of Christ. The most perfect mode of belonging to the mystical body is by both faith and charity. He who is so united to the body of Christ is said in the terminology of Hosius to be "a member of Christ" (*membrum Christi*).<sup>220</sup> One, therefore, who transgresses against faith or charity is not "a member of Christ." Who sins against God or one's neighbor, or who separates himself from the body of Christ loses the exalted title of being "a member of Christ."<sup>221</sup> This does not mean that sinners cannot be members of Christ's Church. Like Augustine, Hosius strenuously defends their existence in the Church with the scriptural weapons of the Bishop of Africa. Hosius does not say that they are "members of Christ," but that they are in the body of Christ, the Church (*in Christi corpore Ecclesia*),<sup>222</sup> or simply in

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*Omnia Hosii*, I, 212: "Etenim totus Christus quemadmodum ab eodem Augustino legimus scriptum [*Enar. in Ps. 3* (PL 36, 76); *De Unitate Ecclesiae*, c. 4 (PL 43, 395; CSEL 52, ed. Petschenig, 238); *Sermo* 137, 1, 1 (PL 38, 754)] caput et corpus est. Caput est Unigenitus Dei Filius, Corpus ejus Ecclesia: sponsus et sponsa, duo in carne una." *Ep. 128: Opera Omnia Hosii*, II, 281: "Christus et caput et corpus est; corpus autem ejus est Ecclesia, quae cum capite suo Christus unus est, nec umquam vel ille ab ipsa vel ipsa ab illo separantur." Compare with St. Augustine, *Enar. in Ps. 3* (PL 36, 76); *Enar. in Ps. 17* (PL 36, 154).

<sup>220</sup> *Confessio*, c. 43; *Opera Omnia Hosii*, I, 142: "Quisquis ad salutem vult accipere Corpus et Sanguinem, hoc imprimis eum contendere et elaborare oportet, ut sit membrum Christi, hoc est, per fidem et charitatem Christo adhaereat."

<sup>221</sup> *Ibid.*; He points out those that are not members. "Non est autem Christi membrum, qui plus diligit creaturam, et ei magis adhaeret quam Creatori Redemptorique suo Christo.—Non est membrum Christi, qui fratrem ad Christi corpus pertinentem odio habet.—Non est membrum Christi, qui segregat semetipsum a corpore Christi.—Denique quicumque criminis alicujus capitalis reus est, non est membrum Christi."

<sup>222</sup> *Confutatio* l. III: *Opera Omnia Hosii*, I, 537: "Manifestius est, quam ut negare possis, Brenti, quod in Ecclesia non boni tantum, sed et mali sunt, ac plures mali, sed longe diversa ratione quam boni. Si quidem boni sunt in ea tanquam viva membra, quae vitam suam habent a Spiritu Christi, et vivifico illo influxu qui est per vivam fidem et charitatem. Contra mali sic sunt *in Christi corpore Ecclesia*, sicut sunt in humano corpore sanguis noxius, humores mali, capilli, ungues, membra arefacta, quae tametsi vitam a spiritu non recipiunt, sunt nihilominus in corpore. Caeterum si nimis exundat sanguis noxius, phlebotomia tollitur, ne totum corpus pereat; si nimis luxuriat caesaries capitis aut barba tondetur; si nimis extant ungues indecore, resecantur; si redundet corpus malis humoribus, per vomitum relevatur; si denique membrum aliquod cancro sit infectum, ense rescinditur,

the body of Christ (*in Christi corpore*).<sup>223</sup> Thus in the terminology of Hosius to be a member of the body of Christ, the Church—*Christi corporis Ecclesiae*—is equivalent to being a member of the Church—*membrum Ecclesiae*.<sup>224</sup>

Let us summarize: A perfect member, according to Hosius, is said to be a member of Christ, or of Christ the head. Those without faith or charity are described as being members of the Church or of Christ's body. Wherefore the terms "body of Christ," or "body of Christ the Church" designate the visible and social aspect of the Church.

It is evident that the term "body" does not bear precisely the same meaning that it did in the early patristic period. A transformation of meaning has taken place from the spiritual conception of the fourth century to a juridical meaning of the times under consideration. This change of meaning of the word "body" in the expression "body of Christ" is frequently not adverted to, and as a result the word "*corpus*" or "*corpus Ecclesiae*" is construed in an Augustinian sense.

The designation "body of Christ" of "body of the Church" (*corpus Ecclesiae*) came to be used as a name for the Church,

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ne pars sincera trahatur. Eadem est ratio eorum qui mali sunt *in Christi corpore Ecclesia*. Nam si nimis exundat eorum effrenis, petulantia aut castigatione comprimitur, vel excommunicatione prorsus resecatur. . . . Haec nobis visum est crassius explicare . . . eorum causa . . . qui nostro saeculo veterem Donatistarum errorem renovantes, manifestos peccatores esse negant in Ecclesia." Compare St. Augustine, *In Io. Ep. tr.* 3, 4 (PL 35, 1999): "Et sunt qui intus sic sunt in corpore Domini nostri Jesu Christi . . . quomodo humores mali. Quando evomuntur, tunc relevatur corpus: sic et mali quando exeunt, tunc Ecclesia relevatur. Et dicit quando eos evomit atque projicit corpus: Ex me exierunt humores isti, sed non erant ex me."

<sup>223</sup> *Confutatio* I. III: *Opera Omnia Hosii*, I, 537 where he says that members in the Church are "partim viva partim etiam putrida et mortua . . . , atque haec quamdiu aut ipsa se non praeciderint aut iudicio Ecclesiae praecisa non fuerint a Christi corpore, membra illius vocari et esse, quamvis mortua."

<sup>224</sup> Compare, for example, the two following passages: *Confutatio* I. III: *Opera Omnia Hosii*, I, 537: "Observat aliquis ritus, quos per orbem Christianum universum observari videmus ab omnibus, quicumque Christiani censi volunt, nihil jam impedit quominus inter Christianos et Christi corporis Ecclesiae membra numeretur." The second passage: *Confutatio* I. V: *Opera Omnia*, I, 590: "Nihil impedit, quominus eum, in quo publicam et legitimam professionem fidei et vocationem agnoscimus, pro vero Ecclesiae membro habeamus, etiamsi coram Deo verum membrum non sit."

which constituted a moral body of the faithful. It did not bear that strong connotation of the spiritual aspects of the Church in contradistinction to the empirical aspect of the Church. Rather the term "*corpus*" pointed predominantly to the institutional, social, visible Church, although it did not always exclude or prescind from the internal and spiritual elements.

It is in this sense that *corpus* also occurs in such writers of this period as Driedo, Pighius, Sonnio, Anthony of Cordova, Medina, Stapleton<sup>225</sup> (1535-1598), and Robert Bellarmine.<sup>226</sup> These apologists prove the visibility and other experimental characteristics of the Church precisely from the fact that the Church is defined as a "body." This type of argument is sufficient evidence of the realistic and juridical sense in which the term "*corpus*" was understood by these theologians, and is at the same time indicative of a certain departure from its original usage found in St. Paul, Augustine, and the Fathers.

The meaning of the term "body," proper to the Catholic apologists of the Reformation period is the one that prevails to this day. Pope Leo XIII, speaking of the mystical body of Christ, says that "the Church is visible because she is a body."<sup>227</sup> Pope Pius XII in his Encyclical Letter on the Mystical Body of Christ reiterates the same thought, stating that if it is a body, "it must be something definite and perceptible to the senses."<sup>228</sup>

In conclusion, let us compare the difference in doctrine between St. Augustine and St. Bellarmine. According to St. Augustine, whoever is in the visible Church (the *Catholica, Ecclesia*, or *Ecclesia Catholica*) is also to be considered as in the body of Christ (*corpus Christ*). In other words, a condition of being a

<sup>225</sup> T. Stapleton, *Principiorum Fidei Doctrinalium Demonstratio Methodica* (Parisii: 1582), contr. I, l. 4, c. 6, p. 114: "Ecclesia quum sit Corpus, non membrum, per ea cognoscitur quae corpori, ut tali conveniunt, non quae membris ut talibus conveniunt. . . . Ex quo fit, ut Ecclesia definita tamquam Corpus, per illa corporis propria definiatur, visibilitatem, multitudinem, perpetuitatem; quia Ecclesia corpus est visibile, crescens per omnes gentes et perpetua successione perdurans, quasi his tribus dimensionibus constans. Longitudo et latitudo hujus corporis in ipsa amplissima ejus multitudine longe lateque diffusa conspiciatur."

<sup>226</sup> *Op. cit.*, l. 3, c. 2, p. 75: ". . . Ecclesiam esse corpus vivum . . . Corpus sunt externa professio, et communicatio Sacramentorum."

<sup>227</sup> "Satis Cognitum," June 20, 1896, *Act. Sanct. Sed.*, XXVIII, 710.

<sup>228</sup> N.C.W.C. ed. (Washington, D.C.: 1943), p. 11.

member of Christ's body is to belong to the visible, juridical, sacramental society. A member may adhere to Christ's body in various degrees, but the principal difference between its members is the fact that some form or constitute it, whereas others merely adhere to it. This doctrine expressed in terms of relationship to the Holy Ghost is the following: Members who form the body of Christ possess the Holy Ghost in a twofold capacity: as members of the mystical body they are in that body of which the Holy Ghost is the soul and corporate indweller; as living members of the mystical body of Christ, they possess the Holy Ghost as an individual indweller of their souls which He sanctifies by His presence and powers. And thus sinners, who merely adhere to the mystical body of Christ by virtue of their adherence to the visible and sacramental Church, have not the Holy Ghost as their personal indweller and sanctifier, yet they have a connection, be it frail and not vital, with the body which is animated by Him as its soul.

The "body of the Church" (*corpus Ecclesiae*) of St. Robert designates precisely those in the Church who do not partake of the inner life of grace and sanctity, and consequently do not possess the inhabitation of the Holy Spirit. For, he says, they are those who have no internal life-giving virtue, but who nevertheless profess the same faith, have communion in the same sacraments, and are subject to ecclesiastical authority. These sinners he compares to hair, nails, bad humors (*capilli, ungues, mali humores*) in the human body. These terms have been borrowed from St. Augustine and have become stock ideas in Scholastic and post-Scholastic writers to illustrate the manner in which sinners can exist in the body of Christ. They indicate, at the same time, the extensive and far reaching influence of the African Bishop from the fourth century.

Less plausible is what is said about men belonging to "the soul of the Church" (*anima Ecclesiae*) even if they do not belong to "the body of the Church" (*corpus Ecclesiae*). St. Bellarmine explicitly mentions, by way of example, the catechumens and the excommunicated as belonging to this category, but, by the principle he lays down, this membership is to be extended to all outside of the Church, who have acquired or are in possession of



certain life-giving gifts of the Holy Ghost. Evidently such men do not belong to the *corpus Ecclesiae*, because they are not united by external and visible bonds: they do not profess the same faith, they do not have communion in the same sacraments, they do not recognize the authority instituted by Christ to govern the Church. They possess something of the Church, namely, that life which is proper to the body of Christ, wherefore they are said to belong to "the soul of the Church."

In order to explain the manner in which those attain salvation who are outside the Church in good faith and try to do all that Christ wants them to do, later theologians have formulated what Bellarmine wanted to explain without encroaching upon the realms of an invisible Church. They say that such men are in the true Church which alone brings salvation, not in reality (*in re*), but by an implicit desire and intention (*in voto*).<sup>229</sup> Pius XII stated that "actually only those are to be included as members of the Church who have been baptized and profess the true faith, and who have not been so unfortunate as to separate themselves from the unity of the body, or been excluded by legitimate authority for grave faults committed."<sup>230</sup> However, he further refers to those in good faith "who, not enlightened by the truth of the Gospel, are still without the fold of the Church, and those who, on account of regrettable schism, are separated from Us"; "by an unconscious desire and longing they have a certain relationship with the mystical body of the Redeemer."<sup>231</sup>

St. Augustine admits that men finding themselves beyond the pale of the Church of Christ may possess some sanctifying effects which come from the Holy Ghost, but he does not allow them

<sup>229</sup> E. Mura, *Le Corps Mystique du Christ* (2me éd.; Paris: 1936) I, 204: "On notera en passant que, pour saint Augustin, l'âme de l'Église ne déborde pas son Corps, et on ne saurait donc appartenir à l'âme de l'Église sans appartenir à son Corps, au moins *in voto*, par le désir implicite que possède nécessairement toute âme sincère, en grâce avec Dieu."

<sup>230</sup> Enc. *Mystici Corporis*, N.C.W.C. ed. (Washington, D.C.: 1943), p. 10. This translation renders *reapse* by "actually." Cf. D. M. Nothomb, "L'Église le Corps Mystique du Christ," *Irénikon*, XXIV (1952), 242.

<sup>231</sup> Enc. *Mystici Corporis*, p. 39. The original Latin text *AAS*, X (1943), 243 reads: "Quandoquidem etiamsi inscio quodam desiderio ac voto ad mysticum Redemptoris Corpus ordinentur. . . ." Cf. A. Charvasse, "Ordonnés au corps mystique. . .," *Nouvelle rev. théol.*, LXX (1948), 690-702; C. Feckes, *Die Kirche als Herrenleib* (Paderborn: 1949), pp. 59-60.

the possession of the inhabiting person of the Holy Ghost or a participation in Him as the soul of the body of Christ. The Bishop of Hippo, as the great champion of the Church's unity in Africa, was more intent on defending the one, concrete, and visible Catholic Church, than on contemplating the fate of those who were in good faith outside of this unity. Augustine preferred, under the circumstances, to be betrayed into rigorism rather than into a sort of latitudinarianism by establishing a formula under which many a schismatic and heretic could find comfortable shelter. Because Augustine did not develop this phase of ecclesiology, Bellarmine felt the need of expressing it in his formula of *corpus Ecclesiae* and *anima Ecclesiae*.

The Church of St. Augustine, as has already been shown, is not to be conceived as divided into two entities: the one consisting of the mystical body of Christ, and the other of the Church, an external and sacramental society. The mystical body and the external, visible Church are one and the same Church: for, where the visible Church is, there the mystical body must be. If the Holy Ghost is the soul of the mystical body, then He is there where the visible Catholic Church is. But Bellarmine's "soul of the Church" (*anima Ecclesiae*) introduces a sort of an invisible Church,<sup>232</sup> and makes the Holy Ghost a soul that is outside the body that He animates. This doctrine is not consonant with the teaching of St. Augustine and is without the support of the official documents of the Church.<sup>233</sup> The more recent trend<sup>234</sup> of

<sup>232</sup> L. Capéran, *Le problème du salut des infidèles* (Paris: 1912), p. 81: "La formule (l'âme de l'Eglise) est malheureuse dans la mesure où elle conduirait à penser que ces justes forment une sorte d'Eglise invisible dédoublement de l'autre, et qu'il ne saurait être question pour eux d'aggrégation à la société visible établie par Notre-Seigneur."

<sup>233</sup> C. Journet, "L'Esprit-Saint, hôte et âme créée de l'Eglise," *La Vie Spirituelle*, Supplément, XL (1934), 71 ff.: "Une pareille manière de distinguer l'âme et le Corps de l'Eglise est sans fondement dans les documents authentiques du Magistère, elle paraît influencée par la conception protestante de l'Eglise spirituelle distincte de l'Eglise visible, et elle est d'un emploi dangereux. . . ." The origin of these expressions is not to be sought in influences of Protestant conceptions, but in adaptations for the purpose of explaining the manner in which justification and salvation are attained by those in good faith outside of the Church.

<sup>234</sup> Cf., e.g., L. Lercher, *Institutiones Theologiae Dogmaticae* (Oeniponte: 1927), I, 447; S. Tromp, *De Ecclesia, quod est corpus Christi mysticum* (Romae: 1927), pp. 15, 23; E. Mura, *op. cit.*, I, 204: "Cette séparation, même

complete identification of the Church as the body of Christ and as a juridical society is in complete accord with Augustinian theology and polemics.

The unintended introduction of an invisible Church is a deviation from the Church of St. Augustine, and it is rendered possible by a departure from Augustine's teaching on the relation of the Holy Ghost to the Church, the mystical body of Christ. Following in the footsteps of Bellarmine some of the first few manuals on the Church,<sup>235</sup> and not a few more recent theologians, have espoused the doctrine that not the person of the Holy Ghost but His created gifts constitute the soul of the Church. "The vivifying principle of the mystical body is supernatural life, whether we conceive of it as grace, faith, hope, or charity, the seven gifts of the Holy Ghost, actual graces, as well as those gifts of the Holy Spirit which are conferred upon certain members for the sanctification of others. Among the latter are the charismata, strictly so-called, and the authority given to ecclesiastical superiors to guide and govern their subjects."<sup>236</sup>

In his own day St. Bellarmine could not buttress his statement that the gifts of the Holy Ghost form the soul of the Church by appealing to the authority of theologians, past or contemporary. For they were unanimous in following the patristic tradition according to which the Holy Ghost Himself is the soul of the mystical body of Christ. Thus one is able to name in support of

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inadequate entre l'âme et le Corps de l'Église, doit être abandonnée comme inexacte"; G. Van Noort, *De Ecclesia Christi* (5th ed.; Hilversum: 1932), although he makes the distinction into *anima* and *corpus Ecclesiae*, and makes the internal sanctifying factors the *anima*, still he is careful to have both coalesce in one and the same Church; he says on p. 87; "Anima et corpus ecclesiae non sunt duae ecclesiae, altera invisibilis altera visibilis, sed simul constituunt unam ecclesiam visibilem simul et vivam."

<sup>235</sup> L. Bailly, *Tractatus de Ecclesia Christi* (Paris: 1783), I, 8: "Ecclesia, quae militans appellatur, et de qua agitur in hoc tractatu, est totum constans anima et corpore, ut notat Bellarminus. Anima Ecclesiae sunt ipsa dona Spiritus sancti . . . Corpus Ecclesiae nihil aliud est, quam externa et vera Christi religionis professio."

<sup>236</sup> Brunsmann-Preuss, *Fundamental Theology* (St. Louis: 1931), III, 214. This opinion is upheld by Dom. Palmieri, G. Wilmers, *De Ecclesia* (Ratisbonae: 1897), p. 86; F. M. de Brouwer, *Tractatus de Ecclesia Christi* (Paris: 1882), pp. 202-3; G. Van Noort, *De Ecclesia Christi* (5 ed.; Hilversum: 1932), pp. 85 f.; E. Hugon, *Hors de l'Église, point de Salut* (Paris: 1907) p. 13.

this doctrine such authorities of this period as Hosius,<sup>237</sup> Melchior Cano,<sup>238</sup> C. Schatzgeyer,<sup>239</sup> W. Lindanus,<sup>240</sup> J. Turrecremata<sup>241</sup> (1388-1468), F. Sonnio († 1576),<sup>242</sup> A. Pighius († 1542),<sup>243</sup> T. Stapleton (1535-1598).<sup>244</sup>

In recent times the doctrine of the created gifts of the Holy Ghost as being the soul of the Church is receding<sup>245</sup> and the doctrine of St. Paul,<sup>246</sup> St. Augustine, and St. Thomas<sup>247</sup> is being reinstated. The encyclical of Pope Leo XIII<sup>248</sup> on the Holy Ghost

<sup>237</sup> *Confessio*, c. 20: *Opera Omnia Hosii*, I, 28: "Anima autem, quae corpus hoc vivificat, est Spiritus Sanctus, caput vero illius est Christus."

<sup>238</sup> *De locis theologicis*, l. IV, c. 4 (ed. Migne; Parisiis: 1863, I, 234): "Spiritus Sanctus est hujus corporis anima."

<sup>239</sup> *Scrutinium Divinae Scripturae pro conciliatione dissidentium dogmatum* (1522), ed. U. Schmidt, O.F.M., in *Corpus Catholicorum*, heft 5 (Münster: 1922), pp. 88-89.

<sup>240</sup> *De vera Christi Jesu Ecclesia* (Coloniae: 1572) teaches this indirectly in c. 48, pp. 293-94.

<sup>241</sup> *Summa de Ecclesia* (Venetiis: 1561), l. I, c. 43, fol. 50 (fac. 1); cf. l. I, c. 6, fol. 8 (fac. 1).

<sup>242</sup> *Demonstrationum religionis christianae libri duo* (Lovanii: 1556), l. II, fol. 449.

<sup>243</sup> *Controversiarum, quibus nunc exagitur Christi fides et religio . . . , explicatio* (Venetiis: 1541), fol. CXXX.

<sup>244</sup> *Principium fidei doctrinalium relectio* (Antverpiae: 1596), qu. 3, art. 6, p. 55; *Principiorum fidei doctrinalium demonstratio methodica* (Parisiis: 1582), Controv. II, l. V, cap. 1: "Quemadmodum enim anima est actus et perfectio totius corporis organismi . . . sic Spiritus Sanctus est anima totius Ecclesiae. . . ."

<sup>245</sup> C. Journet, *L'Église du Verbe Incarné: Essai de théologie spéculative* II: *Sa structure interne et son unité catholique* (Paris: 1951), considers charity as the created soul of the Church, pp. 37-38, 691, 705, and the Holy Ghost as the uncreated soul: "Elle est sa Forme et son Âme créée," pp. 547-48.

<sup>246</sup> I Cor. 12:7-11; I Cor. 12:13; Rom. 8:2; cf. Mura, *Le Corps Mystique du Christ* (2me éd.; Paris: 1936), I, p. 200 ff.; F. Prat, *The Theology of St. Paul* (Eng. trans., London: 1942), II, 288-91; L. Cerfaux, *La théologie de l'Église suivant saint Paul* (Paris: 1948), pp. 172-73.

<sup>247</sup> St. Thomas Aq., *Opusculum VII, Expositio in Symbolum Apostolorum*, art. IX, *Opera Omnia*, XVI (Parmae: 1865), 147: "Sicut videmus quod in homine est una anima et unum corpus, et tamen sunt diversa membra ipsius; ita Ecclesia catholica est unum corpus, et habet diversa membra. Anima autem quae hoc corpus vivificat, est Spiritus Sanctus." Cf. E. Vauthier, "Le Saint-Esprit principe d'unité de l'Église d'après saint Thomas d'Aquin," *Mélanges de science relig.*, V (1948), 175-96; VI (1949), 57-80.

<sup>248</sup> "Divinum Illud," May 9, 1897, *Act. Sanctae Sedis*, XXIX, 650: "Hoc affirmare sufficiat, quod cum Christus caput sit Ecclesiae, Spiritus Sanctus sit ejus anima. . . ."



has been a strong impetus in that direction: the encyclical of Pope Pius XII on the Mystical Body has reiterated the same point of doctrine.<sup>249</sup> Modern textbooks<sup>250</sup> and other works<sup>251</sup> treating of the Church as the mystical body of Christ, and a series of recent articles<sup>252</sup> lend their weight and authority to the universality of the doctrine that the Holy Ghost Himself is the soul of the Church, the body of Christ.

<sup>249</sup> "Mystici Corporis," *AAS*, XXXV (1943), 219-20; cf. L. Malavez, "L'encyclique 'mystici corporis,'" *Nouvelle rev. théol.*, LXVII (1945) 394-405.

<sup>250</sup> H. Dieckmann, *De Ecclesia tractatus Theologiae Dogmaticae*, II, 242-45; D'Herbigny, *Theologia de Ecclesia* (Parisii: 1920), II, 234-37; T. Zapelena, *De Ecclesia Christi* (Romae: 1940), II, 125-36; Lercher, *Institutiones Theologiae Dogmaticae* (3 ed.; Oeniponte: 1942); IV, 2, 43-44; S. Tromp, *Corpus Christi quod est Ecclesia* (2 ed.; Romae: 1946), 185; P. Parente, *Theologia Fundamentalis* (2 ed.; Romae: 1947), p. 159; F. X. Calcagno, *Theologia Fundamentalis* (Neapoli: 1948), pp. 205-6.

<sup>251</sup> E. Mura, *Le Corps Mystique du Christ, sa nature et sa vie divine* (2me éd., Paris: 1936), I, 197-224; C. Feckes, *Das Mysterium der heiligen Kirche* (3 Aufl.; Paderborn: 1951), pp. 189 ff.; H. de Lubac, *Méditation sur l'Église* (Paris: 1954), pp. 80-81; among Anglicans E. L. Mascall, *Corpus Christi: Essays on the Church and the Eucharist* (London: 1953), p. 8; J. Robert Nelson, *The Realm of Redemption* (London: 1951); L. Newbigin, *The Household of God: Lessons on the Nature of the Church* (London: 1954), pp. 60-86.

<sup>252</sup> P. Davigneau, "L'Âme du Corps Mystique," *La Vie Spirituelle*, L (1937), 65-85; E. Delaye, "La Vie de la Grace," *Nouvelle Rev. Théol.*, LIII (1926), 561-78; H. Hughes, "The Mystical Body," *Ecc. Rev.* LXXII (1925), 225-33; C. Journet, "Le Saint-Esprit, Principe de l'Église," *La Vie Spirituelle*, XL (1934), Suppl., 1-27; *id.*, "L'Esprit Saint, hôte et âme créée de l'Église," *ibid.*, pp. 65-77; *id.*, "Note Sur l'Âme de l'Église," *Rev. Thomiste*, XLI (1936), 651-54, according to which the Holy Ghost is the uncreated soul, charity the created soul of the Church; E. Mura, "L'Âme du Corps Mystique," *Revue Thomiste*, XLI (1936), 233-52; H. Dieckmann, "Corpus Christi Mysticum," *Zeitschrift für Ascese und Mystik*, I (1926) 120 ff.; J. Bluett, "Mystical Body of Christ and Catholic Church Exactly Coextensive," *Ecc. Rev.* CIII (1940), 317-23; H. Passaic, "Le don du Saint-Esprit du Chrétien," *Lumière et Vie*, X (1953), 29-50.

## CHAPTER 2

### FAITH, HOPE, AND CHARITY

**I**F THE Church of St. Augustine is a Church of "sacraments," it is none the less a Church of faith, hope, and charity. Her members are united not merely by visible rites and external observances into the moral union of a social organization but also by spiritual, internal ties into the spiritual union of a living organism. In fact, the external sacraments and rites are suggestive, symbolic, and causative of internal, spiritual unity. The formula *communio sanctorum* can be understood in a twofold way: either as a participation in holy, sacramental rites, or as a communion of men who are made holy by them.<sup>1</sup> External participation of the sacraments is ordained toward internal holiness. The external life of the Church is ordained toward the internal life, and its internal life is ordained toward the eternal salvation. Since the Church, whether considered in her external or internal life, has as her final purpose the salvation of man, she is (as Congar crisply expresses it) both an institution of salvation (Heilsanstalt) and a community of salvation (Heilsgemeinschaft).<sup>2</sup>

The Church is an institution for the practice of religion through which sanctification and salvation are attained. There are thus in St. Augustine an internal and an external religion. The external religion of rites and sacraments corresponds to the visible and external Church, whereas the internal religion of faith, hope, and charity constitutes the inner life of man and consists in the

<sup>1</sup> *De civ. Dei*, I, 35 (PL 41, 46; ed. Dombart-Kalb, I, 51): "connexos communionem sacramentorum"; *Sermo* 15, 2 (PL 38, 116): "participationem et communionem sacramentorum"; *Contra Faustum*, XIX, 11 (PL 42, 255; CSEL 25, ed. J. Zycha, 510); cf. F. J. Badcock, "Sanctorum communio As an Article in the Creed," *Journal of Theological Studies*, XXI (1920), 106-26.

<sup>2</sup> M. J. Congar, *Jalons pour une théologie du laïc* (Paris: 1953).

spiritual ties by which he is bound to the mystical body of Christ. The existence of an external and internal religion is necessitated by the very nature of man, who constituted of body and soul, must acknowledge the creator by his whole being, visible and invisible.

In response to Laurentius inquiring for a summary of Christian religion, Augustine writes a work entitled *Enchiridion, sive de fide, spe et charitate*. In the beginning of it the Bishop states that to be wise is to be pious. Piety means nothing else than the worship of God. Augustine continues by saying that we worship God by faith, hope, and charity.<sup>3</sup> This triad is so important to religion that it constitutes the very core of the Christian religion. "These (faith, hope, and charity) are to be pursued mostly, indeed even alone, in religion."<sup>4</sup> These constitute the very soul of prayer: "In faith, in hope, and in charity with an uninterrupted desire we always pray."<sup>5</sup>

He is equally emphatic in instructing his people. In a sermon he tells his audience "it is necessary that you have charity, that you have faith, and that you have hope."<sup>6</sup> Our faith in God must be strong by believing in Him, whom we do not see; our hope in God must be firm by adhering to Him without wavering, and our love of God must be steadfast by uniting us here and afterwards with Him. For while faith and hope will cease when their object has been attained, charity remains and is consummated in the full attainment of its object.<sup>7</sup> These are so important because we Christians do not live for something which we already perfectly possess, but for a future life and for the fruition of an object to be attained; by means of faith, hope, and charity our heart and mind are fixed on the object of our future possession.<sup>8</sup>

Faith, hope, and charity are pronounced by the Bishop of Hippo in one breath because inseparably they constitute the in-

<sup>3</sup> 3 (PL 40, 232).

<sup>4</sup> 3 (PL 40, 233).

<sup>5</sup> *Ep.* 130, 9, 18 (PL 33, 501).

<sup>6</sup> *Sermo* 105, 4, 5 (PL 38, 620).

<sup>7</sup> *Enar. in Ps.* 91, 1 (PL 37, 1171).

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*

ner life of man and the essence of religion, so that the whole religious life of man is disturbed if any one of these is wanting or defective. Faith works through charity and hopes for what God promised. And thus hope is a companion to faith. "Take away faith, and what you believe perishes; take away charity, what you do perishes. It belongs to faith that you believe; to charity that you act. If you believe, and do not love, you do not move yourself to a good deed."<sup>9</sup> And again he says that if faith wavers, then charity will languish. "If any one falls from faith, it is inevitable that he also falls from charity. For, he cannot love what he does not believe exists. But, if he both believes and loves, by leading a good life and by obeying the commandments of good morals, he gives himself reason to hope that he may arrive at that which he loves."<sup>10</sup>

To what extent faith, hope, and charity have taken possession of Augustine's mind is evident from the fact that they appear in his first philosophical works written immediately after his conversion. They were to remain fundamental parts of his doctrine on the spiritual life of the individual and of his theology on the Church.<sup>11</sup> Writing against the Manichees, also at an early stage of his Christian life, he explicitly states that these three enter into the formation of the Christian life to such a degree as to be distinctive of it. The moral conduct of one who is in possession of these three virtues must be different from one who believes, hopes, and loves something else than he who has true Christian faith, hope, and charity.<sup>12</sup>

It is a fundamental teaching of St. Augustine that faith, hope,

<sup>9</sup> *Sermo* 53, 11 (PL 38, 369).

<sup>10</sup> *De doctr. Christ.*, I, 37, 41 (PL 34, 35): tr. J. J. Garrigan in *The Fathers of the Church* (New York: 1947), Writings of St. Augustine, IV, 58.

<sup>11</sup> Loofs, *Leitfaden zum Studium der Dogmengeschichte* (4 Aufl.; 1906: Halle), p. 372: "Glaube, Hoffnung und Liebe traten schon in Augustins Soliloquien bedeutsam hervor. Sie sind Grundbegriffe seiner Theologie geblieben."

<sup>12</sup> *Contra Faustum*, 20, 23 (PL 42, 386-87; CSEL 25, ed. J. Zycha, I, 489): "Maneantque ad formandam vitam fidelium tria haec: fides, spes, caritas: unde fieri potest, ut pares cum aliquo mores habeat, qui haec tria cum illo paria non habet? qui enim aliud credit, aliud sperat, aliud amat, necesse est, ut aliter vivat."



and charity in the soul do not come as part and parcel of the human nature with creation, nor are they the natural product of man's soul, but are special gifts of God superadded to man's nature. Although God is the author and giver of these virtues, and thus any divine person can be said correctly to give them, their bestowal on man is preferably associated with the person of the Holy Ghost. He Himself by virtue of His procession from the Father and the Son is said to be the uncreated Gift (*Donum*), and hence all divine gifts are described as proceeding from Him.<sup>13</sup>

From the fact that these virtues are said to be infused into the soul, it is evident that they constitute the inner, spiritual life of man. Nor is it one, or the other of them but all three concurrently form that life. All three virtues have one and the same object as their ultimate end, and that is God, but each attains him by an act of its own, and hence each virtue is diverse.<sup>14</sup> But they are so intimately associated that they cannot form the whole and salvation-bringing life of man unless all three coexist. God, the beatifying object, cannot be attained unless through faith, hope, and charity.

By this triad we are joined not only to God, but also to Christ, our head. Because He is God, Christ can be the object of these virtues, which have the highest being as their object; because He is man we can be brought into a certain living oneness with Him through His human nature.<sup>15</sup> Our union with Christ is not of the kind that a distant object is joined to the subject through some psychological process; nor is it of the kind that causes assimilation through good conduct. It is a union in which a spiritual organism is formed with Christ of many members. The bonds by which these members are united to Christ are faith, hope, and charity. "Be among His members," admonishes St. Augustine, "adhere to Him by faith, hope, and charity."<sup>16</sup> The oneness with Christ is real, although spiritual; the life common to Christ and

<sup>13</sup> *Sermo* 105, 4, 5 (PL 38, 620).

<sup>14</sup> *Sermo* 105, 4, 5 (PL 38, 620): "Haec itidem tria aliquantum sunt diversa."

<sup>15</sup> *Sermo* (Mai 98), Morin, *Ser. Aug.*, p. 347: "Cur non etiam nos ita laboramus in terris, ut per fidem, spem, charitatem, qua illi connectimur, jam cum illo requiescamus in caelis?"

<sup>16</sup> *Enar. in Ps.* 100, 3 (PL 37, 1284).

the soul is real although supernatural; and the ties uniting one to Christ are real, although invisible.

It is evident that faith, hope, and charity play a paramount role in St. Augustine's theology, spirituality and ecclesiology. They are of the essence of Christian religion, indispensable for the piety of the individual and essential to the very constitution of the Church as a whole. These so called theological virtues are, as it were, spiritual arms by which the soul reaches out to the unseen God. They are bonds uniting not only the individual but also the entire assembly of Christians to Christ, without whom God cannot be attained. They are thus the instruments for effecting not only a personal communion with Christ, the source of life for the soul, but also a corporate communion with Christ, the head of the mystical body. "In good faith, hope, and charity one is joined to the unity of the Church."<sup>17</sup>

### NEOPLATONISM

To know the truth and thereby to attain peace and happiness is the goal of all the intellectual efforts and philosophical speculation of St. Augustine.<sup>18</sup> In his career, however, he does not discover truth in the material dogmatism of the Manicheans, whose follower he was for nine years (373-382);<sup>19</sup> nor does he find peace in the skepticism of the Academics (382-383), whose doctrine was that everything was to be doubted;<sup>20</sup> finally, he does not attain contentment and happiness in the philosophy of the

<sup>17</sup> *De bapt. contra Donat.*, IV, 12, 18 (PL 9, 166; CSEL 51, ed. M. Petschenig, 244).

<sup>18</sup> E. Gilson, *Introduction à l'étude de S. Augustin* (Paris: 1948), p. 149; Pastuszka, "Stosunek Św. Augustyna do Filozofji," in S. Bross, *Św. Augustyn* (Poznań: 1930), p. 200 ff.; J. Martin, *Saint Augustin* (Paris: 1901), p. 7.

<sup>19</sup> *Confes.*, IV, 15, 24 (PL 34, 703; ed. M. Skutella, 71-72); *ibid.*, V, 10, 18 (PL 32, 714; ed. Skutella, 91); *ibid.*, VII, 2, 3 (PL 32, 734; ed. Skutella, 126); *De mor. Eccl. cath. et Manich.*, II, 19 (PL 32, 1374). Cf. J. J. O'Meara, *The Young Augustine: The Growth of St. Augustine's Mind up to His Conversion* (London-New York: 1954), pp. 61-91.

<sup>20</sup> *Confes.*, V, 10, 19 (PL 32, 715; ed. Skutella, 92); *Contra Acad.*, I, 3 (PL 32, 909). It was through Neoplatonism, especially through the philosophy of Plotinus that he frees himself from this skepticism; *Confes.*, VII, 9, 13; VII, 20, 26 (PL 32, 740, 746; ed. M. Skutella, 137, 149); *De beata vita*, 7, 4 (PL 32, 961; CSEL 63, ed. P. Knöll, 91-92). Cf. J. J. O'Meara, *The Young Augustine: The Growth of St. Augustine's Mind up to His Conversion* (London-New York: 1954), pp. 92-115.

highly esteemed Neoplatonists because their authority could extend only to the objects that could be embraced by the light of reason.<sup>21</sup>

Through their spiritual conception of God<sup>22</sup> the works of Plotinus<sup>23</sup> have taught St. Augustine to conceive of God as an immaterial substance, and thereby have furnished a new orientation to his religious thought and a new foundation for his theology.<sup>24</sup> We call it new in relation to the tenets of his previous affiliations; for in reality it must have reminded him of the nature of God as proposed by the Christianity of his mother in his youthful days. It was primarily in this way that the writings of Plotinus have paved the way for St. Augustine to the ideal of happiness for which his soul had yearned. For according to the teaching of Plotinus God Himself is happiness,<sup>25</sup> since He is the highest good.<sup>26</sup> He who is able to elevate himself above the sensual

<sup>21</sup> *Confes.*, VII, 21, 27 (PL 32, 247-48; ed. M. Skutella, 151); *Sermo* 141, 1 (PL 38, 776): "Veritatem . . . viderunt quidem, sed de longinquo; viderunt in errore positi; et idcirco ad eam jam magnam et ineffabilem et beatificam possessionem, qua via perveniretur non invenerunt."

<sup>22</sup> The God of Plotinus who is "the One," is sheer spirituality and should therefore in no way be conceived as corporeal (VI *Enneades*; ed. R. Volkman, Leipzig, 2 vols., 1883-84, VI *Enn.* 9, 3; Volkman, II, 511). For this reason God is simple; He is devoid of any composition (V *Enn.* 5, 4; Volkman, II, 210; II *Enn.* 9, 1; Volkman, I, 184). He is the source of all being (V *Enn.* 2, 1; Volkman, II, 176). He is the measure and the limit of all things (I *Enn.* 8, 2; Volkman, I, 100). "The One" is ineffably different from all that we know (V *Enn.* 3, 13; Volkman, II, 196). Hence we are not allowed to attribute to it thinking or willing or even existence (III *Enn.* 8, 10; Volkman, I, 344; V *Enn.* 6, 2; Volkman, II, 223; V *Enn.* 3, 12; Volkman, II, 194 f.; I *Enn.* 7, 1; Volkman, I, 96 f.). Since "the One" cannot be defined in positive terms, it can only be described in negative predication (VI *Enn.* 8, 11; Volkman II, 493). Cf. A. Reul, *Die sittlichen Ideale des heiligen Augustinus* (Paderborn: 1928), p. 9; A. H. Armstrong, *Plotinus* (London: 1953), p. 32.

<sup>23</sup> F. Wörter, *Die Geistesentwicklung des hl. Aurelius Augustinus bis zu seiner Taufe* (Paderborn: 1892), pp. 39 ff.; W. Thimme, *Augustins geistige Entwicklung in den ersten Jahren nach seiner "Bekehrung,"* 386-91 (Berlin: 1908), pp. 14 f., 35 ff.; A. Reul, *Die sittlichen Ideale des heiligen Augustinus* (Paderborn: 1928), pp. 8 f.

<sup>24</sup> S. J. Grabowski, "St. Augustine and the Presence of God," *Theological Studies*, XIII (1952), 336-58; *id.*, *The All-Present God: A Study in St. Augustine* (St. Louis: 1954), pp. 11-17; 61-78.

<sup>25</sup> I *Enn.* 6, 7 (ed. Volkman, I, 92 f.).

<sup>26</sup> I *Enn.* 7, 1 (ed. Volkman, I, 96 f.); cf. P. V. Pistorius, *Plotinus and Neoplatonism* (Cambridge: 1952), pp. 15 f.

through his intellectual powers and to unite himself with God will attain happiness.

There is some likeness, proximate or distant, in the general pattern of the universe in the teaching of Plotinus and St. Augustine. All things proceed from God according to Plotinus and St. Augustine, although in different ways; and all things return to God. In this return to God lies the happiness of man. A brief summary of the teaching of Plotinus will be given so that in comparing both we shall see in what the likeness and differences consist.<sup>27</sup>

The world has originated from one central Proto-Being. It is called the One, the Good, and is the absolute, supreme God. As a result of an emanation process there exists: 1) the *Noûs*,<sup>28</sup> which MacKenna translates as the "Intellectual Principle," and Inge calls it "spirit"; it is "the idea of the universe—the ideal archetype."<sup>29</sup> 2) *Ψυχή*, soul, life, viz., the particular soul in its vegetative, discursive rational, or religious intuitive phase;<sup>30</sup> 3) *Υλη*, matter or nature, which constitutes the sensible world, and is called "the here." This is the last emanation and constitutes the lowest grade of being.

Man is composed of a spiritual and material element.<sup>31</sup> Man's ultimate end, which consists in bringing peace and happiness to him, is a return to "the One" or a union with the Divinity. This must be attained through the soul<sup>32</sup> which has the "potentiality of verging either downwards or upwards, that is, speaking metaphorically, descending to body or ascending to spirit."<sup>33</sup> The task of the soul for the attainment of perfection and happiness is to free itself from the bonds of flesh, from the prison of the body

<sup>27</sup> For a brief presentation of the philosophy of Plotinus, cf. *The System of Plotinus* by the Editors of the "Shrine of Wisdom" (London: 1924), pp. 10 ff.; P. V. Pistorius, *Plotinus and Neoplatonism* (Cambridge: 1952).

<sup>28</sup> Plotinus calls it *οὐσία*, *νοῦς*, *νόησις*, *νοητά*.

<sup>29</sup> P. V. Pistorius, *op. cit.*, p. 29.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 53 ff.

<sup>31</sup> IV *Enn.* 3, 17; ed. Volkmann, II, 29 f.; V *Enn.* 1, 6; ed. Volkmann, II, 167; 4, 1; ed. Volkmann, II, 202 f.; III *Enn.* 2, 15; ed. Volkmann, I, 242 ff.

<sup>32</sup> W. R. Inge, *The Philosophy of Plotinus*, I, 202: "The Soul is in the Centre, not at the Summit, of Plotinus' philosophy. It stands between the phenomenal world, of which it is the principle, and the world of Spirit, which is its principle."

<sup>33</sup> *Op. cit.*, "The System of Plotinus, p. 10.



in order to return to the "Oneness" from which it originally emanated. This process is accomplished by intellectual knowledge, which is offered by philosophy. The latter points out the end and the means leading to that end. Philosophy supplies us with a knowledge of oneself, delivers the soul from matter, makes it virtuous and renders possible a union with God.<sup>34</sup>

Plotinus' religious thought is based upon a tenet that was common to other philosophical and religious doctrines, viz., the dualism of spirit and matter. The spirit is the source of good, whereas matter is the origin of evil. The starting-point in the religious philosophy of Plotinus is monistic; viz., the One as the source of emanation of all beings, and yet Plotinus introduces the fundamental opposition of dualistic systems; matter is opposed to the spirit, the soul to the body.<sup>35</sup> The material element is evil and destructful to the spiritual.<sup>36</sup> The mistake of soul lies in this that it left the place it had above, and secondly that it entered the body.<sup>37</sup> The soul should return to the place of origin. This requires freedom from matter, and deliverance from the trammels of the body.<sup>38</sup>

The initial stage in this process of return to "the One" is purification—*καθάρσις*. He who imitates the divine purity, will possess wisdom—*σοφία*.<sup>39</sup> The spirit must cleanse itself through acquiring virtues—*ἀρεταὶ πολιτικάι*. There are four such virtues: fortitude, continence, justice, wisdom—*ἀνδρεία, σωφροσύνη, δικαιοσύνη, φρόνησις*.<sup>40</sup> The object of these virtues is to deliver the spirit from the sensual world, the passions, base inclinations and to allow it to

<sup>34</sup> I *Enn.* 3, 1; ed. Volkmann, I, 57 f.; VI *Enn.* 4; ed. Volkmann, II, 362; 9, 3; ed. Volkmann, II, 510 f.; V *Enn.* 5, 4; ed. Volkmann, II, 210 f.; 6, 4; ed. Volkmann, II, 225 f.; III *Enn.* 9, 2; ed. Volkmann, I, 348; 8, 5; ed. Volkmann, I, 336 f.

<sup>35</sup> Cf. R. Arnou, *Étude de détail sur le vocabulaire et la pensée des Ennéades de Plotin* (Paris: 1921), p. 87: "Dans le cadre d'un système moniste, la pensée de Plotin reste profondément dualiste."

<sup>36</sup> III *Enn.* 6, 7; ed. Volkmann, I, 291; I *Enn.* 2, 1; ed. Volkmann, I, 51; 6, 5; 8, 3; 5, 7. Cf. J. Pastuszka, *Nieśmiertelność duszy ludzkiej u św. Augustyna* (Lublin: 1930), p. 165.

<sup>37</sup> Cf. W. R. Inge, *op. cit.*, I, 257 ff.

<sup>38</sup> E. Krakowski, *Plotin et le paganisme religieux* (Paris: 1933), pp. 182 f. Cf. also Pistorius, *Plotinus and Neoplatonism* (Cambridge: 1952), p. 136.

<sup>39</sup> I *Enn.* 2, 3; ed. Volkmann, I, 52 f.

<sup>40</sup> I *Enn.* 3, 4; ed. Volkmann, I, 53 f.

soar to things spiritual. The principal role in the process of cleansing and elevating the soul to God is played by wisdom. By super-sensible knowledge above the sphere of material things man sublimates himself to the very union of God.<sup>41</sup> The purified intellect turns away from the external world of the senses and turns inwardly to a contemplation of self. It thus intuits the ideas that exist in the Proto-Intellect.

Raising oneself to the Intellectual Principle—*πρὸς νοῦν ἡ ὁρασις*—is a preparation for the intuition of the One; it is the last stage preceding a union between the soul and God.<sup>42</sup> For he who sees and He who is seen must become one and the same.<sup>43</sup> The soul that has elevated itself to the Intellectual Principle is enlightened by an intellectual light whereby it is united with the One and becomes divine—*θεὸν γινόμενον, θεοειδὲς πᾶς*.<sup>44</sup> The Platonic thought of assimilation with God<sup>45</sup> is herewith carried out to the last stage of development.

There are three stages of progress towards the union of the

<sup>41</sup> I *Enn.* 3, 1-3; ed. Volkmann, I, 57 ff.

<sup>42</sup> III *Enn.* 9; ed. Volkmann, I, 346; V *Enn.* 9, 6-10; ed. Volkmann, II, 253 ff. Plotinus no doubt lends his doctrine on the beatific vision from Plato, e.g., in *Phaedrus* 250, we read: "There was a time when with the rest of the happy band they saw beauty shining in brightness—we philosophers following in the train of Zeus, others in company with other gods; and then we beheld the *beatific vision* and were initiated into a mystery which may truly be called most blessed, celebrated by us in our state of innocence, before we had any experience of evils to come. . . ." B. Jowett's tr., *The Dialogues of Plato* (Oxford: 1953), III, 157.

<sup>43</sup> VI *Enn.* 9, 3; ed. Volkmann, II, 50.

<sup>44</sup> VI *Enn.* 9, 9; ed. Volkmann, II, 522; I *Enn.* 6, 9; ed. Volkmann, I, 95; see also I *Enn.* 2, 1: *θεῷ ὁμοιωσθῆναι*; ed. P. Henry and H. R. Schwyzer, *Opera Plotini* (Louvain: 1951), I, 62, lines 3-4.

<sup>45</sup> Plato, *Timaeos* 68 EF, *Nomoi* 716 C, 631 C, ed. Englemann, Leipzig, 1841-54. His teaching on this point is summed up in the following manner by Turner, *History of Philosophy*, p. 115: "The highest good, subjectively considered, is happiness; objectively, it is the Idea of good, which, as has been seen, is identified with God (Theot. 176 A). Consequently, the aim of man's actions should be to free himself from the bonds of the flesh, from the trammels of the body in which the soul is confined, and by means of virtue and wisdom to become like God, even in this life (Phoedo, 64 ff.)." Cf. G. M. A. Grube, *Plato's Thought* (London: 1935), p. 35; R. Demos, *The Philosophy of Plato* (New York: 1939), p. 201; C. G. Rutenber, *The Doctrine of the Imitation of God in Plato* (Philadelphia: 1946), p. 107: "The doctrine of imitation is . . . central to an understanding of Plato."

soul with God. The soul rises from sense-perceptions, or sensible knowledge to concepts or intellectual knowledge; from intellectual knowledge to the sphere of eternal and unchangeable ideas. These ideas are comprehended in the light of the Intellectual Principle. The peak of the soul's elevation is ecstasy or contemplation,<sup>46</sup> in which the soul unites itself with the One.<sup>47</sup> Happiness, therefore, according to Plotinus is attainable already here in this life<sup>48</sup> by delivering oneself from the sensible world, and giving oneself over to the contemplation of God.<sup>49</sup>

St. Augustine had a high estimation of Plato (427-347 B.C.) whom he calls "the most wise and the most erudite of his times."<sup>50</sup> The Bishop employs Platonic philosophy to explain the doctrines of faith.<sup>51</sup> Although St. Augustine knew some works of Plato in Latin translation, Plato's influence upon Augustine was exerted through the medium of Neoplatonism.<sup>52</sup> The two principal exponents of Neoplatonism were Plotinus (200-270) and Porphyry (232-304). Their works were known to Augustine in the paraphrased translation of Victorinus, and were held in high esteem by him.<sup>53</sup> Augustine quotes Plotinus only five times by name but gives ample evidence of being well acquainted with the six *Enneads* of Plotinus. In the *City of God* the Bishop mentions Plotinus, Porphyry, Jamblichus, and the African Apuleius as Neoplatonists.<sup>54</sup>

The spiritual idealism of the Neoplatonists prepared Augustine's mind for Christianity, and later served him in no small

<sup>46</sup> Plotinus borrows the suggestion of ecstasy from Plato. Cf. T. Whitaker, *The Neoplatonists* (2nd ed.; Cambridge: 1928), I, 105.

<sup>47</sup> I *Enn.* 3; ed. Volkmann, I, 57 ff.; VI *Enn.* 9, 5; ed. Volkmann, II, 513 ff.; VI *Enn.* 7, 36; ed. Volkmann, II, 469.

<sup>48</sup> I *Enn.* 4, 11; ed. Volkmann, I, 75.

<sup>49</sup> V *Enn.* 5, 7; ed. Volkmann, II, 214.

<sup>50</sup> *Contra Acad.*, III, 17, 37-41 (PL 32, 954-56).

<sup>51</sup> *De civ. Dei*, VIII, 4 (PL 41, 227; ed. Dombart-Kalb, I, 325).

<sup>52</sup> Cf. S. Salaville, "Saint Augustin et l'Orient," *Angelicum* (1931), pp. 3 ff.; H. Schöler, *Augustins Verhältnis zu Plato in genetischer Entwicklung* (Jena: 1898), pp. 120 ff.

<sup>53</sup> *Conf.*, VIII, 9, 9 (PL 32, 740 f.; ed. M. Skutella, 171); *De civ. Dei*, XIX, 22-23 (PL 41, 650; ed. Dombart-Kalb, II, 392-93); *ibid.*, XXII, 3 (PL 41, 754; ed. Dombart-Kalb, II, 557); *Ep.* 118, 33 (PL 33, 448; CSEL 34, 696-97).

<sup>54</sup> *De civ. Dei*, VIII, 12 (PL 41, 237; ed. Dombart-Kalb, I, 339).

measure in explaining the mysteries of Christianity in terms and language of the contemporary learned. It furnished him with a philosophical background against which revelation found an excellent setting and, in the domain of the spiritual, the brightest light that unaided reason has thus far attained.<sup>55</sup> To this stream of thought Augustine is beholden for the fundamental theses of his philosophy: certitude and truth, spirituality and immortality of the soul, meaning of good and evil, freedom of the will, existence and spirituality of God, creation and providence, sovereign value of being. Neoplatonism in the time of the Fathers and Aristotelianism in the time of the Scholastics formed the two candelabra upon which the light of revelation ushered into this world by Christ and the apostles was placed.

The aim of St. Augustine's theology and philosophy, like that of Plotinus, is the final attainment of God in reality as the source of peace, joy, and happiness. The present fleeting and temporal life is but a figment compared to the immutable and eternal reality of the future life.<sup>56</sup> His attention is riveted and his efforts are bent on leading men to a life of reality and bliss. This is a characteristic objective which is evident in all that St. Augustine undertakes whether it is writing or preaching, defending or instructing.<sup>57</sup> The life of the future is attained by a union with God, which is the satiating fulfillment of all of man's desires.<sup>58</sup> The union consists in the function of both faculties of the soul;

<sup>55</sup> W. Thimme, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

<sup>56</sup> H. Pope, *The Teaching of St. Augustine on Prayer* (Westminster: 1949), Introduction, p. 13: "In sermon after sermon he dwelt on the joys in store for us and contrasted them with the fleeting pleasures of this world. He made his hearers familiar with the thought of a hereafter which to him was a more real thing than the present universe."

<sup>57</sup> D. J. Leahy, *St. Augustine on Eternal Life* (London: 1939), Introduction, p. xiii: "That goal [the vision of God] was the ultimate reason why he preached and wrote, and the man he had in view in all his works was precisely the man who was raised to the supernatural plane by God's grace and who was bound for the vision of God in heaven."

<sup>58</sup> *Confes.*, I, 1, 1 (PL 32, 661; ed. M. Skutella, 1): "Fecisti nos ad te [Deum], et inquietum est cor nostrum donec requiescat in te." *De Civ. Dei*, X, III, 2 (PL 41, 280-81; ed. Dombart-Kalb, I, 406): "Ipse Deus fons nostrae beatitudinis, ipse omnis appetitionis est finis . . . ad eum dilectione tendimus, ut perveniendo quiescamus, ideo beati, quia fine perfecti." Cf. *De civ. Dei*, XI, 13 (PL 41, 328; ed. Dombart-Kalb, I, 479-80; CSEL 40, I, 531); *ibid.*, XXII, 30 (PL 41, 801; ed. Dombart-Kalb, II, 630).



viz., in seeing God by the intellect,<sup>59</sup> and in loving God by the will.<sup>60</sup> As a result of these two activities of the soul, there follows a fruition of God in perfect joy.<sup>61</sup>

There is a similarity between the pattern of religious thought on the attainment of happiness in the teaching of St. Augustine and Plotinus.<sup>62</sup> The Bishop's teaching on cleansing, enlightening, value of spiritual knowledge, degrees of elevation, contemplation and union with God have much that is common with Platonic and Plotinian works. Augustine recognizes in the religious speculations of the Neoplatonists the highest development of the philosophy of Plato. If he admires both Plato and the Neoplatonists it is because he discovers in them the culmination of religious attainments reached by pure reason, sees in them the way leading to Christianity, discerns much that is in common with Christian teaching and considers Plotinus' philosophical spirituality the closest systematic approach to the spirituality of the Gospels that exists.

There are also easily recognizable differences. Augustine expressly stated that he did not approve all that the Neoplatonists taught.<sup>63</sup> He likewise gives abundant evidence of departure from Neoplatonic teaching. While Augustine admired the rigorously logical religious structure of the pagan philosopher, his eyes were turned to Sacred Scripture and the tradition of the Fathers for the revealed doctrine. He was able to retain much of the form and

<sup>59</sup> *De civ. Dei*, XXII, 29, 4 (PL 41, 799); cf. D. J. Leahy, *St. Augustine on Life Eternal* (New York: 1939), pp. 45 ff.

<sup>60</sup> *De Mor. Ecc.*, I, 3, 4 (PL 32, 1312): "Beatus . . . neque ille dici potest, qui non habet quod amat, . . . neque qui non amat quod habet, etiamsi optimum sit." *De civ. Dei*, XXII, 30, 5 (CSEL 40, II, 664): "Ibi in coelo vacabimus et videbimus, videbimus et amabimus, amabimus et laudabimus. Ecce quod erit in fine sine fine."

<sup>61</sup> *Confes.*, X, 22 (PL 32, 795; ed. M. Skutella, 234): "Ipsa est beata vita, gaudere ad te, de te, propter te." *Ibid.*, 23: "Beata quippe vita est gaudium de veritate: hoc est enim gaudium de te, qui veritas es." *De civ. Dei*, VIII, 8 (PL 41, 233; ed. Dombart-Kalb, I, 333): "Nemo beatus est, qui eo quod amat non fruitur."

<sup>62</sup> S. Connolly, "The Platonism of St. Augustine's 'Ascent' to God," *The Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, LXXVIII (1952), 44-53; and LXXX (1953), 28-36.

<sup>63</sup> Cf. *Confes.*, VI, 5, 7 (PL 32, 723; ed. M. Skutella, 105); *De beata vita*, I, 4 (PL 32, 961); *Confes.*, VIII, 9, 13-15 (PL 32, 740-42; ed. M. Skutella, 137-40).

terminology of the Greek philosopher but gave them a Christian content, so that Christian Gospel doctrines are couched in Plotinian language. Although St. Augustine has not undertaken to write a systematic spiritual theology like Plotinus, a systematization of what the Bishop has written on the Church and personal sanctification in and through it form a vast and detailed theology which replaces the religious pyramidal structure of Plotinus.<sup>64</sup>

The God of St. Augustine is personal. The One of Plotinus is impersonal, and hence can be imminent in his own world. As the objects differ, so also will the unions. Augustine looks upon the union between soul and God in the life to come as a personal one, in which the intellect of man intuits a personal God. The elevation of man to the One in the religious philosophy of Plotinus can only result in a state in which man is absorbed by the One.<sup>65</sup> Nor do we have to turn to Plotinus to account for the doctrine of the vision of God, which stands as the apex of man's perfection and happiness. "In actual fact, the idea of the vision dominates both our Lord's teaching and the Synoptic presentation of His life."<sup>66</sup>

How differently must purification and sanctification be understood if the backgrounds are different? Augustine does not admit matter to be the principle of evil<sup>67</sup> as did Plotinus. The cause of evil is not a material substance but the free will of man which turns from the Supreme Good to some lower good which it pursues as its end. Perfection of man consists in directing the will to the highest good and pursuing it as the final end. Lower goods can be sought only in conformity with the last end. Self-purification, therefore, is accomplished by the use and development not only of the intellectual powers, as in the ethical system of Plotinus, but also of the spiritual appetitive faculty of man.<sup>68</sup>

<sup>64</sup> Cf. Galvano della Volpe, *La mistica da Plotino a S. Agostino e la sua scuola* (Messina: 1950), pp. 39-54.

<sup>65</sup> W. R. Inge, *op. cit.*, I, 160-61; D. J. Leahy, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

<sup>66</sup> K. E. Kirk, *The Vision of God: The Christian Doctrine of the Summum Bonum* (2nd ed.; London: 1931), p. 94.

<sup>67</sup> *De civ. Dei*, X, 29 (PL 41, 307; ed. Dombart-Kalb, I, 447 f.); XIX, 22 (PL 41, 650; ed. Dombart-Kalb, II, 392); *Sermo* 247, 7 (PL 33, 1137).

<sup>68</sup> A. Harnack, *Lehrbuch der Dogmengeschichte*, III, 64: "Er [St. Augustine] gab dem Intellektualismus des Altertums den Abschied; aber er liess ihn neu wiederaufleben in dem frommen Denken des Mannes, der

In Augustine's doctrine of purification and assimilation the intellect and the will are divinely aided in attaining the highest good and the beatific vision. Man must be transformed in regeneration by the power of God, and gifted with faith, hope, and charity from on high before he is able to tend toward the beatific end. Already in this life man possesses in his soul that divine seed which will blossom forth into an eternal life; already now he possesses an inchoate union with a personal, transcendent God and this union will become consummate in the future life. Since Plotinus knows no personal God, we can have no assimilation with God in the Christian and Augustinian sense.<sup>69</sup> True religion is that in which the manner of teaching renders us accessible to truth and this will not enter except into a pure heart. This is the role of faith which is the first step in the direction of wisdom. Purifying faith—*fides mundatrix*—is only one aspect of the Augustinian *catharsis* which consists in restoring progressively the divine image in the human soul. She is the mirror in which the divine beauty is reflected and allows itself to be contemplated. The educative and purificative power of faith is oriented toward the beatific vision, for the obscurity of faith is solely accepted in the hope of the beatific vision. Purifying faith is a prelude to the illuminations of a living faith.<sup>70</sup>

Neoplatonism contributed certain pivotal religious concepts to Augustine which were helpful in understanding Christianity. It also furnished a system of religious thought, an ingenious pattern, which was considerable aid to him in the formation of Christian theology. It supplied him with terms and concepts without which religion and theology cannot be expressed. But it would be an exaggeration to see in Augustine a channel through which Neoplatonic religious doctrine entered into the body of Christian beliefs. Augustine never lost his contact with Christianity. He

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in dem lebendigen Gott das wahre Sein und das höchste Gut gefunden hat." Cf. M. Straszewski, *op. cit.*, p. 153; J. Mausbach, *Die Ethik des hl. Augustinus* (Freiburg: 1929), I, 168; II, 260 f.

<sup>69</sup> O. Willmann, *Geschichte des Idealismus* (Braunschweig: 1907), I, 677; II, 264; E. Rocholl, *Plotin und das Christentum* (Jena: 1898), pp. 6, 16, 20.

<sup>70</sup> Cf. J. Plagnieux, *Saint Grégoire de Nazianze Théologien: Excursus E: La foi purifiante chez saint Augustin* (Paris: 1952), pp. 413-24.

received an initial Christian training and retained it at the time that he came into contact with Neoplatonism. Even though he associated himself with movements inimical to Christianity, he was never able to banish Christian beliefs entirely from his mind.<sup>71</sup> Augustine himself ascribes the major role of the forces working toward his conversion to Sacred Scripture,<sup>72</sup> and to the care and prayers of his saintly mother.<sup>73</sup>

In the first chapter of a work written but a few months after his baptism, the neophyte indicates three sources from which he draws his doctrine and inspiration: the Catholic faith, which is strongly accentuated, although it is still lacking in desired lucidity; wherefore the second source, Plotinian philosophy which lends elucidation to the doctrine of faith; finally his own personal experiences resulting from contact both with sin and grace, and especially from his ecstasy at Ostia.<sup>74</sup> Le Blond, analyzing the *Confessions* of St. Augustine, arrives at practically the same conclusions when he makes such divisions in his book as "conversion to faith," "conversion to understanding," "conversion of heart," and "stages of ascent."<sup>75</sup>

Already A. Harnack has adverted to the striking difference existing between "the convert of the *Confessions*" and "the Augustine of the *Dialogues*."<sup>75a</sup> Since then writers like Gourdon, Scheel, Becker, Thimme, Alfarc, Wundt, Dorries have stressed the different personalities behind them and come to the conclusion that Augustine was first converted to Neoplatonism and then to Christianity. Whereas other investigators, as Boyer, Holl, Nørregaard, Gilson, see in the Neoplatonism of St. Augustine an element of thought that remained always close to Christianity,

<sup>71</sup> *Conf.*, V, 10, 19 (PL 32, 715; ed. M. Skutella, 92-93).

<sup>72</sup> *Contra Acad.*, II, 2, 5 (PL 32, 921-22).

<sup>73</sup> *De ordine*, II, 20, 52 (PL 32, 1019-20); *De dono persever.*, 20, 53 (PL 45, 1026).

<sup>74</sup> P. Séjourné, "Les conversions de saint Augustin d'après le 'De libero arbitrio,'" *Rev. des sciences rel.*, XXV (1951), 243-64; 333-63.

<sup>75</sup> J. M. Le Blond, *Les Conversions de saint Augustin* (Paris: 1950), pp. 89, 115, 139, 172.

<sup>75a</sup> B. Femiano, *Riflessioni critiche sulla conversione di S. Agostino* (Naples: 1951); V. Capánaga, "San Agustín en nuestro tiempo: Problemas sobre la conversión," *Augustinus* (Madrid, I, 1956), 37 ff.



and consequently they discover no antithesis between the *Confessions* and the *Dialogues*. While these men were led, in the main, by the method of the history of doctrine, Courcelle has pointed out by the method of philological analysis, that Augustine has been initiated simultaneously into Christian spirituality and Plotinian philosophy by St. Ambrose, "an adept of Christian Neoplatonism."<sup>76</sup> The difference between St. Augustine and pagan philosophies is the acceptance on the part of St. Augustine of truths divinely revealed in Sacred Scriptures and channeled through patristic tradition.<sup>77</sup> Meandering in quest of truth and frequently bogged down in the quagmire of error and skepticism, his soul arrived at the conviction that the attainment of truth was not merely dependent on reason, but also on authority.<sup>78</sup> In fact, truths revealed to us on divine authority must be accepted even when they are impervious to reason. There are two such truths,

<sup>76</sup> P. Courcelle, *Recherches sur les Confessions de saint Augustin* (Paris: 1950), p. 11.

<sup>77</sup> The concept of authority is strongly entrenched in St. Augustine's writings; cf. J. Pegon, *La Foi Chrétienne, Oeuvres de Saint Augustin*, VIII (Paris: 1951), p. 494; for the stream of human thought bearing the concept of authority as it is represented in Plato, Aristotle, and Cicero, cf. F. von Tesser-Wesierski, *Der Autoritätsbegriff in den Hauptphasen seiner historischen Entwicklung* (Paderborn: 1907). Divine authority is ascribed by St. Augustine to the Church, to the Scriptures, and to apostolic tradition. The authority of the Church and the Scriptures is so great that they form the *regula fidei* and are pronounced with the same breath; thus, in *De doctr. Christ.*, III, 2, 2 (PL 34, 65): "... consulta regulam fidei, quam de Scripturarum planioribus locis et Ecclesiae auctoritate praecepit"; cf. M. Löhrer, *Der Glaubensbegriff des hl. Augustinus in seinen ersten Schriften bis zu den Confessiones* (Einsiedeln: 1955), pp. 96-98; B. J. Warfield, *Calvin and Augustine* (Philadelphia: 1956), pp. 430-33. Closely associated with the authority of the Church is "the tradition of the forefathers" (*De Trin.*, IV, 6, 10 [PL 42, 985]), which is honored by the whole Church (*Sermo* 172, 2, 2 [PL 35, 936]); cf. S. J. Grabowski, *The All-Present God: A Study in St. Augustine* (St. Louis: 1954), pp. 1-7. And thus the Church, the Bible and tradition are inseparably bound up to form a quasi-single principle of authority in the teaching of St. Augustine as well as in that of the foregoing Fathers; cf. G. L. Prestige, *Fathers and Heretics* (London: 1948), lecture 1, "Tradition: the Scriptural Basis of Theology," pp. 1-22.

<sup>78</sup> *Contra Acad.*, III, 20, 43 (PL 32, 957; CSEL 63, ed. P. Knöll, 80): "Nulli autem dubium est gemino pondere nos impelli ad discendum, auctoritatis atque rationis." *De ord.*, II, 5, 16 (PL 32, 1002; CSEL 63, ed. P. Knöll, 157): "Duplex enim est via quam sequimur, cum rerum nos obscuritas movet, aut rationem, aut certe auctoritatem."

unknown to Platonic philosophy, but which are central and focal in the theological thought of St. Augustine. The Incarnation of the Word and the grace of the Savior are cardinal doctrines which put Christian teaching on a plane beyond the reach of pagan philosophers.<sup>79</sup>

Augustine does mention that he found the doctrine of the Logos in the works of the Neoplatonists, but not even an approach to the mystery of the Word made flesh. This to the Neoplatonists was folly. Much less could they possess the doctrine of a Savior, viz., that the co-eternal Son was delivered to death for the sins of mankind.<sup>80</sup> Yet for Augustine Christ became the way leading to truth, virtue, and salvation. In opposition to the proud method of the Greek philosophers he adopted the humble way of authority (*viam auctoritatis*) which the Platonists refused to accept.<sup>81</sup> The doctrine of the Incarnation would have put "the keystone in the arch" of the Neoplatonic architecture. Christianity has introduced and planted on the soil of Western culture an array of concepts and doctrines which are and remained foreign to classical Hellenism.<sup>82</sup>

The spirit of St. Augustine's writings is different from that of the Neoplatonists.<sup>83</sup> The religion of St. Augustine is, as shall be seen soon, a religion of love; love is absent in the philosophy of Plotinus. The latter's God is a source of emanation, a first principle, transcendental and imminent, who could not be loved,—“a God who is goodness without love.”<sup>84</sup>

<sup>79</sup> *Confes.*, VII, 19, 25 (PL 32, 746; ed. Skutella, 147); V, 14, 24 (PL 21, 718; ed. Skutella, 96-97).

<sup>80</sup> *Confes.*, VII, 9, 13 ff. (PL 32, 740 f.; ed. M. Skutella, 137 ff.); *De civ. Dei*, VIII, 9 f. (PL 41, 233 f.; ed. Dombart-Kalb, I, 334 f.); IX, 15-17 (PL 41, 268-72; ed. Dombart-Kalb, I, 387-93).

<sup>81</sup> J. J. O'Meara, "Neoplatonism in the Conversion of St. Augustine," *Dominican Studies*, III (1950), 331-44; *id.*, *Actes du premier congrès de la Fédération internationale des Associations d'Études classiques* (Paris: 1951), 312-17; R. E. Cushman, "Faith and Reason in the Thought of St. Augustine," *Church History* (Hartford, Conn.), XIX (1950), 271-94.

<sup>82</sup> R. Jolive, "La philosophie chrétienne e l'Occident," *Bulletin des Facultés Catholiques de Lyon*, Nouv. sér., XIII (1952), 29.

<sup>83</sup> Cf. P. Henry, "Augustine and Plotinus," *Journal of Theological Studies*, XXXVIII (1937), 15; also *id.*, *La Vision d'Ostie* (Paris: 1938).

<sup>84</sup> J. Lindsay, "The Philosophy of Plotinus," *Archiv für Geschichte der Philosophie*, XV (1902), 473; cf. R. Arnou, *op. cit.*, p. 227.

## Modes of Union with God

In order to attain a perfect and eternal union with God in heaven, it is necessary to be united with God by a preliminary spiritual but real union already here upon earth. St. Augustine conceives various modes of union with God, and these can be summarily divided into four, of which the first two belong to the order of nature and the latter two to the supernatural plane.

1) The first and fundamental union which pervades Augustine's doctrine on God and the universe is the omnipresence of God. By His divine substance He permeates the universe and all creatures, and by His divine operations He sustains them all in existence. His inbeing in the universe is both static and dynamic, and is as indispensable to the maintenance of the universe and the preservation of each creature as the act of creation is to the inception of all things. The divine being pervades the universe but not in such a manner as to be identical with it,<sup>85</sup> for by the simplicity, spirituality, and immutability of the divine nature God always remains transcendent to it.

2) Specifically with regard to man, God is present and operative to a higher degree than in the rest of creation. Man possesses knowledge which is far superior and essentially different from what the animal world possesses. Divine light aids the intellect of man to conceive these intellectual ideas which constitute knowledge proper and which vastly differ from sense knowledge.<sup>86</sup> The epistemological problem, involved in the Augustinian theory of illumination, has been variously interpreted in the long course of history since the Saint's time. The ontologists have appealed to Augustine, maintaining that their doctrine of the immediate intuition of God in every concept is consonant with Augustine's theory of illumination.<sup>87</sup> Modern "phenomenol-

<sup>85</sup> V. Thimme, *Augustins geistige Entwicklung* (Berlin: 1908), p. 194, believes that Augustine conceives of God in pantheistic fashion.

<sup>86</sup> The texts are collected by Martin, *S. Augustini Philosophia* (Paris: 1863), p. II, c. XIX-LIV, pp. 176-277.

<sup>87</sup> In an ontologistic sense: in XII and XIII centuries, cf. Petrus Joannes Olivi O.Fr.M., *Quaestiones in secundum librum Sententiarum*, ed. Bernardus Jansen, s. 7, v. III; *Bibliotheca Franciscana scholastica mediæ ævi*, t. VI (Ad claras Aquas Quaracchi: 1926), Appendix: "Quaestiones de Deo co-

ogy" is convinced that it is leaning on the thought of St. Augustine.<sup>88</sup> Some see in the illumination theory of St. Augustine a doctrine which is essentially not different from the theory of cognition as expounded by St. Thomas.<sup>89</sup> This concordist interpretation can only be sustained at the expense of forcing the texts of St. Augustine to fit into the Thomistic theory of cognition. It seems to be preferable to accept what is called the historical sense,

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gnoscendo," pp. 455-517. Cf. B. Jansen, "Quomodo Divi Augustini theoria illuminationis saeculo decimo tertio concepta sit," *Gregorianum*, XI (1930), 146-58. (Opposed to this doctrine were St. Bonaventure, *Quaest. disp. de scientia Christi*, q. IV; St. Thomas, *In lib. Sent. dist. XVII*, q. 1, a. 4; Richard of Middleton, *Quaest. disp.*, a. 5; *De hum. cogn. rat.*, p. 233). In the XVII century Malebranche, the father of modern ontologism, appeals to St. Augustine for the support of his theory; cf. his *Recherche de la vérité*. So too Bossuet, *Logique* I. 1, c. 36, 37; *De la connaissance de Dieu et de soi même*, c. 4-5; Fénelon, *Existence de Dieu*, a. 1, pp. 40-54. So also the ontologists of the XIX century Rosmini, Gioberti, Mamiani, appealed to the authority of St. Augustine for their ontologism.

<sup>88</sup> M. Scheler, *Vom Ewigen im Menschen* (Leipzig: 1921) accepting the philosophic principles of Husserl, the founder of philosophic phenomenology, applied them to the philosophy of religion. According to these tenets full knowledge of God is attained through natural intuition, since reason is incapable of knowing the personality of God. An exponent of this doctrine was Hessen who by appealing to the authority of St. Augustine tried to prove that this explanation of the way in which we arrive at a knowledge of God was not a new theory. Cf. his works: *Die Begründung der Erkenntnis nach dem hl. Augustinus* (Münster: 1916); *Die unmittelbare Gotteserkenntnis nach dem hl. Augustinus* (Paderborn: 1919); *Augustinische und thomistische Erkenntnislehre* (Paderborn: 1929), p. 40; "Augustins Erkenntnistheorie im Lichte der neuesten Forschungen," *Phil. Jahrb.*, 1924, p. 188. This theory has been opposed by J. Geyser, *Augustin und die phänomenologische Religionsphilosophie der Gegenwart* (Münster: 1923); J. Mausbach, *Die Ethik des hl. Augustinus* (2 Aufl.; Freiburg: 1929), Anhang, II, 389-416; "Unmittelbare und mittelbare Gotteserkenntnis"; M. Grabmann, *Der göttliche Grund menschlicher Wahrheitserkenntnis nach Augustinus und Thomas von Aquin* (Münster: 1924), p. 84.

<sup>89</sup> A consonance in substance of doctrine of St. Augustine with that of St. Thomas is proclaimed by C. Boyer, "Autour de l'illumination augustinienne," *Gregorianum* V (1924), 609-11; VI (1925), 449-53; *id.*, "Deux nouveaux interpretes de l'illumination augustinienne," *Doctor communis* (Acta et commentationes Pontificiae Academiae Romanae S. Thomae Aquinatis), IV (1951), 40-46; J. Sestili, "Utrum Deus moveat immediate intellectum creatum," *Xenia thomistica* (Romae: 1925), II, 155-85; *id.*, "Thomae Aquinatis cum Augustino de illuminatione concordia," *Divus Thomas*, XXXI (1928), 50-82.



viz., the explanation of truth in exemplary "Ideas," indeed by abstraction not from below but from above.<sup>90</sup> This is the Platonic manner of thinking wherein each of our truths reflects the divine Truth, just as Plato sees in back of every good the Supreme Good. Over the centuries many attempts have been made at solving this recondite problem of Augustinian psychology.<sup>91</sup>

Even if some direct and marvelous intervention is accepted as explanatory of Augustine's theory, this knowledge belongs to the natural order of man, and consequently this aid is due to man. Such intellectual knowledge, characteristic of the rational nature of man, is not a preparation for, nor a prelude to the beatific vision of God. The knowledge, which is ordained toward the beatific vision, is obtained in faith. This is conferred by God by a gratuitous intervention; for faith is said to be a gift of God that is superadded to nature. The union brought about through faith belongs to the following division.

3) There is still a higher union with God than that described in the first two categories. In these the operative presence of God is common to all mankind and has no bearing on salvation, which consists in the beatific vision. In order to attain God in the beatific

<sup>90</sup> E.g., E. Przywara, *Religionsbegründung*. Max Scheler-J. H. Newman (Freiburg: 1923), p. 259; S. Geiger, *Der Intuitionsbegriff in der katholischen Religionsphilosophie der Gegenwart* (Freiburg: 1926); E. Gilson, "Pourquoi saint Thomas a critiqué saint Augustin," *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du moyen âge*, I (1926-27), 119; this view is rebutted by C. Boyer, "Saint Thomas et saint Augustin d'après M. Gilson," *Gregorianum*, VIII (1927), 106-10; M. Grabmann, *Der göttliche Grund menschlicher Wahrheitserkenntnis nach Augustinus und Thomas von Aquin* (Münster: 1924), pp. 57 ff.; id., *Die theologische Erkenntnis- und Einleitungslehre des hl. Thomas von Aquin* (Freiburg in der Schweiz: 1948), pp. 47 ff.; F. Cayré, *La contemplation augustinienne* (Paris: 1927), p. 194; id., *Initiation à la philosophie de saint Augustin* (Paris: 1947), pp. 209-43; V. Warnach, "Satz und Sein," *Studium Generale*, IV (1951), 164-67; id., "Erleuchtung und Einsprechung bei Augustinus," *Augustinus Magister* (Paris: 1954), I, 429-49; J. Hirschberger, *Geschichte der Philosophie* (Freiburg im Br.: 1949), I, 309-11; R. Allers, "St. Augustine's Doctrine on Illumination," *Franciscan Studies*, XII (1952), 27-46. According to J. Gonzalez-Quendo, *Ideas innatas e iluminación divina* (Comillas: 1951), knowledge results from the interaction of divine illumination upon innate ideas.

<sup>91</sup> Cf. E. Życzkowski, "Dzisiejszy stan badań nad augustyńską teorią oświecenia," *Przegląd Teologiczny*, XI (1930), 475 ff. W. Falkenhahn, *Augustins Illuminationstheorie im Lichte der jüngsten Forschung* (Köln: 1948).

vision, a new life and new operations must be superadded to the natural life and operations of man. The new life with its powers comes directly from God the Sanctifier and leads back to God the Beatifier. It is obtained through regeneration in baptism and is a life of grace accompanied by faith, hope, and charity. The possessor of this new life cannot but be related to Jesus Christ, the mediator and Savior of mankind. In regeneration men are incorporated into the body and attain to the beatific vision through it.

4) There is still a fourth mode of union with God on earth. Those belonging to the body of Christ may extricate themselves from the sensible and raise themselves through contemplation to a mystical union with God. This consists of such an exceptionally intimate converse with God that the soul may even attain, in ecstatic moments, an immediate intuition of God. It is in this sense that some attempts have been made to explain Augustine's theory of illumination.<sup>92</sup> The Bishop of Hippo expressly states that Moses and St. Paul were persons to whom intuitive visions of God were accorded in this life.<sup>93</sup> St. Thomas follows in the footsteps of St. Augustine, allowing Moses and St. Paul an immediate vision of God by essence,<sup>94</sup> of ecstasy,<sup>95</sup> and of the summit of contemplative life.<sup>96</sup> Supported by such eminent authority some writers on mystical theology allow to some select souls at the summit of their contemplation the privilege of a glimpse at the essence of God.<sup>97</sup>

Whether St. Augustine himself can be termed a mystic and whether his writings convey the principles of mysticism is disputed. Some affirm, others deny. The reason for these divergent

<sup>92</sup> J. Maréchal, "La vision de Dieu au sommet de la contemplation d'après saint Augustin," *Nouv. rev. théol.*, XVII (1930), 89-109; 191-214.

<sup>93</sup> *Ep.* 147, 13, 31-32 (PL 33, 610-11; CSEL 44, 305-7); *De Gen. ad lit.*, XII, 27-28, 55-56 (PL 34, 477-78; CSEL 28, 420-23); cf. J. Maréchal, *Etudes sur la psychologie des mystiques* (Bruxelles-Paris: 1937), II, 168 ff.; E. Hendriks, *Augustinus Verhältnis zur Mystik* (Würzburg: 1936), pp. 163 ff.

<sup>94</sup> *Summa theol.*, Ia, q. 12, a. 11, ad 2; cf. IV *Sent.*, d. 49, q. 2, a. 7; *De verit.*, q. 10, a. 10.

<sup>95</sup> *Summa theol.*, IIa IIae, q. 175, a. 3-5; cf. *De verit.*, q. 13, a. 2-5.

<sup>96</sup> *Summa theol.*, IIa IIae, q. 180, a. 5.

<sup>97</sup> J. de Guibert, *Theologia spiritualis ascetica et mystica* (3 ed.; Romae: 1946), p. 353.

views is the diversity in the conception of mysticism.<sup>97a</sup> It appears that in the writings and life of St. Augustine we can find those elements of a life in union with God which can be called a mystical union or life. They are: 1) unitive prayer offered in humility and submission to the Holy Ghost; 2) the ascent with Christ toward interior heights; 3) a certain intimacy with the divine persons; 4) an attainment of God in contemplation,—a truly mystical act—which is proper to wisdom and cannot be evoked except under the inspiration of the Holy Ghost. These points of Augustine's life and mystical doctrine find expression in his *Confessions* and his sublime treatise *On the Trinity*.<sup>97b</sup>

Dom Butler, in his historical study on mysticism, calls Augustine the prince of mystics, and accounts for this tribute by saying that he unites in himself "the two elements of mystical experience, viz., the most penetrating intellectual vision into things divine, and a love of God that was consuming passion." He continues with a glowing tribute to the Bishop of Hippo: "He shines as the sun in the firmament, shedding forth at once light and heat in the lustre of his intellect and warmth of his religious emotion."<sup>98</sup> In any case, Augustine has laid the groundwork for the structure of mysticism which was to be built upon it in the Mid-

<sup>97a</sup> Cf. A. Mandouze, "Où en est la question de la mystique augustinienne?" in *Augustinus Magister* (Paris: 1954), III (Actes), 103-63. E. von Ivánka, chairman of the session during which the paper was read and discussed at the International Augustinian Congress held in Paris (Sept. 21-24, 1954) to celebrate the sixteenth centenary of the birth of St. Augustine (Nov. 13, 354), concluding the discussion struck upon the crux of the matter when he said that the fundamental problem is "qu'est-ce que la mystique? Impossible de parler clairement de 'saint Augustin mystique' sans une définition généralement acceptée de la mystique."

<sup>97b</sup> Cf. F. Cayré, "Mystique et sagesse dans les Confessions de saint Augustin," *Mélanges Lebreton, Rech. de science rel.*, XXXIX (1951), I, 443-60; *id.*, "Le sens et l'unité des Confessions de saint Augustin," *L'année théologique Augustinienne*, XIII (1953), 13-32; "Le Christ dans les Confessions," *ibid.*, 232-59; "Le mysticisme de la sagesse dans les Confessions et le De Trinitate," *ibid.*, 366-89; "Notion de la mystique d'après les grands traités de saint Augustin," *Augustinus Magister* (Paris: 1954), II, 609-22: "La mystique augustinienne est essentiellement une vie théologique supérieure, priante et fruite."

<sup>98</sup> E. C. Butler, *Western Mysticism: The Teaching of St. Augustine, Gregory and Bernard on Contemplation and the Contemplative Life* (London: 1951), p. 24.

dle Ages and has earned for himself the title, Father of Christian Mysticism.<sup>99</sup>

### FAITH

In the writings of those philosophers who have influenced Augustine the term "faith" does not occur frequently, and when it does, it has only certain restricted meanings. When Augustine employs the word "faith" in the sense of opinion<sup>1</sup> he reminds us of Plato's usage. Plato likewise turned Augustine's attention to the inadequacy of reason and the need of taking recourse to revelation in matters surpassing the powers of the intellect.<sup>2</sup> For the Greek sage accepted, besides the instrument of reason, the authority of tradition as a means for arriving at religious truth.

In the works of Plotinus faith—*πίστις*—is a means of acquiring knowledge and is superior to opinion. For it is a conviction which is not opposed to knowledge—*ἀποδείξις*—, since we arrive at faith through philosophical reasons.<sup>3</sup> Speaking of the artist musician who is thought of as spontaneously reacting to beauty, Plotinus states that "the truths of philosophy must be implanted in him to lead him to faith—*εἰς—πίστιν*—in that which, unknowing it, he possesses within himself."<sup>4</sup> He advises metaphysical minds to get

<sup>99</sup> M. Straszewski, *Filozofja św. Augustyna na tle epoki* (Lwów: 1922), pp. 134–36; J. Mausbach, *Die Ethik des hl. Augustinus* (2 Aufl.: Freiburg im Br.: 1929), I, 46; Dom. Vandenbroucke, "La divorce entre la théologie et la mystique. Ses origines," *Nouv. Rev. Théol.*, LXXII (1950), 374. In reference to the classical mystics, according to Nazario de Sta Teresa, "San Agustín, manantial de Europa," *Revista de espiritualidad*, XIV (1955), 115–23, the Bishop of Hippo is "the clue to Spanish mysticism"; according to Alberto de la V.C., "Presencia de San Agustín en Sta Teresa y San Juan de la Cruz," *Revista de espiritualidad*, XIV (1955), 170–84, Augustine exerted a marked influence on the life of St. Teresa and on the strain of doctrine of St. John of the Cross whose favorite reading, after the Bible, was the writings of the African Bishop. Nazario de Santa Teresa, "La 'Ciudad de Dios,' filosofía de la mística: de San Agustín a San Juan de la Cruz," *La Ciudad de Dios*, CLXVII (1954), II, 151–178.

<sup>1</sup> *De util. cred.*, 25 (PL 42, 83): "Credit omnis et qui opinatur."

<sup>2</sup> *De ord.*, II, 26 (PL 32, 1007): "Ad descendendum dupliciter ducimur, auctoritate atque ratione. . . ."

<sup>3</sup> I *Enn.* 1, 3 (ed. Volkmann, I, 41); II *Enn.* 1, 1 (ed. Volkmann, I, 129).

<sup>4</sup> I *Enn.* 3, 1 and 3 (ed. Volkmann, I, 59 f.); Plotinus, *The Ethical Treatises*, tr. by Stephen MacKenna (London: 1917), I, 52.



accustomed, through mathematics, to transcendental thought and faith. "Mathematics, which as a student metaphysician by nature he will take very easily, will be prescribed to train him to abstract thought and to faith—*πρὸς πίστewς*—in the unembodied."<sup>5</sup>

Faith in the writings of St. Augustine is a living conception of a manifold religious factor affecting the soul and residing in the intellect and will. Faith cannot be gripped in the vise of a definition. The Bishop employs the term in its several popular meanings but recurs to it mostly in its several scriptural senses. At times he himself determines expressly the meaning of the word "faith" as he uses it; this fact indicates that it has a fluctuating comprehension. At times its meaning is determined from his habitual exegesis of the scriptural passages in which the word occurs. He has written no whole systematic treatise on the nature of faith although the subject permeates all of his works. The treatise "On the Usefulness of Believing" was written in 391 to answer the objection of the Manichees that the Church demands blind faith instead of guiding men by the light of reason and knowledge. Augustine defends the rational character and motives of faith.<sup>6</sup> Etymologically<sup>7</sup> the Bishop accepts the Latin "fides" as coming from a combination of "*fieri*" and "*dicere*" i.e., to do what one says, which is the same as veracity.<sup>8</sup>

Augustine clearly distinguishes between the assembly of truths that Christians believe in, and the act by which they believe.<sup>9</sup> Faith, taken objectively, means a body of truths which have been revealed to man and which in their entirety must be accepted by him as revealed by God. Faith, taken subjectively, means either the virtue which has been infused by God into the soul of man, or it may mean an act of faith as it is elicited on the part of man.

<sup>5</sup> *Loc. cit.*; Plotinus, *The Ethical Treatises*, I, 52-53.

<sup>6</sup> *De utilitate credendi* (PL 42, 63-93).

<sup>7</sup> For the etymological meaning of faith, see M. Scheeben, "Glaube," *Wetter und Welte, Kirchenlexikon* (Freiburg im Br.: 1888), V, 167.

<sup>8</sup> *Ep.* 82, 22 (PL 33, 285; CSEL 34, 374): "Cum ipsa fides in Latino sermone ab eo dicatur appellata, quia fit, quod dicitur, ubi autem fit quod dicitur, mentiendi utique non est locus." *Sermo* 49, 2, 2 (PL 38, 321): "Fides appellata est ab eo quia fit quod dicitur. Duae syllabae sonant, cum dicitur fides: prima syllaba est a facto, secunda a dicto. . . . Fac quod dicis, et fides est."

<sup>9</sup> Cf. A. Tymczak, *Nauka św. Augustyna o Wierze* (Przemyśl: 1933), pp. 40 f.; M. Löhrer, *Der Glaubensbegriff des hl. Augustinus in seinen ersten Schriften bis zu den Confessiones* (Einsiedeln: 1955), pp. 177 ff.

"Those things which we believe are something else from faith by which we believe. The things which we believe are in things present, past, and future: faith is in the soul of the believer."<sup>10</sup> Again faith can be harbored in the heart, or it can be expressed by the lips, and consequently it may be divided into internal and external faith. The profession of one and the same faith belongs to Christianity as essentially as does the faith of the heart.<sup>11</sup>

From this preliminary description of faith and from these general lineaments we can see how faith fits into the concept of the Church. Faith contains both internal and external elements which make it capable of serving as a bond either in the mystical body of Christ or in the visible and social Church. By its internal nature, inasmuch as it is a virtue or act, on the part of the subject, it unites him internally and invisibly to the mystical body of Christ. By its external profession it visibly associates the believer with the external Church which expresses its faith as part of its public worship.

The verb "to believe" (*credere*) corresponds to the substantive "faith" (*fides*). In the subjective sense, both of these words occur in the following meanings:

1) They are used to describe a state of mind which is inclined in the direction of an assent but does not give it, because the motives are not sufficiently convincing. The term "faith" is synonymous with our "opinion" in this case.<sup>12</sup> This meaning occurs in the works of Luther<sup>13</sup> and Kant, and is not uncommon among the people whose religion is not firmly founded on the revealed word of God.<sup>14</sup>

2) The concept of faith is employed to embrace that knowledge which belongs to the domain of the intellect but not of the senses.<sup>15</sup> Faith begins as soon as man has raised himself above the

<sup>10</sup> *De Trin.*, XIII, 5 (PL 42, 1016).

<sup>11</sup> *Enar. in Ps.* 39, 17 (PL 36, 445): ". . . novit Deus meus intus in corde meo quia credo. . . . Ecce hoc dicis te intus habere in corde: in labiis quid? Non sum Christianus?"

<sup>12</sup> *De util. cred.*, 11, 25 (PL 42, 83): "Credat omnis et qui opinatur."

<sup>13</sup> Cf. H. Denifle-A. M. Weiss, *Luther und Luthertum* (Mainz: 1906), I, 624.

<sup>14</sup> "Foi," *Dict. de Théol. Cath.*, VI, 89: "Cette croyance amoindrie qu'on appelle opinion ou conjecture. Elle imite la foi."

<sup>15</sup> *De div. quaest.* 83, 48 (PL 40, 31); *Quaest. Evang.*, II, 39 (PL 35, 1352).

sphere of the sensual to that of intelligible truth. And thus those who are engrossed in sensual knowledge are incapable of believing. "In carnal man the whole rule of understanding is the habit of seeing. What they see, they believe, what they do not see, they do not believe."<sup>16</sup>

3) Faith is taken to mean that knowledge of God and conviction of His existence which can be acquired by means of our senses viewing creation, and by the power of our reason which elevates itself from creatures to the creator. "Raise your rational view, use your eyes as man, look at heaven and earth, the ornaments of the heavens, the fecundity of the earth, the flight of birds, the swimming of the fishes, the germination of seeds, the order of the seasons; behold the creatures, and seek the creator; look at the things you see, and seek Him whom you do not see. Believe in Him whom you do not see, on account of the things you see."<sup>17</sup>

4) Faith (*fides*) is used by St. Augustine in the sense of faithfulness, trustworthiness (*fidelitas*), which begets confidence in the fulfillment of God's promises. This meaning of the word faith, which also occurs in the Scriptures, is made to be the exclusive definition of faith by Luther. It has had a tremendous impact on Protestant theology. The fiducial faith of the early Reformers, meaning the private assurance of one's personal justification and salvation, has been modified by many Protestants.<sup>18</sup> Further scriptural investigations, in the wake of Kittel's Theological Dictionary of the New Testament, have shaken the assumption of conservative Protestants on Luther's doctrine of justification by faith alone to the extent that among the present Protestant learned (e.g., Barth, Brunner, Stauffer) as a reaction a growth in Neo-Orthodoxy is perceptible.<sup>19</sup>

That this is only one of the meanings that Augustine allows to the word faith is clearly evident from the fact that he distinguished that faith which is an intellectual assent to God's truths

<sup>16</sup> *Sermo* 242, 1 (PL 38, 1139).

<sup>17</sup> *Sermo* 126, 3 (PL 38, 699); *Ench.*, 8 (PL 40, 235).

<sup>18</sup> Cf. H. F. Davis, "The Act of Faith," *The Irish Theological Quarterly*, XIX (1952), 102-15; *Theology Digest*, I (1953), 119-22.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. A. Bea, "Der heutige Stand der Bibelwissenschaft," *Stimmen der Zeit*, LXXIX (1953), 91-104. "Biblical Studies Today," *Theology Digest*, III (1955), 54.

from the faith which is trust in God's promises and Christ's grace. "We now speak," he says, "of that faith which we have when we believe something, and not that (faith) which we give, when we promise something."<sup>20</sup> The concept of a Christian God and revelation postulates a trust in the possibility of attaining one's salvation in reliance upon God. Thus there will always be a certain connotation of fidelity even in that faith which comprises an assent to doctrine.<sup>21</sup>

5) Faith is used to accept facts on human authority. St. Augustine points to human faith in order to show the need and reasonableness of divine faith. We do not acquire all human knowledge by our own initiative and effort but are constrained in great measure to rely on the authority of others. Man learns gradually and from others: the pupil from his teacher, the child from his parents, friend from friend, the less competent from the more competent.<sup>22</sup> The whole structure of society is founded upon faith. "Many examples can be quoted by which to show that nothing would remain of human society, if we decided to believe nothing which we ourselves cannot perceive," i.e., to do away with faith.<sup>23</sup>

6) Faith is, in the writings of St. Augustine, truths that the mind accepts and holds on account of divine authority. "It cannot be denied that faith, in Augustine's general usage of the term, has the predominantly intellectual connotation of the definition which he gave at the end of his life—'to believe means simply to affirm in thought.'"<sup>24</sup> We thus believe in God,<sup>25</sup> in the divinity

<sup>20</sup> *De spir. et lit.*, 31, 54 (PL 44, 235; CSEL 60, 210-11): "De hac enim fide nunc loquimur, quam adhibemus, cum aliquid credimus, non quam damus, cum aliquid pollicemur."

<sup>21</sup> Cf. Schwenkenbecher, *Augustins Wort: Fides praecedat rationem erörtert nach seinen Schriften* (Sprottau: 1899), p. 5; A. Dorner, *Augustinus. Sein theologisches System und seine religionsphilosophische Anschauung* (Berlin: 1873), p. 192; F. Böhringer, *Die Kirche Christi und ihre Zeugen* (Zürich: 1845), I, 222.

<sup>22</sup> *De ord.*, II, 26 (PL 32, 1007); *De vera relig.*, 24 (PL 34, 141).

<sup>23</sup> *De util. cred.*, 12, 26 (PL 42, 84); *De fide rerum quae non videntur*, 24 (PL 40, 173): "Si auferatur haec fides de rebus humanis, quis non attendat quanta earum perturbatio, et quam horrenda confusio subsequatur."

<sup>24</sup> J. Burnaby, *Amor Dei* (London: 1947), p. 78.

<sup>25</sup> *De civ. Dei*, IV, 20 (PL 41, 127; ed. Dombart-Kalb, I, 169): "Primum et maximum officium est, ut in verum credatur Deum."



and humanity of Jesus Christ,<sup>26</sup> in the Gospels.<sup>27</sup> We believe in the doctrines contained in the symbol and the rule of faith<sup>28</sup> submitted to catechumens.<sup>29</sup> God has revealed these truths for the benefit of man through the prophets, Jesus Christ, and the apostles. They are contained in the Scriptures. Man would not have been capable of knowing them, had God not come to his aid in revealing them.<sup>30</sup>

Augustine frequently refers to the truths we believe in as the things we do not see.<sup>31</sup> He builds his concept of faith around two palpable terms, viz., seeing and believing, which form a comparison by opposition. Truths that are the object of our senses and within easy reach of the intellect form the object of knowledge;<sup>32</sup> truths that we cannot reach with our senses<sup>33</sup> and our minds<sup>34</sup> constitute the object of faith. Such truths must be obtained from others and accepted on their authority, if we are to be apprized of them.<sup>35</sup> If the witness testifying to the truth of something is human, the faith arising from such a testimony will be human; if he is divine, divine faith will be engendered. Human authority may be fallible, but the divine is infallible.<sup>36</sup> The faith

<sup>26</sup> *In Io. Ev. tr.* 28, 1 (PL 35, 1622); *ibid.*, 29, 1 (1632); *ibid.*, 44, 15 (1718-19); *ibid.*, 95, 2 (1872).

<sup>27</sup> *De praed. sanct.*, 15 (PL 44, 972); *Enar. in Ps.* 118, *sermo* 18 (PL 37, 1552).

<sup>28</sup> *De fide et symb.*, 25 (PL 40, 196; CSEL 41, 32).

<sup>29</sup> *De div. quaest. ad Simpl.*, I, 2 (PL 42, 171).

<sup>30</sup> *De civ. Dei*, XI, 3 (PL 41, 318; ed. Dombart-Kalb, I, 463-64): "Hic prius per prophetas deinde per seipsum, postea per Apostolos, quantum satis esse iudicavit, locutus, etiam Scripturam condidit, quae canonica nominatur, eminentissimae auctoritatis, cui fidem habemus de his rebus, quas ignorare non expedit, nec per nos ipsos nosse idonei sumus." Cf. *De mor. Ecc.*, I, 12 (PL 32, 1316); *Sermo* 12, 4 (PL 38, 102).

<sup>31</sup> *In Io. Ev. tr.* 40, 9 (PL 35, 1690); *ibid.*, 79, 1 (PL 35, 1837); *Sermo* 43, 1 (PL 38, 254).

<sup>32</sup> *Ep.* 147, 7 (PL 33, 599; CSEL 44, ed. A. Goldbacher, III, 281): "Videntur autem quae praesto sunt, unde et praesentia nominatur, vel animi vel corporis sensibus."

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*: "Creduntur ergo illa quae absunt a sensibus nostris si videtur idoneum, quod eis testimonium perhibetur."

<sup>34</sup> *Ep.* 118, 5, 32 (PL 33, 447; CSEL 34, 695): "Ut salubriter credi persuaderet, quod nondum prudenter posset intelligi."

<sup>35</sup> *In Io. Ev. tr.* 120, 3 (PL 35, 1953): "Scit enim qui vidit, cuius credat testimonio qui non vidit." *Ep.* 147, 8 (PL 33, 600).

<sup>36</sup> *De ord.*, II, 3, 27 (PL 12, 1007; CSEL 44, 282); *De civit. Dei*, XIX,

of the members of Christ and the Church is founded upon such a divine and infallible authority.

Faith is thus an intellectual assent which does not exclude confidence and trust. "The Augustinian faith," says Gilson, "is at the same time adherence of the mind to supernatural truth and humble surrender of the whole man to the grace of Christ: the mind's adherence to the authority of God implies humility, but humility in its turn implies a trust in God which is itself an act of love and charity."<sup>37</sup>

7) Faith is frequently associated with the very life of the soul itself; in fact it is described as intended to be an essential part of that life. Genuine faith will be present together with grace and justice, hope, and charity.<sup>38</sup> It is presented as a permanent, internal factor abiding in the soul. "To believe is nothing else than to have faith."<sup>39</sup> It becomes the possession of children who receive it without any act of their own in the sacrament of baptism.<sup>40</sup> Those who are regenerated to new life, and consequently are united to Christ by the living bond of faith bear the name of "faithful."<sup>41</sup>

### Origin

The source of man's salvation lies not in man but in God. Indeed the first and indispensable step toward salvation is that of faith, but faith does not come from man. The beckoning to faith comes from God, and the gift of faith itself is gratuitously granted to man by God. Augustine conceives the way of man's salvation in a certain heavenly circuit: the beginning of man's inner life and salvation comes from God and the accomplishment

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<sup>14</sup> (PL 41, 642; ed. Dombart-Kalb, II, 380): "Sed ne ipso studio cognitionis propter humane mentis infirmitatem in pestem alicujus erroris incurrat, opus habet magisterio divino cui certus obtemperet, et adjutorio, ut liber obtemperet."

<sup>37</sup> E. Gilson, *Introduction à l'étude de St. Augustin* (3me. éd.; Paris: 1949), p. 36.

<sup>38</sup> *In Io. Ev. tr.* 29, 6 (PL 35, 1631).

<sup>39</sup> *Ep.* 98, 9 (PL 33, 364; CSEL 34, 531).

<sup>40</sup> *De pecc. mer. et remis.*, 19, 24 (PL 44, 122-31; CSEL 60, ed. C. Urbani, J. Zycha, 24).

<sup>41</sup> *In Io. Ev. tr.* 52, 10 (PL 35, 1778).

of it is in the return to God. Under the influence of the Holy Ghost, man is "moved by internal and external admonition of faith,"<sup>42</sup> and when it is conceived in the soul, "faith, both begun and perfected, is a gift of God."<sup>43</sup> Faith, therefore, is not merited by the natural efforts of man or the good deeds he has performed. There is no proportion between even the greatest natural efforts of man and the gift of faith, and hence the former cannot merit the latter.

Even if faith comes to men directly as a gift of God, this does not exclude the need and ministry of a visible Church. She has been entrusted by her divine Founder with disseminating the truths of the Gospel and it is incumbent on her preachers and missionaries to bring the good tidings to all peoples. Faith must come from hearing the revealed truth. But the efforts of the Church's ministers will avail little or nothing unless her external word and deed are accompanied by the rays of light shed internally by the Holy Ghost and by the drawing exerted inwardly by God.<sup>44</sup> The preacher "labors in vain preaching faith, unless the Lord in His mercy cause it inwardly."<sup>45</sup>

Such was the emphatic and often defended teaching of St. Augustine in his more mature years. In his earlier works he has a different view. Commenting on the Letter to the Romans, he states that what God foresaw in Jacob was not his good works, but the faith which he was to have, and on account of it he was chosen by God before his birth.<sup>46</sup> Because God foresees this faith, he accordingly provides the necessary means for its attainment. The Gospel is preached to those whom God foresees will be favorable to it but it will not be preached to those whom God foresees will not accept it.<sup>47</sup> At this earlier stage Augustine makes a distinction between the origin of faith and of charity: faith comes from ourselves, charity with its good works from God.<sup>48</sup>

<sup>42</sup> *De div. quaest. ad Simpl.*, I, 2 (PL 40, 111).

<sup>43</sup> *De praed. sanct.*, 8, 16 (PL 44, 972).

<sup>44</sup> *De praed. sanct.*, 8, 15 (PL 44, 972): ". . . qui credunt praedicatore forinsecus insonante, intus a Patre audiunt et discunt."

<sup>45</sup> *De praed. sanct.*, 7, 12 (PL 44, 970).

<sup>46</sup> *Expos. Ep. ad Rom.*, 60 (PL 35, 2079).

<sup>47</sup> *Ep.* 102, 14 (PL 33, 375; CSEL 34, 556).

<sup>48</sup> *Expos. Ep. ad Rom.*, prop. 60 (PL 35, 2079): "Quod ergo credimus, nostrum est; quod autem bonum operamur, illius, qui credentibus in se

At the end of his life when he was reviewing his works and reconsidering the doctrines to which he gave expression over the years of his span of life, Augustine unhesitatingly withdraws the statement ascribing to man's efforts the merit of faith. He confesses that he did not realize at that time that faith itself was to be enumerated among the gifts of God which constitute the internal life of man.<sup>49</sup> The grace of God is necessary even for the beginning of faith: prayer, sorrow for sin, desire, hope, and other acts are preparatory for faith only inasmuch as they themselves are under the influence of grace.<sup>50</sup>

The call to faith is directed to all people, although it does not reach all. Of those whom it does reach not all respond to it, for not all who are called believe. What is it that makes the call effective with some and not effective with others? In the earlier part of his life, as has been pointed out, St. Augustine ascribes the difference to God's prevision of the merits or demerits of man, but later solves the difficulty by saying that those believe who have been called and chosen effectively by the grace of God. The Bishop of Hippo closes off every possible avenue of merit; one cannot ascribe faith to oneself, but must consider it as a gift of God. And yet those who do not believe must ascribe the guilt to themselves, and consequently their punishment is just.

In final analysis Augustine admits that the acceptance or non-acceptance of faith is enveloped in a mystery. In the present life, we cannot explore the reason why the external call to faith has not reached all peoples, and why it has not been effective with all of those whom it has reached.

### Justification by Faith

Faith is the keystone in the process of man's salvation. This is evident from the manner in which St. Augustine interprets St. Paul's assertion that the just man lives by faith: *justus ex fide*

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dat Spiritum Sanctum." Prop. 61: "Nostrum est credere et velle, illius autem dare credentibus et volentibus facultatem bene operandi per Spiritum Sanctum."

<sup>49</sup> *Retract.*, I, 23, 2, 3, 4 (PL 32, 621; CSEL 36, ed. P. Knöll, pp. 108-9); cf. E. Neveut, "Formules Augustiniennes, l'initium fidei," *Divus Thomas*, XXXVI (1933), 39, 44.

<sup>50</sup> J. Chéné, "Les origines de la controverse Semi-Pélagienne," *L'année théologique Augustinienne*, XII (1953), pp. 58 ff.



*vivit*.<sup>51</sup> The gist of his exegesis and theology is contained in the following sentence: "Having obtained this grace of faith, thou wilt be just by faith; and, living by faith, thou shalt merit God; (and) when thou shalt have merited God living by faith, thou shalt receive as reward immortality and life eternal."<sup>52</sup> Augustine's exegesis can be gathered around three points:

1) The grace of faith is necessary for justification and nothing else can supplant it. It is not the law that is the source of justification but faith.<sup>53</sup>

2) Living faith is the source of good works, meritorious of life eternal.<sup>54</sup> Wherever faith is wanting the life of man is not well ordered and oriented toward God as the last end. There cannot be true virtue in such a man,<sup>55</sup> and the works which he performs have no value for life eternal. They may be deeds which are considered illustrious but they must be regarded as rapid and quick steps away from and not in the direction of man's ultimate goal.<sup>56</sup> Augustine, therefore, does not teach, as some have interpreted his mind, that the works of infidels are in themselves bad because they stem from a bad principle, viz., original sin.<sup>57</sup> Natural acts can be vitiated by their circumstances and end, but especially by the fact that they cannot be ordained to a supernatural end—and this is of paramount importance to the Bishop of Hippo.<sup>58</sup>

<sup>51</sup> Rom. 1:17.

<sup>52</sup> *In Io. Ev. tr.* 3, 9 (PL 35, 1400).

<sup>53</sup> *Enar. 2 in Ps. 32, sermo* 1, 4 (PL 36, 279); *Enar. in Ps. 77*, 9 (PL 36, 989); *Sermo* 10, 2 (PL 38, 93); *Sermo* 189, 2 (PL 38, 1006); *Sermo*, Frangipane, 4, 2 (*Misc. Agast.*, I, 210); *Contra duas ep. Pel.*, III, 4, 13 (PL 44, 596; CSEL 60, 500).

<sup>54</sup> *Enar. II in Ps. 32, sermo* 1, 9 (PL 36, 283); *Enar. in Ps. 93*, 29 (PL 37, 1215); *Sermo* 49, 2 (PL 38, 321); *Contra duas ep. Pel.*, III, 3, 5 (PL 44, 591; CSEL 60, 490); *De grat. et lib. arb.*, 7, 17 (PL 44, 892).

<sup>55</sup> *De Trin.*, XIII, 26 (PL 42, 1036); *Contra Jul. Pel.*, IV, 3, 17, 19 (PL 44, 745, 747); *De praed. sanct.*, 10, 20 (PL 44, 975); *Ep.* 188, 3, 13 (PL 33, 853).

<sup>56</sup> *Enar. II in Ps. 31*, 4 (PL 36, 259): "Magnae vires et cursus celerrimus praeter viam." Cf. J. Wong, *Saint Augustin et les vertus des païens* (Paris: 1938), pp. 76 ff.

<sup>57</sup> Such is the contention of J. Ernst, *Die Werke und Tugenden der Ungläubigen nach S. Augustin* (Freiburg im Br.: 1871).

<sup>58</sup> Cf. J. M. Dalmau, "Sobre un punto difícil de exegesis agustiniana," *Estudios eclesiásticos*, XXIII (1949), 59-65. P. Jaccard, "De saint Augustin à Pascal. Histoire d'une maxime sur les vertus des philosophes," *Rev. de théol. et phil.*, XXVIII (1940), 41-55, where, discussing the adage: *Virtutes*

In answer to the question, "Who is just?" Augustine says that he who has the life of grace, and he says that such a one is the "faithful" one. The Bishop, therefore, equates the just one with the faithful one (*justus* = *fidelis*), and the unjust, or wicked one with the unfaithful one (*injustus, iniquus* = *infidelis*).<sup>59</sup> Since justice is the same as the life of God or supernatural life in the soul, the living are identified with the faithful (*vivus* = *fidelis*), and the dead with the unfaithful (*mortuus* = *infidelis*).<sup>60</sup>

From the relation of faith and good works in Augustine's interpretation of Rom. 1:17, it is evident how distant from the Scriptures and St. Augustine's mind is the exegesis of those who make faith a self-sufficient factor in the salvation of man.<sup>61</sup> According to the Bishop's interpretation of the said verse, faith gives the proper foundation to our works; it gives them the proper orientation, and the good works which flow from faith are the steps by which we reach God.

3) The life of faith is not perfect, hence we cannot attain in this life consummate justice and absolute sinlessness.<sup>62</sup> This is in harmony with St. Augustine's teaching on the degrees of internal life and sanctity. We shall attain the perfection of justice and utter sinlessness as a final reward for our faith when our faith is transformed into the vision of God.<sup>63</sup>

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*gentium splendida vitia*, he claims that Catholic writers have mitigated the meaning of St. Augustine.

<sup>59</sup> *Enar. in Ps.* 39, 6 (PL 36, 436); *Enar. in Ps.* 54, 12 (PL 36, 637); *Enar. in Ps.* 57, 21 (PL 36, 691); *Enar. in Ps.* 118, *sermo* 3, 3 (PL 37, 1508); *Sermo* 26, 5 (PL 38, 173); *Sermo* 361, 6 (PL 39, 1602); *Sermo*, Guelfb., 18, 1 (*Miscel. Agost.*, I, 499).

<sup>60</sup> *In Io. Ev. tr.* 22, 6 (PL 35, 1577); *Enar. in Ps.* 118, *sermo* 7, 1 f. (PL 37, 1516 f.). Cf. H. Schmeck, "Infidelis, ein Beitrag zur Wortgeschichte," *Vigiliae Christianae* (Amsterdam), V (1951), 129-47.

<sup>61</sup> N. H. Snaith, *The Distinctive Ideas of the Old Testament* (Philadelphia: 1946; London: 1950), states in the final chapter, "Salvation by faith alone," p. 143: "The true development of the Pauline theology is to be found in Luther and John Wesley. . . . This is scriptural Christianity. It comprises what is distinctive in the Bible."

<sup>62</sup> *In Io. Ep. tr.* 4, 8 (PL 35, 2010); *Enar. in Ps.* 146, 6 (PL 37, 1903); *Sermo* 158, 4 (PL 38, 864); *Enchir.*, 31 (PL 40, 387); *De civ. Dei*, XX, 26, 1 (PL 41, 701); *De spir. et lit.*, 36, 65; *De grat. Christi*, I, 48, 53 (PL 44, 384).

<sup>63</sup> *In Io. Ev. tr.* 45, 15 (PL 35, 1727); *Enar. in Ps.* 109, 8 (PL 37, 1451); *Enar. in Ps.* 36, *sermo* 1, 6 (PL 36, 359).

It is worth while observing how St. Augustine juggles the combination of words contained in the Pauline text that the just man lives by faith—*justus ex fide vivit*. At times he combines them so as to read: "The just man by faith—shall live" (*justus ex fide—vivet*); at times so as to read: "The just man—shall live by faith" (*justus—ex fide vivet*).<sup>64</sup>

The faith that justifies is not simply faith, but the faith of Christ. Augustine frequently determines it as justification by faith of Christ (*justificari ex fide Christi*).<sup>65</sup> Without this faith no one can be reconciled with God.<sup>66</sup> Truth itself, the Son of God has descended from heaven, assuming a human nature and founding a religion of faith, in order that man through faith may find his way back to God. We reach the invisible God through the visible humanity of Christ, the God-Man.<sup>67</sup> It is no longer, therefore, the legal observances and the law of the Old Testament that justify one but the faith and grace of Jesus Christ.<sup>68</sup> This is the faith which Christ imposes on all people.<sup>69</sup>

The expression "the faith of Christ" as it is used by St. Augustine, may be reduced to four distinct meanings: 1) faith which has Christ as its object; 2) faith which has Christ as its giver, founder, bestower; 3) faith in which we believe Christ as proposing the truths believed in; 4) faith which unites us to Christ.<sup>70</sup>

<sup>64</sup> Cf. P. Platz, *Der Römerbrief in der Gnadenlehre Augustins* (Würzburg: 1937), pp. 137-41.

<sup>65</sup> *De spir. et lit.*, 45 (PL 44, 228; CSEL 60, 199); *ibid.*, 56 (PL 44, 237; CSEL 60, 213); *De civ. Dei*, XI, 2 (PL 41, 318; ed. Dombart-Kalb, I, 463); *In Io. Ev. tr.* 53, 10 (PL 35, 1778); *Op. imp. c. Jul.*, II, 98 (PL 45, 1180).

<sup>66</sup> *Enar. in Ps.* 104, 10 (PL 37, 1396); *Contra Jul. Pel.*, IV, 24, 30, 32 (PL 44, 750, 754, 755); *De grat. Christ.*, II, 24, 28 (PL 44, 398; CSEL 42, 187); *Sermo* 264, 5 (PL 38, 1216); *Ep.* 102, 12 (PL 33, 374); *De correptione et grat.*, 11 (PL 34, 923); *De civ. Dei*, XVIII, 47 (PL 41, 609; ed. Dombart-Kalb, II, 331).

<sup>67</sup> *De civit. Dei*, XI, 2 (PL 41, 318; ed. Dombart-Kalb, I, 463): ". . . ipsa veritas, Deus Dei Filius, homine assumpto, non Deo consumpto, eandem constituit atque fundavit fidem, ut ad hominis Deum iter esset homini per hominem Deum."

<sup>68</sup> *De spirit. et lit.*, 13, 22 (PL 44, 215; CSEL 60, 176); *De grat. et lib. arb.*, 12 (PL 44, 895).

<sup>69</sup> *Ep.* 118, 5, 32 (PL 33, 448; CSEL 34, 696): ". . . Dominus venerit, ut fidem populis imperaret."

<sup>70</sup> Cf. A. Tymczak, *Nauka Św. Augustyna o Wierze* (Przemyśl: 1933), pp. 45-46.

## Union With Christ

It is especially that faith which is conceived as uniting one with Christ or with His mystical body that is of interest to the investigator of St. Augustine's doctrine on the Church. To those possessing genuine faith Christ is said to be present in their hearts;<sup>71</sup> He is portrayed as dwelling in them;<sup>72</sup> He is described as formed in the inward man.<sup>73</sup> Having that faith which Christ intended each man to have, he will participate in the Holy Ghost, the source of life and sanctification.<sup>74</sup>

An individual union with Christ, like the individual union with the Holy Ghost inhabiting the just, is but a token of the corporate union through which salvation is wrought. United to Christ by a living faith we are united to His mystical body, and united to the Holy Ghost by His sanctifying inhabitation we are united to that body of which He is the soul. By the same faith that we are incorporated into Christ's body,<sup>75</sup> we are united to all the other members of His body.<sup>76</sup> "Believing in Christ, we become the body of His head, so that one Christ is head and body."<sup>77</sup>

But how can Augustine ascribe to faith the power of uniting man with God and Christ if, as it will be later seen, he reserves this role specifically to charity. When ascribing to faith an internal unitive power, the Bishop does not understand the term

<sup>71</sup> *Ep.* 92, 1 (PL 33, 318; CSEL 34, II, 436): "Non enim te desolatam putare debes, cum in interiore homine habeas praesentem Christum per fidem in corde tuo."

<sup>72</sup> *Enar.* 2 in Ps. 90, 11 (PL 37, 1169): "Christus per fidem in te habitat." *Ep.* 131 (PL 33, 508; CSEL 44, III, 79): "in quorum cordibus per fidem habitat Christus." *Ep.* 140, 62 (PL 33, 564; CSEL 44, III, 207-8).

<sup>73</sup> *Ep. ad Gal.* 38 (PL 35, 2131): "Formatur autem Christus in credente per fidem in interiore homine."

<sup>74</sup> *De Gen. ad lit., lib. imperf.*, 1, 4 (PL 34, 221; CSEL 28, 461): "Datum esse Spiritum Sanctum credentibus in eum (Christum)."

<sup>75</sup> *Enar.* 2 in Ps. 70, 1 (PL 36, 391): "Expertus ergo malum Adam: Omnis homo Adam; sicut in his qui crediderunt omnis homo Christus, quia membra sunt Christi."

<sup>76</sup> *Enar. in Ps.* 44, 25 (PL 36, 510): "... ad illud corpus pertinere conemur, et fide et spe pertineamus uniti in membris Christi."

<sup>77</sup> *Sermo* (Denis, XI; *Miscel. Agost.*, I, 50): "Credentes in Christum, efficiamur corpus capitis ipsius, ut unus Christus sit caput et corpus." *In Io Ev. tr.* 16, 31 (PL 35, 1521): "Ideo dicebat, 'Sitio, da mihi bibere'; sc. ut fidem in ea operaretur, et fidem ejus biberet, et eam in corpus suum trajiceret; corpus enim ejus Ecclesia."



"faith" as merely an intellectual assent given under the inspiration of the will, but includes in it also the inner gift of God. In this latter sense faith constitutes a part of the supernatural life of the soul. It is associated with grace and justice, with hope and charity.

If faith is considered in the environment of these factors, which form the life of the soul, faith has a certain logical priority over hope and charity, justice and grace, and the moral virtues. Whatever else may be essential to the inner life of man, whatever else may be necessary or contribute to a union with God, it would not be able to subsist or to avail one without faith. Comparing faith with the other virtues which have God as their direct object, we must first know God by faith before we can hope in Him and love Him.<sup>78</sup> Faith determines the course of our hope and charity. If our faith is false, then our hope and charity will necessarily be vitiated.<sup>79</sup> "If someone lapses from faith, it is necessary that he lapse from charity; for he cannot love, what he does not believe."<sup>80</sup> And if one's faith wavers, one's charity will languish.<sup>81</sup>

Justice takes its beginning from faith.<sup>82</sup> Augustine frequently refers to this priority of faith. "The beginning of good life, to which also eternal (life) is due, is the right faith."<sup>83</sup> "Faith is the first which unites the soul to God."<sup>84</sup> "The Apostle says that a man is justified by faith and not by works because faith is given first, and by it other gifts are obtained which are properly called works whereby one lives justly."<sup>85</sup> The Council of Trent refers to this doctrine of St. Augustine when it says that it is the perpetual consensus of the Catholic Church that by faith we are

<sup>78</sup> *De Trin.*, VIII, 4, 6 (PL 42, 951): "Quis enim diligit quod ignorat? Sciri enim aliquid et non diligi potest; diligi autem quod nescitur, quaero utrum possit; quia si non potest, nemo diligit Deum antequam sciat."

<sup>79</sup> *Contra Faust.*, V, 5 (PL 42, 223; CSEL 25, 279): "Unde ergo habere potestis veram charitatem ex fide ficta surgentem."

<sup>80</sup> *De doct. Christ.*, I, 37 (PL 34, 35).

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>82</sup> *Ep.* 194, 3, 9 (PL 33, 877; CSEL 57, 183): "Fides unde omnis iustitia sumit initium."

<sup>83</sup> *Sermo* 43, 1 (PL 38, 254).

<sup>84</sup> *De agon. Christ.*, 12, 14 (PL 40, 299; CSEL 41, ed. J. Zycha, 117).

<sup>85</sup> *De praed. sanct.*, 7, 12 (PL 44, 939).

justified because it is the "beginning of man's salvation, the foundation and root of justification."<sup>86</sup>

As far as can be ascertained from these and other similar statements, Augustine uses the term "faith" sometimes in the sense of a mental assent to objective truths,<sup>87</sup> sometimes in the sense of a constitutive element of the internal life of man.<sup>88</sup> In whatever sense it is taken, it is considered by St. Augustine as the virtue and the disposition which come first and without which the life of the spirit cannot subsist.

In Augustine's theology faith is not merely a transitory act of the mind but also an abiding principle of spiritual life. Acts have a meritorious value because they spring from this permanent and vitalizing source.<sup>89</sup> It is true that even a gift can be a transitory grace, but when faith is said so frequently and emphatically to be a gift, it is conceived in the form of an abiding principle and a pervading virtue.<sup>90</sup> In fact it is bestowed even upon those who are not capable of eliciting an act of faith.<sup>91</sup> Infants receive the gift of faith in baptism. To receive faith is the necessary counterpart of the reception of baptism. Baptism and faith are so indissoluble that faith is used as a metonym for baptism: "Nor will you administer to him the faith, which he asks for."<sup>92</sup>

Faith is only one of the three virtues which gravitate around God as their center of attraction. Hope and charity are the other two virtues having common characteristics with faith; they, too, are gifts of God and are permanent principles of spiritual life.

<sup>86</sup> *Decretum de justificatione*, sess. VI, 13 Jan. 1547; cf. *Concilium Tridentinum*, ed. Goerresiana, V, 796; Denzinger, *Enchiridion*, 801; Cavalera, *Thesaurus*, 881.

<sup>87</sup> *Sermo* 43, 1 (PL 38, 254): "Initium bonae vitae, cui vita etiam aeterna debetur, recta fides est. Est autem fides, credere quod nondum vides: cuius fidei merces est, videre quod credis."

<sup>88</sup> *De praed. sanct.*, 7, 12 (PL 44, 939): "Ipsam quoque fidem opus Dei dicit esse Jesus, et hanc ut operemur jubet."

<sup>89</sup> *Sermo* 43, 1 (PL 38, 254): "Initium bonae vitae, cui vita etiam aeterna debetur, recta fides est."

<sup>90</sup> *Ibid.*, 2: "Non enim nihil est (fides), sed magnum aliquid, quam si habes, profecto accepisti."

<sup>91</sup> E. Neveut, "Formules Augustiniennes: L'initium fidei," *Divus Thomas*, XXXVI (1933), 39.

<sup>92</sup> *Ep.* 108, 1 (PL 33, 405; CSEL 34, II, 612).

There is a logical order in these three virtues. Charity cannot be without hope, nor can hope be without charity, nor can both be without faith.<sup>93</sup> Augustine explicitly states that "you cannot have charity without faith."<sup>94</sup> Just as in the natural order first comes the knowledge of an object, then adherence to it, and finally action by which we attain it, so also in the supernatural order faith is first, then follow hope and charity. Faith imparts the knowledge of God necessary for spiritual life and charity puts that knowledge into practice. Christian conduct must be in conformity with faith. Meritorious deeds emanate from these virtues, and then our life can be truly said to be the life of faith.

### Union With the Church

If salvation is not attainable except through the mystical body of Christ, and faith is the beginning of salvation then both are correlated means indispensable to salvation. Faith not only leads one to the mystical body, the dispensing fount of redemptive fruits, but also incorporates one into it. And thus to faith is to be ascribed a certain unifying power with Christ and His body. This effect faith has been ordained to produce, but it does not always attain its purpose, through the fault of man.

In consequence a distinction must be made between faith and faith.<sup>95</sup> St. Peter, remarks St. Augustine, confesses his faith in the divinity of Christ, and is praised by the Lord.<sup>96</sup> But Satan also confesses Christ's divinity,<sup>97</sup> and is condemned.<sup>98</sup> In the Church itself there are such as can be said to believe "according to the flesh" (*carnaliter*) and not according to the spirit.<sup>99</sup> This is a distinction between a nonliving and living faith. It cannot be denied that sinners may have faith,<sup>100</sup> but theirs is not the faith that cleanses the heart.<sup>101</sup> And therefore the faith of such a sinner is

<sup>93</sup> *Enchir.*, 8 (PL 40, 235).

<sup>94</sup> *Sermo* 90, 8 (PL 38, 564).

<sup>95</sup> *Sermo* 43, 11 (PL 38, 369).

<sup>96</sup> Matt. 16:16, 17.

<sup>97</sup> Luke 4:24.

<sup>98</sup> *Sermo* 43, 11 (PL 38, 369).

<sup>99</sup> *Sermo* 4, 13 (PL 38, 40).

<sup>100</sup> *Sermo* 43, 11 (PL 38, 369): "Ista fides . . . ab hominum flagitiosis ac perditis moribus."

<sup>101</sup> *Ibid.*: "Fides nostra mundat cor."

not meritorious and salutary, for "he believes in vain, even though the doctrines he believes are revealed."<sup>102</sup>

The expression "to be of one faith" can have a twofold signification; it may mean both a faith of internal life and a profession of the same truths, or it may merely mean an acceptance and profession of the same truths. Thus sinners in the Church can believe the body of revealed truths and thereby acknowledge the authority of God, but their faith is not the kind that possesses internal life and incorporates them as living members into the body of Christ. Keeping this distinction between faith and faith in mind it is possible to have a unity of profession which belongs to the external Church without having the living unity with the mystical body of Christ.<sup>103</sup>

Thus sinners can be said to be part of the Church inasmuch as they are "in the society of the sacraments" or inasmuch as they are "in the society of the same faith." This is "a communion of the one faith or the one Church."<sup>104</sup> By these expressions Augustine denies them a living union with the body of Christ, but allows them an adherence to the external Church. In this sinners differ from heretics who do not profess the same faith but are only one "in the society of the Christian name."<sup>105</sup> A sinner can possess the same faith and separate himself from the one Church and be in the same condition as the heretic so far as the attainment of salvation is concerned. But the sinner that adheres to the communion of the Church and professes the same faith is in a more favorable position for conversion of heart than he who has severed himself completely from that Church which is the source of spiritual life.<sup>106</sup>

What is it that makes the difference between faith and faith? To answer this question it must be recalled that faith does not constitute the whole internal life of man but only a part of it—be it an indispensable and fundamental part. If faith is devoid of

<sup>102</sup> *Ench.*, 117 (PL 40, 286).

<sup>103</sup> *Sermo* (Denis, 19); Morin, *Miscel. Agost.*, I, 104.

<sup>104</sup> *Quaest. septemdecim in Mt.*, 11:1 (PL 35, 1367).

<sup>105</sup> *Ibid.*: "Bene intelliguntur haeretici, quia non societate unius Ecclesiae vel unius fidei, sed societate solius nominis christiani in hoc mundo permiscuntur."

<sup>106</sup> *Loc. cit.*, 3 (PL 35, 1368).



the other elements which together with it form the inner life of man, it cannot be meritorious and bring salvation. Indeed faith justifies but not without other spiritual factors. In the designs of God faith must be accompanied by other spiritual elements which together with it form the internal life of the soul. Faith by itself cannot justify if charity is missing.<sup>107</sup> The sinner in the Church,<sup>108</sup> as well as the schismatic outside of the Church,<sup>109</sup> have not charity, and therefore they do not possess a life-giving and salvation-bringing faith. "Indeed faith," says St. Augustine, "can exist without charity, but it will not profit one."<sup>110</sup>

Most frequently Augustine refers only to charity as a characteristic of justifying faith. Faith puts us on the right road to life everlasting and allows us to gain a faint glimpse of our goal in the distance. But by the works of charity we walk along that road towards our goal and in virtue of it will reach our end. Thus charity alone is mentioned because of the theological virtues it is most palpable through the good deeds that spring from it, and without which we cannot attain God. But, in truth, all three virtues of faith, hope, and charity must coexist in the soul of the just man. In fact, Augustine defines faith in terms of the other two virtues: faith hopes for what God promised and works through charity. Referring to this definition or description of faith in which all three virtues are combined, he says: "Nothing is more studied, nothing more perfect than this definition." And therefore, he adds, these three, faith, hope, and charity are necessary. Hope must accompany faith, and charity must be present with faith and hope.<sup>111</sup>

<sup>107</sup> E. Neveut, "Formules Augustiniennes: L'initium fidei," *Divus Thomas*, XXXVI (1933), 39: "La foi qui justifie est la foi qui est unie à la charité."

<sup>108</sup> *Sermo*, Denis, 19 (Morin, Miscel. Agost., I, 104): "Quid de fide? Invenimus aliquem habere et fidem, et non habere caritatem? Multi sunt, qui credunt et non amant . . . bona enim vita ad charitatem pertinet, nec potest habens charitatem male vivere; quia hoc ipsum bene vivere nihil est aliud, quam impleri charitate."

<sup>109</sup> *Contra Cresc.*, I, 29, 34 (PL 43, 464; CSEL 52, ed. M. Petschenig, II, 354): "Fides una habetur sine charitate etiam extra Ecclesiam."

<sup>110</sup> *De Trin.*, XV, 18, 31 (PL 42, 1082).

<sup>111</sup> *Sermo* 43, 11 (PL 38, 369): "Quae fides? Quae per dilectionem operatur, sperat quod Deus pollicetur. Nihil ista definitione perpensus, nihil perfectius. Ergo tria sunt illa."

Augustine, however, does not say, as the Jansenists later interpreted him,<sup>112</sup> that when charity is wanting there cannot be any faith in man unless it is human faith. And when the Council of Trent states that faith is not simply lost by the commission of any grievous sin<sup>113</sup>—as is the virtue of charity—its definition can be buttressed with the authority of the African Church Father. Of course his references to faith which was not salvation-bringing are not as frequent as those dealing with a faith that manifests itself in charity. The Bishop's attention was directed toward inculcating the way of righteous living.

Following the scriptural usage, Augustine uses the terminology of a dead faith in opposition to a living faith. Leaning on the texts of St. James<sup>114</sup> he explains that dead faith is without good works and that such is without charity.<sup>115</sup> Again, following in the footsteps of St. James,<sup>116</sup> he compares the faith of a sinner with the faith of devils.<sup>117</sup> The Bishop believes that such is the exegetical interpretation of St. James,<sup>118</sup> but it is evident likewise that he

<sup>112</sup> "Quando in magnis peccatoribus deficit omnis amor, deficit etiam fides" was condemned by a decree of the Sacred Office Dec. 7, 1690. Cf. C. Du Plessis d'Argentré, *Collectio Judiciorum* . . . (Lutetiae Parisiorum: 1755), III, II, 372; Denzinger, *Enchiridion*, 1302.

<sup>113</sup> *Concilium Tridentinum* . . . , ed. Goerresiana, V, 801; Denzinger, *Enchiridion*, 838: "Si quis dixerit, amissa per peccatum gratia simul et fidem semper amitti, . . . anathema sit."

<sup>114</sup> James 2:17: "So faith also, if it have not works, is dead in itself"; 2:26: "For even as the body without the spirit is dead; so also faith without works is dead."

<sup>115</sup> *De fide et oper.*, 16, 30 (PL 40, 217; CSEL 41, ed. J. Zycha, 74): "Miror autem si laudaret in ea fidem sine operibus; id est, fidem non talem quae jam per dilectionem posset operari, fidem mortuam, et quod Jacobus dicere minime dubitavit, fidem non Christianorum, sed daemonum. . . . Illud sane non absurde intelligunt, eum peccare in Spiritum Sanctum, et esse sine venia reum aeterni peccati, qui usque in finem vitae noluerit credere in Christum, sed si recte intelligerent, quid sit credere in Christum. Non enim hoc est habere daemonum fidem, quae recte mortua perhibetur; sed fidem quae per dilectionem operatur."

<sup>116</sup> James 2:19: "The devils also believe." Cf. J. Bäumer, "Et daemones credunt" (Jac. 2:19). Ein Beitrag zur positiven Bewertung der fides informis," *Gregorianum*, XXII (1941), 231-51.

<sup>117</sup> *Contra Crescent.*, I, 29, 34 (PL 43, 464; CSEL 52, ed. M. Petschenig, II, 354); *De fide et oper.*, 16, 30 (PL 40, 217; CSEL 41, 74); *Sermo* 90, 8 (PL 38, 564).

<sup>118</sup> *De fide et oper.*, 16, 30 (PL 40, 217; CSEL 41, 74).

feels that there is a difference between the faith of sinners and devils. For he explicitly states that "if you confess Christ in words, and deny Him by deeds: the faith of such wicked men is *almost* the faith of demons."<sup>119</sup>

Augustine explicitly teaches that faith can stand alone: it can be devoid of hope;<sup>120</sup> it can be destitute of charity.<sup>121</sup> Since the internal life of grace consists in the coexistence of all three, if it is bereft of hope and charity, the faith that stands alone must correspond to what Augustine designates as dead faith (*fides mortua*).

We should seek in vain were we to try to determine the innermost nature of the difference between that faith which is a faith with charity and a faith without charity. This problem is a finer point of theology which Augustine leaves unexplored. Scholastic theology inherited this problem. It teaches that dead faith (*fides informis*) does not differ from living faith according to its essence. The Council of Trent stated that dead faith is a "true faith" (*vera fides*).<sup>122</sup> Living faith and dead faith are one in number, although the latter does not possess the perfect condition of a virtue. The fact that it is dead does not belong to the species of faith, "since faith is said to be dead because of the want of some external form (i.e., charity)."<sup>123</sup> The Vatican Council stated that dead faith is a gift of God.<sup>124</sup>

There are three expressions occurring in St. Augustine which well describe the nature of an act of faith and its unitive power with Christ in the mystical body. These are: *credere cui*, *credere aliquem*, and *credere in aliquem*. Found in Biblical Greek<sup>125</sup> and used by such Latins as St. Cyprian,<sup>126</sup> Lactantius, and others these expressions obtained in theological literature. They were differen-

<sup>119</sup> *Sermo* 9, 13 (PL 38, 993).

<sup>120</sup> *Enchir.*, 8 (PL 40, 234).

<sup>121</sup> *Sermo* 90, 8 (PL 38, 564): "Potestis habere fidem sine dilectione."

<sup>122</sup> Sess. VI, canon 28; *Concilium Tridentinum* . . . , ed. Goerresiana, V, 801; Denzinger, *Enchiridion* . . . , 838.

<sup>123</sup> St. Thomas, *Summa theol.*, IIa IIae, q. 6, a. 3.

<sup>124</sup> Sess. III, c. 3.

<sup>125</sup> Blass-Debrunner, *Neutestamentliche Grammatik* (8 Aufl.; Göttingen: 1948), pp. 95 f., 105.

<sup>126</sup> M. L. Hannan, *S. Thascii Caecili Cypriani De mortalitate* (Washington, D.C.: 1933), pp. 56 ff.

tiated as technical terms in the works of St. Augustine and served as the foundation for his doctrine of faith.<sup>127</sup> This division will be found in the scholastic period as, for example, in Albert the Great<sup>128</sup> and St. Thomas.<sup>129</sup>

1) *Credere cui* expresses the person whose word is accepted as true. In accepting human and divine truths we rely upon the informant as being trustworthy. In a divinely revealed religion the doctrines that we accept as revealed are believed on account of the authority of God. "Let us believe God. This is the first precept, this is the beginning of religion."<sup>130</sup> This constitutes what theologians later called the formal object of faith.

2) *Credere aliquem* denotes the persons and things that are objects of our faith. Such above all is God Himself, for "it is the first and greatest duty of faith to believe God";<sup>131</sup> such a truth is "unchangeable Trinity,"<sup>132</sup> but also "the temporal dispensation by which the Son became Incarnate."<sup>133</sup> The object of our faith is also Jesus Christ, who as God and man is more approachable to us, for, in one and the same person, through His visible humanity we reach the invisible God. "In order that we may walk more confidently in this (faith) the Son of God, Truth itself, having assumed man [a human nature] without destroying His own divinity, set up and founded faith in order that the journey for man to God be through the Man-God. He, the man Jesus Christ, is the Mediator between God and men."<sup>134</sup>

Besides persons, faith also embraces other objects that have been revealed to us by God and Christ. From the obedience that the creature owes to the creator man must accept all revealed

<sup>127</sup> C. Mohrmann, "Credere in Deum," *Mélanges Joseph de Ghellinck* (Gembloux: 1951), I, 279: "Chez saint Augustin une spéculation théologique est à la base de la différenciation linguistique."

<sup>128</sup> *In III Sent.*, d. 23, p. 7.

<sup>129</sup> *Summa theol.*, IIa IIae q. 2, a. 2; *Comment. in ep. ad Rom.*, ch. IV, lect. 1; cf. T. Camelot, "Credo Deo, credere Deum, credere in Deum," *Les sciences phil. et théol.*, I (1941), 155.

<sup>130</sup> *Sermo* 38, 3, 5 (PL 38, 237): "Credamus Deo, fratres. Hoc est, primum praeceptum, hoc est initium religionis et vitae nostrae."

<sup>131</sup> *De civ. Dei*, IV, 20 (PL 41, 127; ed. Dombart-Kalb, I, 169).

<sup>132</sup> *De agone Christi*, 17, 19 (PL 40, 300; CSEL 41, 120): "Credientes incommutabilem Trinitatem."

<sup>133</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>134</sup> *De civ. Dei*, XI, 2 (PL 41, 318; ed. Dombart-Kalb, I, 463).



truths, making no exception even if he does not understand them. Indeed some perception of a truth revealed by God is manifest in the very fact that we assent to it, but believing comes first and then the understanding follows. "Understanding is the reward of faith. And therefore do not seek to understand in order to believe, but believe in order that you may understand."<sup>135</sup>

3) A person may obediently subject his intellect and will to God (and this is expressed by the phrase: *credere cui*), he may accept the body of truths that are revealed by God (and this is expressed by: *credere aliquem*), and yet be devoid of that faith which is meritorious and salutary in the eyes of God (such faith is expressed by: *credere in aliquem*). If a person accepts the deposit of revealed truth, he will also believe God, but even with the acceptance of truth and the honor rendered to God, it does not necessarily follow that his faith is salutary. "If you believe in Him (*in eum*)," says the Bishop of Hippo, "you believe Him (*ei*); but it is not necessary that He who believes Him (*ei*), believes in Him (*in eum*)."<sup>136</sup>

Those who unreservedly accept the revealed truth (*credere aliquem*) and thus far honor God (*credere alicui*) without possessing life-bringing faith may be in the Church of Christ, or may be outside its pale as schismatics are. But those who are in possession of the living faith (*credere in aliquem*) are by that very same token united to God and the mystical body of Christ. The very expression (*credere in*) which is found in the earliest Latin forms of the creeds denotes the direction towards and the unitive tendency with an object.

What makes faith a living power and what actually creates the unitive bond is, as St. Augustine explains, the combination of faith with the other virtues by which we attain God in this and the next life. One cannot believe in God and Christ salutarily unless one hopes in them and loves them. On this account there is a vast difference in that faith by virtue of which we accept the truths of God and that faith by virtue of which we possess the

<sup>135</sup> *In Io. Ev. tr.* 19, 6 (PL 35, 1630); cf. also *ibid.*, 27, 7 (1618); *ibid.*, 47, 1 (1741); *Sermo* 43, 1 (PL 38, 254); *Sermo* 126, 1 (PL 38, 698); *Sermo* 139, 1 (PL 38, 770).

<sup>136</sup> *In Io. Ev. tr.* 29, 6 (PL 35, 1631).

life of grace, and are incorporated into the salvation-bringing body of Christ. Augustine writes:

There is a great difference whether one believes Christ (i.e., as an object of belief), or whether one believes in Christ. Even the demons believed that He was Christ, but they did not believe in Christ. For he believes in Christ who hopes also in Christ, and loves Christ. For if he has faith without hope and love he believes that Christ is (Christ), but he does not believe in Christ. Who, therefore, believes in Christ, by the very fact that he believes in Christ, Christ comes to him, and unites with him in a certain manner, and such a one is made a member of His body. This cannot take place unless hope and charity are added (to faith).<sup>137</sup>

More often Augustine ascribes the unitive power to the virtue of charity alone which must accompany faith. "Believing to love, believing to have charity, believing to be united with Him and to be incorporated into His members. That is the faith which God demands from us . . . not any kind of a faith, but faith which operates through love."<sup>138</sup> St. Thomas, too, following in the footsteps of St. Augustine, expresses "the believing in God" (*credere in Deum*) as an act of faith which is "informed" by charity.<sup>139</sup> However, in modern languages in which the preposition "in" is used after the verb "to believe" (e.g., in English, German) the "in" expresses merely a relation between the act of faith and the material object without any connotation of the condition of faith in the believing subject.

### HOPE

In the logical order of those virtues which constitute the inner life of man faith, as has been seen, is first. It is, the foundation for the other elements which form the spiritual life in the soul of man. Faith would not be effective without hope which so far as the attainment of future blessings is concerned, is its complement:

<sup>137</sup> *Sermo* 144, 2, 2 (PL 38, 788).

<sup>138</sup> *In Io. Ev. tr.* 29, 6 (PL 35, 1631): "Credendo amare, credendo diligere, credendo in eum ire, et ejus membris incorporari. Ipsa est ergo fides quam de nobis exigit Deus . . . non qualiscunque fides, sed fides quae per dilectionem operatur."

<sup>139</sup> *Summa theol.* IIa IIae, q. 1, a. 9 ad 3m.

faith "hopes what God has promised."<sup>1</sup> Through faith we learn of the existence of future things in store for us, through hope we trust in their attainment. Faith would have little meaning to man who seeks his happiness in a future supreme good (since no such good is attainable in the present life) if it apprized us of the existence of such a good and there were no other virtue by which man could reach out for that good as one destined for him. Hope is such a virtue. It does not let us despair. If we are saddened because we do not see what awaits us, we take consolation in hope which sustains our expectation that we shall see what we believe. And thus "hope is a companion to faith. Hope is necessary as long as we do not see what we believe."<sup>2</sup>

Augustine's concept of hope is gained from its relationship to faith and charity. It is hardly ever treated alone; the word "hope" carries undertones of faith and charity. Nor can it be viewed except in its perspective to the virtues of faith and charity. All these virtues revolve around God who as the truth itself is to be believed in, as the greatest reward is to be hoped for, and as the supreme good is to be loved. Augustine's doctrine of hope must be gleaned from the likeness or parallelism which exists among these virtues from the fact that they have one and the same God as their object, not yet obtained but obtainable, and from the fact that they originate from God and from the internal life of men. There is not only a similarity in nature but a concomitance in the attainment of the final goal. Just as faith puts us on the road leading to salvation, so hope must accompany us until we reach the desired destination. He who is on his journey is able to bear hardship because he hopes to arrive at his destination. Take away this hope and he will be crushed.<sup>3</sup>

Indeed, we reach out to God and unite with Him, as much as that is possible in our present earthly condition, by all three virtues,<sup>4</sup> and therefore by hope as well as by faith and charity.

<sup>1</sup> *Sermo* 53, 11 (PL 38, 369).

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> *Sermo* 158, 8 (PL 38, 866): "Ipsa spes peregrinationi necessaria est, ipsa est quae consolatur in via. Viator enim quando laborat ambulando, ideo laborem tolerat, quia pervenire sperat. Tolle illi spem perveniendi continuo franguntur vires ambulandi."

<sup>4</sup> *Ench.*, 3, 1 (PL 40, 232).

These virtues are so indissolubly interrelated and corporately constitutive of the internal life of man that a salutary condition in the soul of man cannot exist unless all three are present. And thus hope is just as indispensable for the salvation of man as is faith or charity. However Augustine perceives in these virtues a certain structural order: hope is without value unless it is built upon the solid foundation of true faith; both faith and hope are but cold and empty spires pointing toward heaven, if they are not inhabited and animated by charity.

As in St. Paul,<sup>5</sup> so in St. Augustine, hope is placed in order after faith and before charity. It is a certain complement to faith. If faith which serves as a foundation for hope is false then also the hope that is built upon it will be false. Hope is true if it is built upon true faith. But faith and hope are not in themselves complete in the inner life of man; they do not stand independently of charity which is the consummation of the interior life. Consequently both faith and hope lose their life-giving character and meritorious value if charity, "which is greater than faith and hope,"<sup>6</sup> is wanting in the soul. "For who rightly loves, without doubt believes rightly and hopes rightly: who does not love, believes in vain, even if the things he believes are true; hopes in vain, although the things he hopes for are taught to belong to true happiness."<sup>7</sup>

Hope is inferior to the virtue of charity since it is not eternal. When man shall have attained God as his final goal there is no more need for hope; it will then cease to exist. The same is true of faith. Faith and hope, therefore, are virtues which play a tremendous and indispensable salvific role in this life but none in the next. The same is not true of charity. Therein lies its superiority to faith and hope. In the life to come, it not only does not cease to exist but increases in effectiveness when the real union of the future life in the beatific vision replaces the one of this life in sanctifying grace.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>5</sup> I Cor. 13:13.

<sup>6</sup> *Enar. in Ps.* 91, 1 (PL 38, 1171): "Charitas quae tertia nobis adiungitur ad fidem et spem, maior est supra fidem et spem." Cf. *Ench.*, 117, 31 (PL 40, 286).

<sup>7</sup> *Ench.*, 117, 31 (PL 40, 286).

<sup>8</sup> *De doct. Christ.*, 39, 43 (PL 34, 36): "... quia et cum quisque ad



Faith, hope, and charity must coexist and cooperate in attaining the same ultimate end. It is in every man's nature to hope to attain happiness; eternal bliss would be the goal of all men if they were properly apprized of its existence by faith. Yet even if they are convinced of its existence and hope for it, they may not love to undertake the means that lead to its attainment. Thus if man does not love justice which is the necessary path leading to salvation he cannot attain life everlasting.<sup>9</sup>

Augustine views hope also in a different order, viz., as following upon faith and charity. If we rightly believe in the true God, and if our actions are in accordance with that faith so that we love God as we ought, then only are we entitled to hope in attaining God.<sup>10</sup> It is only a virtuous life that can finally justify our hope in the attainment of future things.<sup>11</sup> "First is faith which subjects the soul to God; then the precepts of living which, if observed, our hope is strengthened, and charity is nourished, and that which was only believed begins to be enlightened."<sup>12</sup>

For St. Augustine the keynote to both the virtue of faith and hope, is the fact that we do not possess what we believe in and what we hope for. The recurrent thoughts are that "faith (is) of the things which are not seen," and "hope (is) of the things which are not held." When we do obtain the things we now hope for "it will no longer be hope, because we shall possess them and not hope for them."<sup>13</sup>

In a general exposition of faith, hope, and charity in his *Enchiridion*, Augustine describes the difference existing between

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aeterna pervenerit, duobus istis decedentibus (i.e., fide et spe) charitas auctor et certior permanebit."

<sup>9</sup> *Ench.*, 117, 31 (PL 40, 286-87): "Quamvis enim sperare sine amore non possit, fieri tamen potest ut id non amet, sine quo ad id quod sperat non potest pervenire. Tamquam si speret vitam aeternam, (quam quis non amat?) et non amet justitiam, sine qua nemo ad illam pervenit."

<sup>10</sup> *De doct. Christ.*, I, 37, 41 (PL 34, 35).

<sup>11</sup> *Loc. cit.*, I, 40, 44 (PL 34, 36): "Si enim fides nostra mendacio caruerit, tunc et non diligimus quod non est diligendum, et recte vivendo id speramus, ut nullo modo spes nostra fallatur."

<sup>12</sup> *De agon. Christ.*, 13, 14 (PL 40, 299; CSEL 41, 117).

<sup>13</sup> *Enar. in Ps.* 91, 1 (PL 37, 1171); *Enar. in Ps.* 109, 8 (PL 37, 1451): "occultatum est ut crederetur, subtractum est ut speraretur."

these three and in doing so throws some light on hope. Here he again points out that we cannot hope unless we believe; hope, therefore, presupposes faith in the object that is hoped for. But a thing can be believed, and yet not be the object of our hope. Thus we believe in the punishment of the wicked, which does not constitute the object of our hope but of our horror. Faith embraces good and evil things; it contains truths belonging to the past, present, and future. But hope pertains only to good things obtainable in the future for ourselves. There is, therefore, not only a difference of words but also of fundamental meaning.<sup>14</sup>

Faith and hope have this in common that they pertain to things unpossessed and unseen. "When, therefore, future things are believed, they are hoped for."<sup>15</sup> Comparing charity to faith and hope in this same passage, Augustine states that faith can be without charity, but that it profits nothing; "Hope, however, cannot be without charity." In summation, Augustine concludes: "Hence love cannot be without hope, nor hope without love, nor both love and hope without faith."<sup>16</sup>

When speaking of hope there are two verses taken from St. Paul which Augustine most frequently uses: "For we are saved by hope. But hope that is seen is not hope. For what a man seeth, why doth he hope for? But if we hope for that which we see not, we wait for it in patience."<sup>17</sup> It is in connection with these two verses that Augustine continually associates the things of the future with hope (as he does with faith) and exhorts the faithful to patience. He uses both of these verses together about eighty times, mostly in his commentary on the Psalms.<sup>18</sup> Whenever he speaks of hope either both verses or one of the two will be quoted.<sup>19</sup> He does not, however, enter into an explanation of them as he frequently does with texts dealing with faith and charity. The background to these verses is this: We already

<sup>14</sup> *Ench.*, 8 (PL 40, 234).

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>17</sup> Rom. 8:24-25.

<sup>18</sup> P. Platz, *Der Römerbrief in der Gnadenlehre Augustins* (Würzburg: 1937), p. 145.

<sup>19</sup> *Enar. in Ps.* 109, 8 (PL 37, 1451).

possess here perfect redemption according to hope, but not as yet in reality. Baptism indeed frees us from sin, but not from the consequences of sin.<sup>20</sup> The consummation of our salvation is nevertheless so certain that the Apostle, using the verbal past, describes it as already present: "for we are saved by hope" (*spe salvi facti sumus*).<sup>21</sup>

There is no doubt that the virtue of hope does not play as prominent a role in the theology of St. Augustine as faith or charity. One reason is that it does not enter into dispute with his adversaries; another that, while it is as indispensable as faith and charity, its role is not as prominent as that of the other two virtues. Yet the Bishop places it in the same category as the other two, and from the role ascribed to faith and charity in the life of a Christian we can make deductions as to the nature and role of hope.

For instance, Augustine does not make it a point to show that hope comes to us from God in the form of an unmerited gift, as he so often does with regard to faith and charity. But it is clear from the very fact that faith and charity are gifts of God, that hope, too, which is inseparable from these two virtues in a truly Christian life, is infused as a gift together with them. It is equally true that Augustine does not associate the interior life with the virtue of hope as distinctly and as emphatically as he does with faith and charity. But again there is no doubt that supernatural life cannot be devoid of the virtue of hope. Augustine observes that hope belongs to justice—a term which he uses to designate a well-ordered life of grace.<sup>22</sup>

If hope is related to justification and the spiritual life of the soul, it cannot be unrelated to the mystical body of Christ. Again Augustine does not associate one's incorporation into the mystical body through hope as directly and as emphatically as he does

<sup>20</sup> Rom. 8:23; *Sermo* 158, 8 (PL 38, 866); *Contra duas ep. Pel.*, I, 11, 23 (PL 44, 561; CSEL 60, 443); *Contra Jul. Pel.*, VI, 13, 40 (PL 44, 844); *Op. imp.*, I, 101 (PL 45, 1117).

<sup>21</sup> *Ep.* 187, 8, 27 (PL 33, 842; CSEL 57, 104); *In Io. Ev. tr.* 86, 1 (PL 35, 1850); *Enar. in Ps.* 122, 1 (PL 37, 1630); *Sermo* 27, 5 (PL 38, 180); *Contra Faust.*, XI, 7 f. (PL 42, 251 f.; CSEL 25, 324).

<sup>22</sup> *Sermo* 158, 8 (PL 38, 866): "Ergo et spes, quae hic est, ad iustitiam pertinet perigrinationis nostrae."

through faith and charity. But it is evident that hope embraces Christ, the life which comes from Christ and which unites one with Him.<sup>23</sup> Even if it is said that we approach Christ through faith, and are united with Him and become His members through it, yet this does not take place "unless hope and charity are added."<sup>24</sup>

Hope is associated not only with the things to come, but also with the trust in the means of obtaining them. God who dwells in us will sanctify us further and perfect us with our cooperation. Through the inhabiting Holy Spirit and in union with Christ, we shall attain all that we hoped for.<sup>25</sup> We thus hope that our head together with His members will be exalted, and when this shall have been realized in heaven it will no longer be hope but a reality.<sup>26</sup> In a sense, Christ is still with us here below, because His mystical body is here; yet, in a sense, on account of our firm hope, we can be said to be with Him in heaven, because our head is already there.<sup>27</sup>

#### CHARITY

Anyone reading carefully the voluminous works of St. Augustine cannot but observe what important place charity holds in his doctrine and in his religion. He makes mention of it on practically every page, expatiating upon it as an integral part of his theology and inculcating it as a necessary part of his religion.

<sup>23</sup> *In Io. Ev. tr.* 45, 2 (PL 35, 1720): "Non est autem cuiquam spes vera et certa semper vivendi, nisi agnoscat vitam, quod est Christus."

<sup>24</sup> *Sermo* 144, 2, 2 (PL 38, 788): "Qui ergo in Christum credit, credendo in Christum, venit in eum Christus, et quodam modo unitur in eum, et membrum in corpore ejus efficitur. Quod fieri non potest, nisi et spes accedat et charitas."

<sup>25</sup> *Ep.* 187, 8, 27 (PL 33, 842; CSEL 57, 104): "Habitare autem ideo et in talibus dicitur, quia in eis occulta agit, ut sint templum ejus; idque in proficientibus et proficiendo perseverantibus perficit. 'Spe enim salvi facti sumus.'"

<sup>26</sup> *Sermo* 158, 8 (PL 38, 866): "Caput nostrum Christus . . . caput et caetera membra exaltabuntur; tunc erit Deus omnia in omnibus. Hoc modo credimus, hoc modo speramus: cum venerimus, tenebimus; et jam visio erit, non fides; cum venerimus, tenebimus, et jam res erit, non spes."

<sup>27</sup> *Enar. in Ps.* 122, 1 (PL 37, 1630): "Ergo et ille adhuc deorsum est, et nos jam sursum sumus: ille deorsum est compassione charitatis, nos sursum sumus spe charitatis. 'Spe salvi facti sumus.' Sed quia spes nostra certa est; quamvis futurum sit, sic de nobis dicitur, quasi jam factum sit."



He appraises it as "a great good"<sup>1</sup> and "a great and true virtue."<sup>2</sup> It is a most excellent thing,<sup>3</sup> exceeding all other things.<sup>4</sup> Augustine, the second St. Paul, lauds it as the *supereminens via*<sup>5</sup> and as the *illa excellentissima charitas*.<sup>6</sup> "What a great good is charity? What is more precious, what more luminous, what more firm? what more useful, what more secure?"<sup>7</sup> "What is dearer than charity?"<sup>8</sup> Suffice it to say that it is the greatest divine gift.<sup>9</sup>

The basis for these encomiums are to be sought in the authority of the Scriptures and not in that of philosophy. The Bishop asks what is higher than the Scriptures, and what is higher in the Scriptures than charity,<sup>10</sup> which "the divine Scriptures praise and preach so much."<sup>11</sup> Following the footsteps of St. John and St. Paul,<sup>12</sup> whose writings contain the great signposts of charity,<sup>13</sup> Augustine has become not only the Doctor of grace but also charity. In all the Scriptures, he says, charity points out the most excellent way and obtains the most excellent place.<sup>14</sup> Whatever has been written in the Old Testament presages the advent of Christ and prepares the way for charity; whatever has been written in the New Testament narrates Christ who is the personification of charity.<sup>15</sup> To the Old Testament belongs fear, to the

<sup>1</sup> *Ep.* 185, 10, 43 (PL 33, 811-12; CSEL 57, 37): "magnum bonum"; *Sermo* 145, 4 (PL 38, 793); *De grat. et lib. arb.*, 18, 39 (PL 44, 905).

<sup>2</sup> *Ep.* 167, 3, 11 (PL 33, 737; CSEL 44, 598): "magna et vera virtus."

<sup>3</sup> *Enar. in Ps.* 103, 9 (PL 37, 1342-43).

<sup>4</sup> *Sermo* 145, 4 (PL 38, 793): "omnia superantem."

<sup>5</sup> *Sermo* 93, 4, 5 (PL 38, 575).

<sup>6</sup> *De Trin.*, VII, 10, 14 (PL 42, 960).

<sup>7</sup> *Sermo* 138, 3, 3 (PL 38, 764).

<sup>8</sup> *In Io. Ev. tr.*, 9, 8 (PL 35, 1462): "Quid est charius ipsa charitate?"

<sup>9</sup> *De bapt. contra Donat.*, V, 23, 33 (PL 43, 193; CSEL 51, 290).

<sup>10</sup> *Enar. in Ps.* 103, 9 (PL 37, 1342-43).

<sup>11</sup> *De Trin.*, VII, 10, 14 (PL 42, 960).

<sup>12</sup> This is evident from the pertinent passages of charity which he never tires of repeating. Cf. explicit passages as *Conf.*, VII, 21, 27 (PL 32, 747); *Contra Acad.*, II, 2, 5 (PL 32, 921-22): "Arripio apostolum Paulum. . . . Perlegi totum intensissime atque cautissime."

<sup>13</sup> F. Monse, *Johannes und Paulus. Ein Beitrag zur neutestamentlichen Theologie. Neut. Abb.*, Bd. V, Heft 2, 3 (Münster: 1915), p. 148: "Von den Tugenden des christlichen Lebens erscheint beiden Aposteln, Johannes sowohl wie Paulus, als die grösste die Liebe."

<sup>14</sup> *Enar. in Ps.* 103, 9 (PL 37, 1344): "In omnibus Scripturis supereminentissimam viam, supereminentissimum locum charitas obtinet."

<sup>15</sup> *De cat. rud.*, 4, 8 (PL 40, 315): "Omnis scriptura divina quae ante

New, love.<sup>16</sup> The Scriptures command nothing but love and condemn nothing but "cupidity." Their purpose is to inspire, nourish, and strengthen charity, and to overcome and extirpate "cupidity."<sup>17</sup>

St. Augustine remarks that when we begin to read St. John's Epistle nothing is so much recommended to us as charity is.<sup>18</sup> Charity pervades the contents of the whole Epistle. Even when the Apostle appears to be speaking of other things, he instinctively returns to the topic of charity, so that all things are made to refer to this subject.<sup>19</sup> In the Johannine apothegm that "God is charity" the Bishop finds a solemn and manifest recommendation of charity, for it is "a brief praise and a great one: brief in speech, great in thought."<sup>20</sup>

"What is piety," asks St. Augustine, "but the worship of God? Whence is He worshiped unless by charity?"<sup>21</sup> Charity is not a mere part of moral life, it rather constitutes morality.<sup>22</sup> There is an equation between charity and the moral order for just as the soul unites and gives life to manifold members of the body, so, too, charity pervades, animates, and gives value to all virtues.<sup>23</sup> Being the innermost and most radical act of the soul of man, the affective act of the will, an offering of oneself to God, it represents the highest expression of morality and the acme of perfection.<sup>24</sup> Thus charity constitutes the soul of Christian perfection and the wellspring of Christian morality.

scripta est, ad praenuntiandum adventum Domini scripta est; et quidquid postea mandatum est litteris et divina auctoritate firmatum Christum narrat, et dilectionem monet."

<sup>16</sup> *Exp. quar. prop. ex Ep. ad Rom.*, 52 (PL 35, 2074).

<sup>17</sup> *De doctr. christ.*, III, 10, 15 (PL 34, 70).

<sup>18</sup> Cf. Marie Comeau, "Le commentaire Augustinien de la 'Prima Joannis,'" *Augustinus Magister* (Paris: 1954), I, 160-67.

<sup>19</sup> *In Io. Ep. tr.* 5, 7 (PL 35, 2015).

<sup>20</sup> *In Io. Ep. tr.*, 9, 4, 1 (PL 35, 2045).

<sup>21</sup> *Ep.* 167, 3, 11 (PL 33, 737; CSEL 44, 598).

<sup>22</sup> E. Gilson, *Introduction à l'étude de Saint Augustin* (3me. éd.; Paris: 1949), p. 174.

<sup>23</sup> *Ep.* 155, 4, 13 (PL 33, 671; CSEL 44, 443): "Quamquam in hac vita non est, nisi diligere quod diligendum est."

<sup>24</sup> Cf. J. Mausbach, "Wesen und Stufung des Lebens nach dem hl. Augustinus." *Aurelius Augustinus*. Die Festchrift der Görresgesellschaft zum 1500 Todestage des hl. Augustinus (Köln: 1930), p. 188.

There is some distant resemblance to Christian charity in the philosophical sources with which Augustine was well acquainted, but there can be no doubt that his source and doctrine are essentially scriptural and that the sense of the scriptural usage differs from that of the Platonic philosophers. Plotinus speaks of love,<sup>25</sup> but it is the Platonic *eros* in new form.<sup>26</sup> This love is an enthusiasm for knowledge. It is an urge and an impulse for the good and the beautiful. Because it is a striving, an endeavor, we cannot ascribe love to God; in fact Plato explicitly states, if we were divine "then we would not love."<sup>27</sup> *Eros* is the will that raises itself from corporal beauty to that of the soul, and then from the soul to the original Beauty. This is reached by way of art and philosophy.<sup>28</sup> While this *eros*-love is an unrest toward God, it has neither the divine origin nor the scope and dynamic character of St. Augustine's *charitas*.

Other authors are not of the same opinion. Balducelli states that the *eros*-love of the Neoplatonists and the *charitas*-love of St. Paul were understood by St. Augustine as being basically the same.<sup>29</sup> Nygren contends that Augustine fused the Hellenistic *eros* and the Christian *agape* into one so that his *charitas* is neither *eros* nor *agape* but a synthesis of them.<sup>30</sup> If the idea of love is lacking in Augustine's early works the reason is to be sought in the fact that it was practically lacking in the philosophy of the ancients and once he realized its capital position in Biblical thought charity became the permeating leaven of his thought,

<sup>25</sup> Cf. VI *Enn.* 9, 9 (ed. Volkman, II, 521); cf. A. Reul, *Die sittlichen ideale des heiligen Augustinus* (Paderborn: 1938), p. 12.

<sup>26</sup> Cf. Plato, *The Banquet*, 201 E, ff.; 206 B; 210, 211; tr. B. Jowett, *The Dialogues of Plato* (Oxford: 1953), I, 533 f., 538, 541, 542-43; cf. A. Nygren, *Agape and Eros* (Philadelphia: 1953), pp. 166-81; A. E. Taylor, *Plato: The Man and His Work* (New York: 1956), pp. 224 ff.; Pacheco Armando Correia, *Plato's Conception of Love* (Notre Dame, Ind.: 1942).

<sup>27</sup> P. Simon, *Aurelius Augustinus: Sein geistiges Profil* (Paderborn: 1953), p. 103.

<sup>28</sup> II *Enn.* 5, 4; 9 (ed. Volkman, I, 272 f., 278 f.); V *Enn.* 9, 2 (ed. Volkman, II, 248 f.); I *Enn.* 3, 1-3 (ed. Volkman, I, 57 ff.).

<sup>29</sup> R. Balducelli, *Il concetto teologico di carità attraverso le maggiori interpretazioni patristiche e medievali di I ad Cor XIII* (Washington, D.C.: 1951), p. 91.

<sup>30</sup> A. Nygren, *Agape and Eros: The History of the Christian Idea of Love* (London: 1938), II, 233-34.

the quintessence of his morality, the unifying power in his concept of the mystical body.

There is today in the minds of earnest men a conviction that the hearts of men cannot be righted unless through the power of charity.<sup>31</sup> On this account a growing interest is evident in the study of the historical aspect of Christian charity and love.<sup>32</sup> Such investigation of concepts and their history is a necessary prelude to its serious inculcation and practical application.

This interest, no doubt, comes in the wake of social changes and movements on an unprecedented scale, and in the hope that the threats to and omens of catastrophe may be averted. It is a reaction to the intensive campaign of hate that is carried on within nations as among them. Love is the medicine for social groups that are pitted against one another in modern society. A campaign of charity is the remedy against the gospel of hate that is being spread on national and international levels.

No one can doubt that the doctrine of charity is the great contribution of Christ and Christianity to mankind. The divine Founder of the Christian religion has made no more solemn and all-embracing enunciation than when He said: "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with thy whole heart, and with thy whole soul, and with thy whole mind. This is the greatest and the first commandment. And the second is like to this: Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself."<sup>33</sup> The Christian religion is characteristically the religion of love.<sup>34</sup> Hence the sources of Christianity

<sup>31</sup> K. Menninger, *Love against Hate* (New York: 1942); Maria Fuerth, *Zur Form und Wandlung des christlichen Liebesgedankens* (Stuttgart: 1933); J. A. Hamm, *Die Macht der Liebe* (Luzern: 1950); E. Przywara, *Liebe, der christliche Wesensgrund* (Freiburg: 1924).

<sup>32</sup> E. Brunner, *Eros und Liebe* (Berlin: 1937); H. U. von Balthasar, "Eros und Agape" *Stimmen der Zeit*, CXXXVI (1938), 389-403; A. Nygren, *Agape and Eros: a Study of the Christian Idea of Love*, tr. by A. G. Herbert (London: 1932), 3 vols.; P. Rousselot, *Pour l'histoire du problème de l'amour au Moyen Age*, in *Beitr. z. Gesch. d. Philos. d. M. A.*, VI, 6 (Münster: 1908); H. Scholz, *Eros und Caritas. Die platonische Liebe und die Liebe im Sinne des Christentums* (Halle: 1929); M. C. D'Arcy, *The Mind and Heart of Love* (4th ed.; London: 1947); L. Malevez, "Amour païen, amour chrétien," *Nouv. rev. théol.*, LIX (1937), 944-68; R. R. Marett, *Faith, Hope and Charity in Primitive Religion* (New York: 1932).

<sup>33</sup> Matthew 22:37-39.

<sup>34</sup> Cf. G. van der Leeuw, *Phänomenologie der Religion* (Tübingen: 1934),



must be investigated in order to glean the beauties and the glories of Christ's precepts of the love of God and of neighbor.

One cannot make a study of the doctrine of charity without anchoring in the inspired writings of the Apostles St. John and St. Paul.<sup>35</sup> Nor can any work on Christian charity be historically complete without a study of St. Augustine, who has so engrossed himself in St. John and St. Paul that he can be called another St. John and St. Paul. The Bishop of Africa presents us with a complete doctrine. More than that, charity has permeated all that he has written to such an extent that Gilson could say that "a doctrine is Augustinian in the measure that it lends to organize itself completely around charity."<sup>36</sup> And Świtalski states: "Charity or love of God and the neighbor, the queen of virtues, occupies a central position in Augustine's ethics which are saturated with it and which can be entirely reduced to it."<sup>37</sup> Indeed, he is the doctor of charity.<sup>38</sup> Christian art portrays him with a heart radiating with the flames of charity.

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according to whom the structure of world religions is the following: Mazdaism is the religion of combat; the Greek, of strong desire; Brahmanism and Hinduism, of the infinite and ascetic; Buddhism of nirvana and of compassion; Israelitic, of submission to the divine will; Islamic, of divine majesty and humility; Christian, of the fullness of love.

<sup>35</sup> V. Warnach, *Agape. Die Liebe als Grundmotiv der neutestamentlichen Liebe* (Düsseldorf: 1951); C. R. Bowen, "Love in the Fourth Gospel," *Journal of Religion*, XIII (1933), 39-49; A. Brunner, "Vom Wesen und von der Würde der Liebe," *Geist und Leben*, XX (1947), 122-32; L. Cerfaux, "La Charité fraternelle et le retour du Christ (Jo. 13:33-38)," *Ephem. theol. Lovan.*, XXIV (1948), 321-32; R. Frieling, *Agape. Die göttliche Liebe im Johannesevangelium* (Stuttgart: 1936); R. Guardini, *Die christliche Liebe. Eine Auslegung von 1 Kor. 13* (Würzburg: 1940); A. Harnack, "Das hohe Lied des Apostels Paulus von der Liebe," *Sitzungsberichte der preuss. Akademie der Wissensch.* (Berlin: 1911), VII, 132-63; id., "Über den Ursprung der Formel Glaube, Liebe, Hoffnung," *Preuss. Jahrb.*, CXIV (1916), 1-14; E. Walter, *Glaube, Hoffnung und Liebe im Neuen Testament* (Freiburg: 1940); J. Moffatt, *Love in the New Testament* (London: 1929); L. Winterswyl, *Mandatum novum. Über Wesen und Gestalt christlicher Liebe* (Kolmar: 1941).

<sup>36</sup> E. Gilson, *Introduction à l'étude de saint Augustin* (3me. éd.; Paris: 1949), p. 314.

<sup>37</sup> B. Świtalski, *Neoplatonism and the Ethics of St. Augustine* (New York: 1946), pp. 54-55.

<sup>38</sup> *Oeuvres de saint Augustin: I, La morale chrétienne*. Introduction générale par F. Cayré et F. van Steenberghen (Paris: 1949), p. 85.

St. Augustine has been acclaimed by almost every generation as its own, always known or considered to be "the modern man." If it is meant thereby that what he writes is pertinent to every age and generation, we can see how truly he belongs to our age in what he writes on this doctrine. He has described the need and role of charity in the individual toward God, in one individual toward another, and extended his theology of charity to encompass nations and mankind. His thoughts on charity run like a golden thread throughout the pages of his voluminous works. They constitute the essence of his eudaimonics and morality.<sup>39</sup> They are an indispensable element for piety. They are necessary to bring unity in the Church of Christ. "The treatise on charity with its calls for unity and love of the Church has lost nothing of its timeliness in the twentieth century."<sup>40</sup>

There is a cleavage between two kinds of love—higher one and a lower one. These two are presented in the history of human thought as distinct and opposed to each other. Opposed to the Platonic *eros* is the Christian *agape*. In Augustine these are portrayed as *cupiditas* and *charitas*, and around these concepts is formed the *civitas Dei*, and the *civitas terrena*. St. Thomas views Augustine's concepts under the distinction of *amor concupiscentiae* and *amor benevolentiae*.<sup>41</sup> In the Renaissance they

<sup>39</sup> H. Scholz, *Glaube und Unglaube in der Weltschichte: ein Kommentar zu Augustins 'De civitate Dei'* (Leipzig: 1911); H. Arendt, *Der Liebesbegriff bei Augustin, Versuch einer philosophischen Interpretation* (Berlin: 1929); J. Mausbach, *Die Ethik des hl. Augustinus* (2 Aufl.; Freiburg im Br.: 1929), I, 168–218; G. Combès, *La charité d'après Saint Augustin* (Paris: 1934); C. Boyer, "Augustin," *Dictionnaire de spiritualité ascétique et mystique*, I (1937), 1105–9; G. Hultgren, *Le commandement d'amour chez Augustin* (Paris: 1939); J. Burnaby, *Amor Dei; A Study of the Religion of St. Augustine* (London: 1947); R. Balducelli, *Il concetto teologico di carità attraverso le maggiori interpretazioni patristiche e medievali di I ad Cor. XIII* (Washington, D.C.: 1951), pp. 88–103; J. N. Hebensperger, "Platonischer Eros und Augustinische Caritas," *Neues Abendland*, X (1946), 6–9/24.

<sup>40</sup> Marie Comeau, "Commentaire de la 'Prima Joannis,'" *Augustinus Magister* (Paris: 1954), I, 167.

<sup>41</sup> M. J. Coronier, "Ce qu'est la charité d'après saint Thomas d'Aquin," *Rev. Thom.*, XIV (1906), 5–30; *id.*, "La charité d'après saint Thomas d'Aquin," *ibid.*, XV (1907), 1–17; F. Hathey, "Die Lehre des hl. Thomas über die Gottesliebe," *Zeit. für die kath. Theol.*, XLIV (1920), 78–105; 222–41; L. Rudloff, "St. Thomas über die Liebe," *Div. Thom.* (Fr.), XI

are represented as the earthly and the celestial love; in Protestantism, as the egocentric and the redemptive love.<sup>42</sup>

Although the term charity hallowed by the Scriptures is held in the highest estimation by Augustine, he used either charity or love indiscriminately for the same supernatural act or virtue. He thus has three terms for the same designation: *charitas*, *amor*,<sup>43</sup> *dilectio*.<sup>44</sup> Patristic tradition and the Scholastics<sup>45</sup> follow St. Augustine in the use of this vocabulary.

### Divine Origin

Being and all the endowments of nature are usually called "goods" (*bona*) and they proceed from God: "*ex te bona omnia Deus.*"<sup>46</sup> Endowments of a superior order, gratuitously conferred upon man, are usually termed *dona*.<sup>47</sup> Charity is such a gift of God,<sup>48</sup> who has gratuitously given it to man.<sup>49</sup> For by it man transcends the powers of his soul when he reaches out for God in a manner which tends to possess God in immediate vision.<sup>50</sup> Among all the gifts bestowed upon man with the intention to sanctify him this is the outstanding and real gift<sup>51</sup> because with it all the other gifts attain the purpose for which they have been

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(1933), 345-51; A. Falanga, *Charity the Form of the Virtues According to St. Thomas* (Washington, D.C.: 1948).

<sup>42</sup> H. U. von Balthasar, *art cit.*; A. Nygren, *op. cit.*; M. C. D'Arcy, *op. cit.*; Fuerth M., *Caritas und Humanitas. Zur Form und Wandlung des christlichen Liebesgedankens* (Stuttgart: 1933).

<sup>43</sup> *Enar. in Ps.* 31:5 (PL 36, 260): "Amor Dei, amor proximi, charitas dicitur."

<sup>44</sup> *De Trin.*, XV, 18, 22 (PL 42, 1083): "Ipsa vero dilectio sive charitas (nam unius rei est utrumque nomen)."

<sup>45</sup> *Summa theol.*, Ia IIae, q. 26, a. 3.

<sup>46</sup> *Conf.*, I, 6, 7 (PL 32, 664).

<sup>47</sup> *Confes.*, IX, 11, 28 (PL 32, 775; ed. M. Skutella, 202): "Ego vero cogitans dona tua, Deus invisibilis, quae immittis in corda fidelium tuorum, et proveniunt inde fruges admirabiles." But, see *Sermo* 145, 7 (PL 38, 583) where "donum Dei" is applied to the natural order.

<sup>48</sup> *Enchir.*, 117, 31 (PL 40, 286).

<sup>49</sup> *Ep.* 189, 2 (PL 33, 854; CSEL 57, 132): "Qui tibi eam (charitatem) praecepit atque donavit."

<sup>50</sup> *Conf.*, X, 7, 11 (PL 32, 784; ed. M. Skutella, 217): "Quid ergo amo, cum Deum meum amo? Quis est ille super caput animae meae? Per ipsam animam ascendam ad illum. Transibo vim meam, qua haereo corpori et vitaliter compagem ejus repleo."

<sup>51</sup> *In Io. Ep. tr.* VII, 6 (PL 35, 2032): "proprium donum."

given, and without it they become worthless. This is the gift which is proper to those who are holy.<sup>52</sup>

Charity is, therefore, not a product of the free will of man.<sup>53</sup> It does not arise from the sufficiency of our own will nor from the letter of the law.<sup>54</sup> It does not take its origin from man—"non ex nobis."<sup>55</sup> "*Charitas ex Deo est*" is the simple but trenchant expression used by St. Augustine.<sup>56</sup> If charity is a divine gift, then the capacity for loving God is not from us, but from Him who has given us the power to love Him.<sup>57</sup> "*Deus non amatur, nisi de Deo.*"<sup>58</sup> Expressing this doctrine in the words of St. John,<sup>59</sup> Augustine says that we should not be capable of loving God unless He loved us first,<sup>60</sup> and gave us the power to love. "Man has not the wherewith to love, unless from God."<sup>61</sup>

God furnishes us with the subject of love which is He Himself and with the power of loving.<sup>62</sup> "*Da quod jubes, et jube quod vis.*"<sup>63</sup> is to be understood in this sense. In order that we may love God in a meritorious way God must abide in us through grace, and (so to say) love Himself from and through us by the charity which is infused into our hearts. He works in us by arousing, enlightening, and inciting us to His love.<sup>64</sup>

By charity is not to be understood the love with which God loves us, but that love which He bestows upon us and with which we are enabled to love Him. An analogous case is justice.

<sup>52</sup> *De unit. Ecc.*, XXIII, 67 (PL 43, 440; CSEL 52, 314): "donum proprium sanctorum."

<sup>53</sup> *De perf. just. hom.*, 10, 22 (PL 44, 304; CSEL 42, 23): "non per arbitrium humanae voluntatis."

<sup>54</sup> *De spirit. et lit.*, I, 33, 59 (PL 44, 240; CSEL 60, 219): "nec per sufficientiam propriae voluntatis, nec per litteram legis."

<sup>55</sup> *De grat. Christ.*, 21, 22 (PL 44, 370-71; CSEL 42, 141); *Sermo* 145, 4 (PL 38, 793).

<sup>56</sup> *Ep.* 228, 7 (PL 33, 1016; CSEL 57, 489).

<sup>57</sup> *Ep.* 140, 37, 85 (PL 33, 576-77; CSEL 44, 233).

<sup>58</sup> *Sermo* 169, 11, 14 (PL 38, 923); *Sermo* 34, 2, 3 (PL 38, 210).

<sup>59</sup> I Jo. 4:19.

<sup>60</sup> *De grat. et lib. arb.*, 18, 38 (PL 44, 904).

<sup>61</sup> *De Trin.*, XV, 31 (PL 42, 1082).

<sup>62</sup> *Conf.*, XI, 2, 3 (PL 32, 810; ed. M. Skutella, 265).

<sup>63</sup> *Conf.*, X, 29, 40 (PL 32, 796; ed. M. Skutella, 239).

<sup>64</sup> *Sermo* 128, 2, 4 (PL 38, 715): "Ut ergo ames Deum, habitet in te Deus, et amet se de te; id est, ad amorem suum moveat te, accendat te, illuminet te, excitet te."



There is an essential difference between justice which is the cause of justification and justice which is the effect of a justifying cause.<sup>65</sup> God alone is just by that justice which is His sanctity and His very Being, wherefore He can be the sole justifying agent.<sup>66</sup> Man is just by that justice which comes to him from God and renders him just intrinsically.<sup>67</sup> God is Charity, subsisting love; in Him to be and to love is identical. He imparts to us the virtue of love and renders our hearts capable of loving Him who is the sole beatifying object of man.

Charity is especially associated with the person of the Holy Ghost. Charity is "the greatest gift" <sup>68</sup> of the Holy Ghost who is its "singular source." <sup>69</sup> We are to hold fast and forever in our minds that charity is diffused in our hearts by the Holy Ghost. This Pauline doctrine, contained in the Epistle to the Romans 5:5, is quoted a countless number of times.<sup>70</sup> The Holy Ghost and charity are not identified in the writings of St. Augustine except metonymically. The person of the Holy Ghost is the source, the cause of charity, and charity is the concomitant element, the effect.<sup>71</sup> Charity is said to be inspired by the Holy Ghost,<sup>72</sup> and to be "a certain aspersion" of the Holy Ghost in our hearts.<sup>73</sup>

<sup>65</sup> *Conf.*, XII, 15, 20 (PL 32, 833; ed. M. Skutella, 306): "Quantum interest . . . inter justitiam justificantem, et justitiam quae justificatione facta est."

<sup>66</sup> *Ep.* 185, 9, 37 (PL 33, 809; CSEL 57, 33): "Justus enim et justificans non est, nisi Deus."

<sup>67</sup> *De spirit. et lit.*, I, 32, 56 (PL 44, 237; CSEL 60, 215).

<sup>68</sup> *De bapt.*, V, 23, 33 (PL 43, 193; CSEL 51, 290): "(charitas) quod est maximum donum Spiritus Sancti."

<sup>69</sup> *In Io. Ep. tr.* 7, 6 (PL 35, 2032): "Hoc est proprium donum; ipse Spiritus Sanctus est singularis fons."

<sup>70</sup> E.g., *Ep.* 145, 7 (PL 33, 595; CSEL 44, ed. A. Goldbacher, III, 273); *Sermo* 145, 4 (PL 38, 793). Cf. P. Platz, *Der Römerbrief in der Gnadenlehre Augustins* (Würzburg: 1937), pp. 136-37, where the author points out that the passage of the Epistle to the Rom. 5:5: "The charity of God is poured forth in our hearts, by the Holy Ghost, who is given to us," is quoted over 150 times. See also A. M. La Bonnardière, "Le verset paulinien Rom. 5:5 dans l'oeuvre de saint Augustin," *Augustinus Magister* (Paris: 1954), II, 657.

<sup>71</sup> *Sermo* 378 (PL 39, 1673).

<sup>72</sup> *De mor. Ecc.*, I, 17, 31 (PL 32, 1324): "charitas Dei, quae inspirata Spiritu Sancto. . ."

<sup>73</sup> *Sermo* 378 (PL 39, 1673-74): "Arrham habemus aspersionem quandam in cordibus nostris Spiritus Sancti."

Both are inseparable: where charity is present in the soul there, too, is the inhabiting person of the Holy Ghost.<sup>74</sup> "When a person begins to have charity, he will have the Holy Ghost; if he should not have it, he will be without the Holy Ghost."<sup>75</sup>

Charity, therefore, is present in our souls not by human but by divine power, which enables us to reach out to God and to attain Him not by our own strength but by His.<sup>76</sup> Because the moral precepts cannot be fulfilled without the aid of divine grace, man is constrained to recognize his own weakness and to seek the aid of the Savior. In this manner the law leads man to faith, faith brings him the Holy Ghost, the Holy Ghost diffuses charity in man's heart, and charity fulfills the law. And thus charity becomes the "fullness of the law."<sup>77</sup> The performance of good deeds, such as lead to salvation, is dependent upon the possession of charity, and charity is a gift of the Holy Ghost.<sup>78</sup>

Although the diffusion of charity in the heart of man is associated with the person of the Holy Ghost, it is a gift which proceeds from the Father and the Son as well.<sup>79</sup> All extra-divine works are common to the three persons of the Trinity, even if they are predicated of one.<sup>80</sup> Charity is attributed to the Holy Ghost by reason of His procession and relationship to the other two persons of the Trinity. He proceeds from the divine will and is the mutual love of the Father and the Son.<sup>81</sup> Hence the Holy Spirit is the uncreated Love and the Gift of the Father and Son, whereas charity is a created and finite gift in the heart of man.<sup>82</sup>

St. Augustine's doctrine of the origin of charity and his fre-

<sup>74</sup> *Sermo* 169, 12, 15 (PL 38, 923-24).

<sup>75</sup> *In Io. Ev. tr.* 9, 8 (PL 35, 1462).

<sup>76</sup> *Ep.* 218, 2 (PL 33, 990; CSEL 57, 426); *Ep.* 145, 7 (PL 33, 595; CSEL 44, 272).

<sup>77</sup> *Ep.* 145, 3 (PL 33, 593; CSEL 44, 268).

<sup>78</sup> *Sermo* 156, 5, 5 (PL 38, 852-53).

<sup>79</sup> *Sermo* 128, 2, 4 (PL 38, 715).

<sup>80</sup> *In Io. Ev. tr.* 110, 17, 3 (PL 35, 1922): "Inseparabilia namque sunt opera non solum Patris et Filii, verum etiam Spiritus Sancti."

<sup>81</sup> *In Io. Ev. tr.* 9, 8 (PL 35, 1462); *In Io. Ev. tr.* 110, 17, 4 (PL 35, 1923); cf. M. Schmaus, *Die psychologische Trinitätslehre des hl. Augustinus* (Münster: 1927), pp. 383 ff.

<sup>82</sup> *De Trin.*, XV, 31 (PL 42, 1082); cf. J. Mausbach, *Die Ethik des heiligen Augustinus* (2 Aufl.; Freiburg im Br.: 1929), II, 128.

quent allusion to Rom. 5:5 can be better understood if it is thrown into vivid relief against the background of the Pelagian heresy. The contention between St. Augustine and the Pelagians was precisely whether charity was from God or from man. The Pelagians maintained that our knowledge of the law was from God but that charity came from ourselves. St. Augustine's answer is that charity which does not come from God cannot be true Christian virtue.<sup>83</sup> If knowledge of the law comes from God and causes the love of God which is from ourselves, then that which is less is from God and that which is more is from ourselves. Without the knowledge of the law (which knowledge is from God) we cannot know, and yet without the gift of charity from God we can love.<sup>84</sup> "What is more stupid, yea more insane than to profess that knowledge which without charity puffs up is from God, and that charity which causes knowledge not to be puffed up is from us?"<sup>85</sup>

God is the cause of every salutary action because He gives the power to perform it whereas man, making use of this power, is a cooperative agent in the performance of salutary deeds. Thus the action antecedent to the action of the human will is that of God alone. When man is in the process of willing and acting, God continues to operate conjointly with man. However without this instigation on the part of God for man to will and without His cooperation when man is already in the act of willing, man can perform no deed that is conducive to life eternal.<sup>86</sup> "God performs many good deeds in man which man does not perform; man however performs none which God does not cause man to do."<sup>87</sup>

God is good in the highest degree and unchangeably so. And therefore He who is good by His very essence must be the source of all good. The will, the desire, the urge to do good could not come from God unless they were good. These acts

<sup>83</sup> *De grat. et lib. arb.*, 19, 40 (PL 44, 905).

<sup>84</sup> *Op. imp. contra Jul.*, I, 95 (PL 45, 1112).

<sup>85</sup> *De grat. et lib. arb.*, 19, 40 (PL 44, 905).

<sup>86</sup> *De grat. et lib. arb.*, 17, 33 (PL 44, 901).

<sup>87</sup> *Contra duas ep. Pelag.*, II, 9, 21 (PL 44, 586; CSEL 60, ed. C. Urba and J. Zycha, 482).

of the will are nothing else but charity, which is the mainspring of all our actions.<sup>88</sup>

### Nature of Charity

In one of his sermons<sup>89</sup> St. Augustine carefully distinguishes between different kinds of love and explains them. The love that has been hitherto spoken of as a gift of God is the divine love; the most proper term for it is charity. The other gifts of God, such as faith and hope, are of no avail if this most excellent gift is wanting, and if it is possessed, all the other divine gifts will not be wanting.<sup>90</sup> In final analysis the virtue of charity determines whether one is holy, lives in union with God, and is one with Christ or not. With charity one is just; without it unjust even if gifted with faith and hope.

In contradistinction to divine love there is human love which is subdivided into licit and illicit love. Licit human love is not culpable; on the contrary, to be wanting in such love is reprehensible. A wife, children, friends, citizens are to be loved with this love. In these relationships there exists a certain spiritual bond by which men are united in mind and heart. Such a bond is love. This kind of love does not belong to Christians only, but is common to all men—infidels, Jews, and heretics. Who of these do not love their wives, children, brothers, neighbors, relatives, friends? It is natural and human to possess such love, for it serves a purpose in society. In fact, those who are devoid of it should not be reputed men.<sup>91</sup>

Illicit love, e.g., the love of another's wife, or of a prostitute is sinful. In warning Christians against illicit love, St. Augustine appeals, in the manner of St. Paul, to the doctrine of the mystical body of Christ.<sup>92</sup> Just as through licit intercourse man and wife become one body, so also through illicit intercourse man and prostitute become one body. But this is unbecoming for one who

<sup>88</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>89</sup> *Sermo* 349 (PL 39, 1529-33).

<sup>90</sup> *Sermo* 349, 1, 1 (PL 39, 1529): "Ubi autem ipsa est, sola esse non potest."

<sup>91</sup> *Ibid.*, 2, 2 (PL 39, 1530).

<sup>92</sup> I Cor. 6: 15, 16.



is a member of Christ, one with His body, and purchased by His blood. Furthermore such illicit love is a negation of the love of God and cannot coexist with it in the same soul.<sup>93</sup>

Between licit and illicit human love, there is what St. Augustine terms a *turpis amor* by which the human mind debases itself by seeking lower things.<sup>94</sup> The soul by the power of its free will can tend downward or upward; by the very fact that it is spiritual and indestructible it must seek God as its ultimate goal, and no inferior good must hinder it. The Bishop makes use of a proper term to express this degradation of the human soul, namely "cupidity," which he considers to be the root of all evil.<sup>95</sup> "You hear the Apostle saying that cupidity is the root of all evil."<sup>96</sup> He defines cupidity as the love of seeking and obtaining temporal things. This does not mean that temporal things cannot be loved at all, but it does mean that our love cannot rest in them as in an end, but must refer them to the creator.<sup>97</sup> Charity and cupidity stand as two poles opposed to each other. "The hope of obtaining and keeping temporal things is charity's poison; the diminution of cupidity is charity's nourishment; want of cupidity is charity's perfection."<sup>98</sup>

St. Augustine makes use of the term *amare* or *amor* indiscriminately for the love of God,<sup>99</sup> of man (be it licit or illicit love) and of temporal things.<sup>100</sup> He defines sin as being inordinate love of a creature.<sup>101</sup> The term *charitas* is used for the love of

<sup>93</sup> *Sermo* 349, 3, 5 (PL 39, 1530).

<sup>94</sup> *De div. quaest.* LXXXIII, 35, 2 (PL 40, 24): "Est enim turpis (amor), quo animus se ipsa inferiora sectatur. . . ."

<sup>95</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>96</sup> *Contra Fortunat. Manich.*, 2, 21 (PL 42, 123; CSEL 25, ed. J. Zycha, 101).

<sup>97</sup> *De Trin.*, IX, 8 (PL 42, 967-68): "Aut cupiditate, aut caritate: non quo non sit (Lov. non quod non sit) amanda creatura; sed si ad creatorem refertur ille amor, non jam cupiditas."

<sup>98</sup> *De div. quaest.* LXXXIII, 35, 2 (PL 40, 25).

<sup>99</sup> A. Nygren, "Die Ehrenrettung von amor bei Augustin," ΔΠΑΤΜΑ M. P. Nilsson dedicatum, *Acta Inst. Rom. Regni Sueciae*, II, 1 (Lund: 1939), 367-73, maintains that Augustine rescued the term "love" for the Christian world by identifying love of God (*amor Dei*) with charity.

<sup>100</sup> *Sermo* 142, 3, 3 (PL 38, 779): "Amor mundi adulterat animam, amor fabricatoris mundi castificat animam."

<sup>101</sup> *Sermo* 21, 3 (PL 38, 143-44): "Amando ergo creaturam inordinate, contra usum honestum, contra licitum, contra ipsius Creatoris legem et voluntatem amando creaturam peccas."

God and of oneself and neighbor for God's sake.<sup>102</sup> This is salutary love: it is conducive to eternal salvation.<sup>103</sup> The substantive *dilectio* is equated with *charitas*<sup>104</sup> although it does not have a technical character. Even in that which constitutes charity there are different loves whose perfection is determined by the object of love. A soul loving God and nothing else attains the purest and consummate charity. In both the subject that loves and the object that is loved there is the element of eternity: the everlasting soul loving an eternal, immutable God.<sup>105</sup>

What is the innermost nature of charity in the writings of St. Augustine? The Bishop of Hippo brings the definition of charity within the sphere of the definition of virtue, or inversely defines virtue in terms of charity.<sup>106</sup> There was little that he could find in Plotinus relative to the definition and nature of a virtue,<sup>107</sup> but he alludes to Cicero's definition:<sup>108</sup> "Virtus est animi habitus, naturae modo atque rationi consentaneus."<sup>109</sup> For this definition

<sup>102</sup> *Enar. in Ps.* 30, 5 (PL 36, 260): "Amor Dei, amor proximi, charitas dicitur."

<sup>103</sup> *Sermo* 23, 13, 13 (PL 38, 160): "Quidquid enim bene amas, charitate amas."

<sup>104</sup> *De Trin.*, XV, 18, 32 (PL 42, 1083): "Ipsa vero dilectio sive charitas. . . ." *De div. quaest. LXXXIII*, 36, 1 (PL 40, 25): "hanc (charitatem) et dilectionem dici placet."

<sup>105</sup> *De div. quaest. LXXXIII*, 36, 1 (PL 40, 25): "Charitatem voco, qua amantur ea quae non sunt prae ipso amante contemnenda: id est, quod aeternum est, et quod amare ipsum aeternum potest. Deus igitur et animus quo amatur, charitas proprie dicitur purgatissima et consummata, si nihil aliud amatur."

<sup>106</sup> *Ep.* 167, 15 (PL 33, 739; CSEL 44, III, 602): "Virtus est charitas, qua id quod diligendum est diligitur."

<sup>107</sup> Cf. H. van Lieshout, *La théorie plotinienne de la vertu* (Fribourg en Suisse: 1926), p. 76; B. Świtalski, *Neoplatonism and the Ethics of St. Augustine* (New York: 1946), p. 11: "One cannot find in his writings any deep reflections on the definition of virtues, their division, natural relations, etc."

<sup>108</sup> *De inventione*, I, 2.

<sup>109</sup> E.g., *De div. quaest. LXXXIII*, 31, 1 (PL 40, 20); *Contra Jul. Pelag.*, IV, 3, 19 (PL 44; 747); *De civ. Dei*, IV, 21 (PL 41, 128; ed. Dombart-Kalb, I, 170): "Ars quippe ipsa bene recteque vivendi, virtus a veteribus definita est." *Ibid.*, IX, 4, 1 (PL 41, 253): ". . . eo quod nullum bonum volunt esse hominis praeter virtutem, tamquam artem bene vivendi, quae non nisi in animo est." These words are reminiscent of Seneca for whom not only the ethical part of philosophy but the whole of it consists in virtue; *Frag.* 17: "Philosophia nihil aliud est quam recta vivendi ratio vel honeste vivendi scientia vel ars rectae vitae agenda non errabimus, si dixerimus philosophiam

Cicero was beholden to the early Stoa who saw the purpose of life as consisting in virtue, and defined virtue as life according to nature.<sup>110</sup> Augustine would have given his full approval to this definition of a virtue if there were but a natural order. He asserts that the pagans by their natural reason alone could not know what was in accordance with that nature of man who was liberated from sin, raised to a new life and destined to eternal bliss by virtue of the death of Jesus Christ.<sup>111</sup>

Augustine is able to reduce the four cardinal virtues to some phase of love. Man's supreme end is happiness which lies in the attainment and fruition of the highest good. In this life as well as in the next man unites himself with God through charity. But created in the midst of rational and irrational creatures which can either serve and further him in the attainment of God or stem and obstruct him, he must be possessed with the four virtues.<sup>112</sup> The virtue of temperance is love which devotes itself wholly to the object that is loved; fortitude is love which willingly suffers all on account of the object that is loved; justice is love which gives itself to the service of the subject that is loved; prudence is love which distinguishes correctly between that which is useful and harmful and makes the correct choice.<sup>113</sup>

The Bishop does not make a distinction between a natural virtue and a supernatural virtue, or between the object of a natural virtue and the object of a supernatural virtue. For a rational creature there exists but one end, God, who is the high-

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esse legem bene honesteque vivendi, et qui dixerit illam regulam vitae, suum illi nomen reddidit."

<sup>110</sup> ὁμολογουμένως τῇ φύσει ζῆν. Cf. F. Copleston, *A History of Philosophy* (Westminster, Md.: 1948), I, 394, 395.

<sup>111</sup> *Contra Jul. Pelag.*, IV, 3, 19 (PL 44, 747): "Non enim absurde virtus definita est ab eis qui dixerunt, 'Virtus est animi habitus, naturae modo atque rationi consentaneus.' Verum dixerunt, sed quid sit consentaneum liberandae ac beatificandae naturae mortalium nescierunt. Neque enim omnes homines naturali instinctu immortales et beati esse vellemus, nisi esse possemus. Sed hoc summum bonum praestari hominibus non potest, nisi per Christum et hunc crucifixum, cujus morte mors vincitur, cujus vulneribus natura nostra sanatur."

<sup>112</sup> *De div. quaest.* LXXXIII, 30 (PL 40, 20).

<sup>113</sup> *Contra Jul. Pel.*, IV, 3, 19 (PL 44, 747): "Ideo justus ex fide Christi vivit. Ex hac enim fide prudentur, fortiter, temperanter et juste, ac per hoc his omnibus veris virtutibus recte sapienterque vivit, quia fideliter vivit."

est good of the will. Virtue and charity coincide in the attainment of this one end. Hence every virtue must be affected by, and participate in, the virtue of charity. Thus only he who has faith and charity can rightly have prudence, fortitude, temperance, and justice.<sup>114</sup> Wherefore if virtue leads to the attainment of God, it can be defined as charity, since through charity we are united to God and attain Him in the next world.<sup>115</sup> And, therefore, in a simple and general way, Augustine defines virtue as "charity by which, that which is to be loved, is loved."<sup>116</sup> And elsewhere he ingeniously defines it as an *ordo amoris*,<sup>117</sup> crisply stating that "a brief and true definition of virtue is well-ordered love."<sup>118</sup>

If charity is a "habit of the soul," which habit renders the soul good<sup>119</sup> and well-ordered toward God then it must be some permanent reality in the soul and not merely some transient act.<sup>120</sup> Just as justification cannot be ascertained by any experimental means, so also charity is an invisible virtue and an invisible unction of the Holy Ghost.<sup>121</sup>

<sup>114</sup> *De mor. Ecc.*, I, 15, 25 (PL 32, 1322): "Namque illud quod quadripartita dicitur virtus, ex ipsius amoris vario quodam affectu, quantum, intelligo, dicitur. Itaque illas quatuor virtutes, quarum utinam sit in mentibus vis, ut nomina in ore sunt omnium, sic etiam definire non dubitem, ut temperantia sit amor integrum se praebens ei quod amatur; fortitudo, amor facile tolerans omnia propter quod amatur; iustitia, amor soli amato serviens, et propterea recte dominans; prudentia, amor ea quibus adjuvatur ab eis quibus impeditur, sagaciter seligens."

<sup>115</sup> *De mor. Ecc.*, I, 15, 25 (PL 32, 1322): "Quod si virtus ad beatam vitam nos ducit, nihil omnino esse virtutem affirmaverim, nisi summum amorem Dei."

<sup>116</sup> *Ep.* 167, 4, 15 (PL 33, 739; CSEL 44, 602): "Et ut generaliter breviterque complectar, quam de virtute habeam notionem, quod ad recte vivendum attinet, virtus est charitas, qua id quod diligendum est diligitur."

<sup>117</sup> A. Freemantle, "And Heaven, Too," *The Commonweal*, LX (1954), no. 2, p. 38, states: "For me the greatest sentence ever uttered by a human being (outside Holy Writ) is Saint Augustine's statement: 'Virtue is the order of love.'"

<sup>118</sup> *De civ. Dei*, XV, 22 (PL 40, 467; ed. Dombart-Kalb, II, 107): "Unde mihi videtur, quod definitio brevis virtutis, ordo est amoris."

<sup>119</sup> *De mor. Ecc.*, I, 6, 9 (PL 32, 1314): "Nemo autem dubitaverit quin virtus animam faciat optimam."

<sup>120</sup> Van Roey, *De virtute charitatis* (Mechliniae: 1929), p. 102: "Virtutem S. Doctor (Augustinus) vocat illum tantum animi habitum, qui ordinem et rectitudinem habet ad finem ultimum seu beatitudinem. Nihil magis evidens opera ejus perlegenti."

<sup>121</sup> *In Io. Ev. tr.* 3, 12 (PL 35, 2004): "Unctionis sacramentum est, virtus



Charity constitutes an essential part of the newness of life in the reborn man. The new life of charity stands in opposition to the ancient death brought about by the sin of Adam. The original sin is undone by charity.<sup>122</sup> The old will, the carnal one, is replaced by a new one, a spiritual one.<sup>123</sup> Charity is so indispensable in the justification of man that it is simply termed the *justitiae charitas*,<sup>124</sup> and is said metonymically to dwell in the just man as in a temple.<sup>125</sup> Charity is not the sole justifying agent of the soul but is associated with other justifying powers and causes. Wherever charity is there must be faith, hope, and grace.<sup>126</sup> The man who is reborn of God is just; he lives in the newness of life by grace, in the newness of the intellect by faith and in the newness of the will by charity. There are still in him, however, certain remains of the sin of Adam, and on this account he is not altogether without sin in this life.<sup>127</sup>

Charity belongs to the faculty of the will. The most basic act of the will is love. Love affects all the actions proceeding from the will. Love in its noblest meaning is charity. The will is thus rendered religious and pious by the charity which pervades it.<sup>128</sup> Moreover, charity brings unity into the aspirations and actions of man; it animates all virtues by giving value to them. In a word, the will of man is rendered a *bona voluntas* by charity.<sup>129</sup>

The mode of operation congenital to the will is retained by it.

ipsa invisibilis, unctio invisibilis, Spiritus Sanctus; unctio invisibilis, charitas illa quae in quocunque fuerit, tamquam radix illi erit, quamvis ardente sole arescere non potest."

<sup>122</sup> *Sermo* 390, 1 (PL 39, 1534).

<sup>123</sup> *Confes.*, VIII, 5, 10 (PL 33, 753; ed. M. Skutella, 161).

<sup>124</sup> *Sermo* 348, 2, 2 (PL 39, 1527).

<sup>125</sup> *Sermo* 350, 1 (PL 39, 1533): "Nec dubitari ullo modo potest, quod templum Dei sit homo, in quo habitat charitas."

<sup>126</sup> *Sermo* 349, 1, 1 (PL 39, 1529): "Ubi autem ipsa est, sola esse non potest."

<sup>127</sup> *Ep.* 185, 9, 40 (PL 33, 810; CSEL 57, 35): "Nunc ergo, in quantum viget in nobis quod ex Deo nati sumus, ex fide viventes, iusti sumus; in quantum autem reliquias mortalitatis ex Adam trahimus, sine peccato non sumus."

<sup>128</sup> *Ep.* 147, 44 (PL 33, 616; CSEL 44, III, 318): "Ecce etiam charitas quantalacunque in nostra voluntate consistit. . . ."

<sup>129</sup> *De grat. Christi*, I, 21 (PL 44, 371): "Quasi vero aliud sit bona voluntas quam charitas. . . ."

It is naturally possessed with an appetency for a motion toward its object. But through the divine infusion of charity these powers of the will are raised, sustained and directed toward God.<sup>130</sup> Charity elevates our deeds to a supernatural level and makes them meritorious.<sup>131</sup>

While the ontological nature of charity as being an abiding qualitative reality of the soul is the implicit teaching of St. Augustine, he stresses the dynamic character of charity by frequently exhorting to the active love of God and of neighbor. If God infuses the gift of charity into the soul of man it is with the purpose that man bring forth the fruits of charity.<sup>132</sup> The fruit of the gift of charity is charity in action—*charitas in moribus*.<sup>133</sup> "Charity is now practiced in the good works of love."<sup>134</sup> This is the charity which constitutes religion and piety.<sup>135</sup>

If charity is an act of love it must be conceived as an intellective and volitional motion toward the object of our affection. Charity, in the strict sense of the word, can reach out toward four objects: God, oneself, one's neighbor, and one's body, for this last object is destined after its resurrection and glorification to a participation in the bliss of the soul which inhabited it.<sup>136</sup> Man's affections seek, licitly or illicitly, countless other created goods, but while these may be said to be the object of love they are not the object of Christian charity. There are two terms running through the works of St. Augustine which regulate all affection toward the universality of beings, uncreated and created; they are: *frui*, to

<sup>130</sup> G. Combès, *La charité d'après Saint Augustin* (Paris: 1934), p. 63: "Ce mouvement est identique à celui de l'amour purement naturel. Mais ici il est défléché, soutenu, accéléré par une délectation, toute particulière, infusée à la volonté par l'Esprit-Saint."

<sup>131</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 49: "Avec la charité nous pénétrons dans la domaine du surnaturel."

<sup>132</sup> *Confes.*, IX, 11, 28 (PL 32, 775; ed. M. Skutella, 202): "Ego vero cogitans dona tua, Deus invisibilis, quae immittis in corda fidelium tuorum, et proveniunt inde fruges admirabiles."

<sup>133</sup> *Sermo* 350, 2 (PL 39, 1534); *De mor. Ecc.*, I, 17, 31 (PL 32, 1324): "Simplex et pura charitas Dei, quae maxime spectatur in moribus."

<sup>134</sup> *Ep.* 140, 25, 62 (PL 33, 564; CSEL 44, III, 207).

<sup>135</sup> *Ep.* 167, 4, 14 (PL 33, 739; CSEL 44, III, 602): "Nam et, 'major est in isto charitas, quam in illo,' recte possumus dicere; et, 'aliqua in isto, nulla in illo,' quantum pertinet ad charitatem quae pietas est."

<sup>136</sup> *De doctr. christ.*, I, 22-27 (PL 34, 26-30).

enjoy, and *uti*, to use.<sup>137</sup> Their action is founded on the hierarchy of values, for there must be order in love.<sup>138</sup>

*Frui* and *uti* are related to love as is evident from the definition of them. *Frui*<sup>139</sup>—"to enjoy, is to cleave in love to something for its own sake"; *uti*—"to use, is to refer the object of use to the obtaining of what is loved."<sup>140</sup> Now, "the object of our love is good."<sup>141</sup> The good that is loved determines whether it is to be embraced by the love of fruition or by the category of use. There is a countless variety of goods belonging to nature, art, and morality but they all can be divided into two categories: the supreme good and the participated goods.<sup>142</sup> "Good is this and good is that; take away this and that and see, if you can, the good itself; so will you see God, good not through any other good thing, but the good of every good."<sup>143</sup> God, eternal and immutable in the Trinity, is the source-good, the supreme good, the summation of all good, and as such He constitutes the object of man's fruition. This is an obligation which is incumbent upon man,<sup>144</sup> and indeed it is such an obligation that the whole moral order revolves around it. All the other goods, temporal and mutable, cannot be the object of fruition, but must be "used" (*uti*) in such a manner as not to obstruct the fruition of the highest good.<sup>145</sup>

<sup>137</sup> J. Burnaby, *Amor Dei: A Study of St. Augustine's Teaching on the Love of God as the Motive of Christian Life* (London: 1947), pp. 104 ff.; F. Cayré, "Frui et uti," *L'année théologique*, X (1949), 50-53.

<sup>138</sup> *De civ. Dei*, XV, 22 (PL 41, 467); ed. Dombart-Kalb, II, 107: "Amor ipse ordinate amandus est."

<sup>139</sup> Cf. R. Lorenz, "Fruitio Dei bei Augustin," *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, LXIII (1950), 75-132; the author does not sufficiently take into account the antithesis between *frui* and *uti* and this is indispensable in determining the exact concept of the word which he is studying. In another article, "Die Herkunft des augustiniſchen 'frui Deo,'" *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, LXIV (1952-53), 34-40, the same author points to Varro as being the source of the *frui Deo* doctrine together with the couplet *uti-frui*.

<sup>140</sup> *De doctr. christ.*, I, 4 (PL 34, 20).

<sup>141</sup> *De Trin.*, VIII, 3, 4 (PL 42, 949): "Non amas certe nisi bonum."

<sup>142</sup> Cf. S. J. Grabowski, *The All-Present God: A Study in St. Augustine* (St. Louis: 1954), pp. 172-73.

<sup>143</sup> *De Trin.*, VIII, 3, 4 (PL 42, 949); *Enar. in Ps.* 134, 4 (PL 37, 1740): "Est enim est, sicut bonorum bonum, bonum est."

<sup>144</sup> *De doctr. christ.*, I, 5, 5 (PL 34, 21): "Res igitur quibus fruendum est, Pater, Filius et Spiritus Sanctus, eademque Trinitas."

<sup>145</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 22, 20 (PL 34, 26): "Ceteris autem utendum est, ut ad illarum perfruitionem pervenire possimus."

Notwithstanding the fact that Augustine makes God the object of fruition and all creatures the object of utility, nevertheless he relaxes at times the strictness of his division by bringing man into the category of objects of fruition. Extending the term *frui* to the love of oneself and of one's neighbor, he qualifies its usage and makes it depend on the love of God. He says: "By charity I mean the affection of the mind in enjoying God for His own sake and in enjoying oneself and one's neighbor for the sake of God."<sup>146</sup> Reduced to principle a new rule is set in play. A division is made between man and other creatures: these are either equal to man or inferior to him. Creatures inferior to man are to be used, those equal to man are to be enjoyed, but under the proviso that they are enjoyed in God.<sup>147</sup> This constitutes Christian charity and stands in opposition to "cupidity" which is the enjoyment of self, neighbor, or inferior creature without reference to God.<sup>148</sup>

In stating that God must be loved for His own sake, and that self and neighbor are to be loved for God's sake—or, that when we love them we are to love them in God—Augustine underscores the noblest characteristic of charity. That which unites us to God is the pure, disinterested love which is the very essence of charity and which distinguishes it from other loves of God for less noble reasons. "God is to be loved in such a manner, that we should forget ourselves, if that were possible."<sup>149</sup> And thus St. Augustine's doctrine on charity is itself a refutation of J. V. Bolgeni<sup>150</sup> who purported to buttress his contention on the works of the Bishop that only that charity was really possible and incumbent upon us which has as its object the divine goodness in regard to ourselves.<sup>151</sup>

The conception of "enjoyment" and "use," thus far described has pivoted around supernatural love, or charity. But the same

<sup>146</sup> *De doctr. christ.*, III, 10, 16 (PL 34, 74).

<sup>147</sup> *De Trin.*, IX, 8, 13 (PL 42, 968): "Cum ergo aut par nobis, aut inferior creatura sit, inferiore utendum est ad Deum; pari autem fruendum, sed in Deo."

<sup>148</sup> *De doctr. christ.*, III, 10, 16 (PL 34, 72); *De Trin.*, IX, 8, 13 (PL 43, 968).

<sup>149</sup> *Sermo* 142, 3, 3 (PL 38, 779).

<sup>150</sup> *Della carità o amor di Dio* (Romae: 1788).

<sup>151</sup> Cf. F. Cayré, *Patrologie et histoire de la théologie* (Paris: 1927), III, 359-60.



is true and in a different order would be true, of natural love: by his rational nature man is destined to the enjoyment of the highest good, but only to making use of finite good in his steps toward the attainment of the supreme good. Love is defined, in the natural order, as a certain desire, urge, appetency—*appetitus quidam*, and thus “to love is nothing else than to seek, desire something for its own sake.”<sup>152</sup> That is morally fitting, good, or virtuous (*honestum*) which is to be sought for its own sake, and thus an object of our enjoyment; that is useful (*utile*) which is to be referred to something else. God Himself is not subject to the reason of man “because man judges other things according to God; nor does man use God but enjoys Him.” “But all other things which have been made, are made for the use of man because they all are subject to the judgment of reason which has been given to man.”<sup>153</sup>

Christian charity is built upon the psychological laws of natural love; these blossom out into a more perfect love—into a higher union with God—even here upon earth. The “enjoyment” of God reaches its true realization in that acme of the union with God in mystical experience.<sup>154</sup> And thus St. Augustine embraces the whole sweep of human love from the viewpoint of a philosopher, theologian, and mystic. The highest fruition union with God is especially described in those passages in which the Saint treats of the gifts of the Holy Ghost and of the beatitudes.<sup>155</sup> It is also in this sense that the verb *frui* made its way from St. Augustine into St. Thomas who characterizes the charity of the perfect as a fruition union with God.<sup>156</sup> Even this sweet fruition of God on earth is but a faint image and foreshadowing of that blissful eternal fruition of God by the saints in heaven.

<sup>152</sup> *De div. quaest. LXXXIII*, 35, 2 (PL 40, 24).

<sup>153</sup> *Ibid.*, 30 (PL 40, 20); cf. *De mor. Ecc.*, I, 3, 4 (PL 32, 1312); I, 20, 37 (PL 32, 1327).

<sup>154</sup> Cf. F. Cayré, *La contemplation Augustinienne: Principes de la spiritualité de saint Augustin* (Paris: 1927), pp. 149–55; E. C. Butler, *Western Mysticism* (London: 1952), p. 24.

<sup>155</sup> E.g., *De doctr. christ.*, II, 7, 9–11 (PL 34, 39–40). Cf. R. Garrigou-Lagrange, “Les dons du Saint-Esprit chez saint Augustin,” *La Vie Spirituelle*, XXIV (1930), 95–111; C. van Lierde, *Doctrina Sancti Augustini circa dona Spiritus Sancti ex textu Isaiae XI, 2–3* (Würzburg: 1935).

<sup>156</sup> *Summa theol.*, IIa IIae, q. 24, a. 9.

Love moves us to action. By faith we believe in the things that we do not see. Faith is accompanied by hope lest we should despair of attaining the things that we do not see. Faith and hope are crowned by charity. By it "we desire, try to attain, are incited, hunger and thirst"<sup>157</sup> after the object of our love. If faith is lost, those things which we believe in perish for us. If charity is taken away we have not the wherewith to act. As it is faith's purpose to believe, so it is charity's purpose to act. Charity is the source and the power of all good and salutary deeds.<sup>158</sup> For through charity God inspires an affection for that which is good,<sup>159</sup> and makes the fulfillment of the precepts easy.<sup>160</sup>

A parallel to the ontological and actual character of love is cupidity. Cupidity manifests itself in disorderly acts—deeds which are incompatible with man's supreme end—yet, more than this, cupidity is for St. Augustine a lasting condition, a permanent state of the soul.<sup>161</sup> Basically it consists in a habitual conversion of the mind and soul to creatures who are loved for their own sake, and a consequent aversion from God and His service. Therein lies the disordered state of the soul.<sup>162</sup> The soul of no man is well ordered unless it is in the state of grace. As a consequence of this disorder in the soul, the actions proceeding from such a will are vitiated, because they cannot be oriented towards the final and beatifying goal of man, which is God. "You hear the Apostle saying that cupidity is the root of all evil."<sup>163</sup>

### Unitive Power

In his *De Trinitate*, the profoundest piece of speculation in Christian literature, St. Augustine analyzes the unitive quality of love, and discovers a certain vestige of the Trinity in it. Where there is love three things are involved: viz., the one who loves, the object which is loved, and the act of love. The act of loving,

<sup>157</sup> *Sermo* 53, 10, 11 (PL 38, 369).

<sup>158</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>159</sup> *Enar. in Ps.* 118, 2 (PL 37, 1548).

<sup>160</sup> *Sermo* 96, 1, 1 (PL 38, 584-85).

<sup>161</sup> J. Mausbach, *Die Ethik des hl. Augustinus* (Freiburg im Br.: 1929), II, 90.

<sup>162</sup> *De Trin.*, IX, 8 (PL 42, 967).

<sup>163</sup> *Contra Fort. Man.*, 2, 21 (PL 42, 123; CSEL 25, 101).

says the Bishop, is "a certain life" (*quaedam vita*) which unites two objects, namely, the one loving and the thing loved, or at least seeks to unite them. Such is the nature not only of internal and spiritual love, but also of external and carnal love. In the case of spiritual love the uniting factor is a certain spiritual power whereby the subject, going outside of himself (as it were) in quest of the object, assimilates himself to it. "What does the soul," asks St. Augustine, "love in a friend except his soul! And therefore there are three things: the one loving, the thing loved, and love."<sup>164</sup>

It is characteristic of natural love to effect a oneness between the person loving and the one loved. When two persons are of the same mind and mutually love each other they become as it were one spirit.<sup>165</sup> Speaking of his own friendship, St. Augustine says that he felt that his soul and that of his friend were one soul in two bodies.<sup>166</sup> This unity of mind and harmony of aspirations bring sweetness to friendship.<sup>167</sup> But the natural friendship is only a faint image of the true supernatural friendship in virtue of which those who adhere to each other by psychological ties also adhere to God by an inward spiritual bond, sealed by the Holy Ghost, and by a communion of life with Christ.<sup>168</sup>

It is also a property of supernatural love that all to whom the gift of love is given are unified by the fact that their wills reach out toward, and adhere to, the same supreme object. Of this unifying power there is a conspicuous example. Through the charity which God diffused in the souls of men, the hearts and wills of many men were made one, as it is related in the Acts (4:32).

<sup>164</sup> *De Trin.*, VIII, 10, 14 (PL 42, 960): "Quid est autem dilectio vel charitas, quam tantopere Scriptura divina laudat et praedicat, nisi amor boni? Amor alicujus amantis est, et amore aliquid amatur. Ecce tria sunt; amans, et quod amatur, et amor. Quid est ergo amor, nisi quaedam vita duo aliqua copulans, vel copulare appetens, amantem scilicet, et quod amatur? . . . Quid amat animus in amico, nisi animum? Et illic igitur tria sunt: amans, et quod amatur, et amor."

<sup>165</sup> *In Io. Ev. tr.* 18, 5 (PL 35, 1538): "Si ergo anima mea et anima tua, cum idem sapimus nosque diligimus, fit anima una."

<sup>166</sup> *Confes.*, IV, 6, 11 (PL 33, 698; ed. M. Skutella, 62).

<sup>167</sup> *Confes.*, II, 5, 10 (PL 33, 679; ed. M. Skutella, 31).

<sup>168</sup> *Confes.*, IV, 4, 7 (PL 33, 696; ed. M. Skutella, 58): "Non est vera (amicitia), nisi cum eam tu agglutinas inter haerentes sibi charitate diffusa in cordibus nostris per Spiritum Sanctum."

"Having received the Holy Ghost by whom spiritual love was inflamed in their hearts, by this very charity and fervor of the spirit they have been formed into a oneness."<sup>169</sup>

St. Augustine adduces some of these examples of the unifying power of charity in connection with the doctrine of the unity of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. If the charity of men unites and does not divide them, how much more is the all-perfect charity of God a preserver and not a destroyer of His unity? Because the Father and the Son have but a single mutual love which is at the same time self-subsisting and personal, they are one to the consummate degree of possessing identically the same nature.<sup>170</sup> "If in coming to God many souls are made one by charity, and many hearts are made one, what does the very source of charity not do in the Father and the Son? Is it not true that the Trinity is one God?"<sup>171</sup>

Love is divine and human; human love can be licit and illicit. But to each and every love the element that is common is the unitive power.<sup>172</sup> Love is love because it unites the lover with the object loved. This is an essential characteristic of it. In charity the person loving is united to the highest good, the beatifying object, God. This union of the soul with God or the body of Christ is expressed by various terms. Charity is said to be the "*concordissimum vinculum*,"<sup>173</sup> the "*dulce et salubre vinculum mentium*,"<sup>174</sup> and the "*unitatis sanctissimum vinculum*."<sup>175</sup> Scanning through his works various other terms are met, such as *copulatio*,<sup>176</sup> *gluten*,<sup>177</sup> *junctura*,<sup>178</sup> taken principally from the physical and visible world to portray impressively what takes place in the spiritual world. Charity has become the very symbol

<sup>169</sup> *In Io. Ev. tr.* 40, 8, 5 (PL 35, 1684).

<sup>170</sup> *In Io. Ev. tr.* 18, 4 (PL 35, 1538).

<sup>171</sup> *In Io. Ev. tr.* 40, 8, 5 (PL 35, 1684).

<sup>172</sup> *Sermo* 349, 2, 2 (PL 39, 1530): "Omnia enim ista nomina habent necessitudinis vinculum, et gluten quodam modo charitatis."

<sup>173</sup> *Sermo* 312, 6, 6 (PL 38, 1422).

<sup>174</sup> *Sermo* 350, 3 (PL 39, 1534).

<sup>175</sup> *Contra lit. Pet.*, II, 80, 177 (PL 43, 314).

<sup>176</sup> *De bapt.*, V, 23, 33 (PL 43, 193; CSEL 51, ed. M. Petschenig, 290).

<sup>177</sup> *Enar. in Ps.* 62, 17 (PL 36, 758); *Conf.*, IV, 10, 15 (PL 32, 700; ed. M. Skutella, 65).

<sup>178</sup> *Enar. in Ps.* 39, 1 (PL 36, 433).



of unity,<sup>179</sup> for it is proper for charity to bring together and to unify, as it is for cupidity to divide and separate.<sup>180</sup>

The unitive function of charity is twofold: first it unites the possessor of it individually with the object loved, that is God; secondly, it unites all of those who love that same object into one body. In the natural order, by loving created things we divide and separate in many directions according to the number of objects that are loved; in the supernatural order, we become one by loving one supreme object.<sup>181</sup> Since the natural order is subject to the supernatural, man cannot love created beings in such a manner as to thwart his love of a Supreme Being. This order is postulated not only by the light of reason but also by the commandment of God who orders continence, by which we withhold our love from creatures, and justice by which we bestow it on the supreme object.<sup>182</sup> By loving the Supreme Being here on earth we raise ourselves even now above created beings and are in a manner, even now, united with the supreme object of our love in heaven.<sup>183</sup>

The directive and unitive powers of charity are explained by comparison with the properties of material bodies. These, as observation teaches us, have their own specific natures and corresponding laws which determine their proper place in relation to other bodies and account for their motions and directions. Each body tends to its proper place by the force of gravity which makes some of the objects to go downward and others upward. Thus the nature of a stone is to fall, but the nature of fire is to ascend. If disorder is injected into the proper gravity of beings, disquietude ensues until the order postulated by their beings is restored. If oil is brought under water, the former will be rest-

<sup>179</sup> *Sermo* 269, 1, 3 (PL 38, 1286): "Quae autem major est virtus pietatis, quam charitas unitatis."

<sup>180</sup> *Sermo* 265, 9, 11 (PL 38, 1224): "Cupiditas enim cupit dividere, sicut charitas colligere."

<sup>181</sup> *Confes.*, X, 29, 40 (PL 32, 796; ed. M. Skutella, 238): "Per continentiam quippe colligimur et redigimur in unum, a quo in multa defluximus."

<sup>182</sup> *Confes.*, X, 37, 61 (PL 32, 805; ed. M. Skutella, 256): "Quia nobis imperasti non tantum continentiam, id est, a quibus rebus amorem cohibeamus, verum etiam justitiam, id est quo eum conferamus."

<sup>183</sup> *In Io. Ev. tr.* 32, 7, 9 (PL 35, 1645): "Hic enim nascimur et morimur, hoc non amemus: charitate migremus, charitate sursum habitemus, charitate illa qua diligimus Deum."

less until it makes its way to the surface. Material beings only then find their acquiescence and state of repose when they are in that condition which is proper to them.

The soul's gravity is love. This is the psychological or psychologico-spiritual power which moves the soul in the direction of an object. There can be a variety of loves according as there is a variety of objects which can be embraced by the will.<sup>184</sup> Through the power of loving a soul can move downward or upward, according as the object of love is below or above man. If love diffuses itself upon created objects, it descends into the abyss of the temporal, mutable, and the destructible; this is called cupidity and is not in harmony with the dignity of an indestructible soul. If love verges upward it embraces God, the eternal, immutable, and indestructible being; this is charity and is consonant with the aspirations of an immortal soul.<sup>185</sup> Unlike material bodies the soul of man is free and can determine its course either in one direction or the other.

By virtue of the eternal law and by the life of grace the soul is endowed with a gravity which orients it toward its last end. The charity infused into the soul of man elevates him to a plane where it can move toward a transcendent object, the highest good, in an appropriate manner.<sup>186</sup> Created to the image and likeness of God and participating in His life through grace, the soul cannot find permanent and consummate satisfaction in any good below God. And, therefore, unless the soul is permanently orientated toward God, like the needle of a compass toward the north, the equilibrium of the soul is disturbed and is not restored until it is righted through charity to God. This is the profound meaning of those frequently quoted words of St. Augustine: "You have created us for Thyself and our heart is restless until it rests in Thee."<sup>187</sup>

Charity effects not only the union of the subject loving and

<sup>184</sup> *Confes.*, IV, 14, 22 (PL 32, 702; ed. M. Skutella, 70): "Ubi distribuuntur ista pondera variorum et diversorum amorum in anima mea?"

<sup>185</sup> *Confes.*, XIII, 7, 8 (PL 32, 847; ed. M. Skutella, 333): "Quomodo dicam de pondere cupiditatis in abruptam abyssum, et de sublevatione charitatis per Spiritum tuum."

<sup>186</sup> *Confes.*, XIII, 9, 10 (PL 32, 848-89; ed. M. Skutella, 335).

<sup>187</sup> *Confes.*, I, 1, 1 (PL 32, 661; ed. M. Skutella, 1): "Quia fecisti nos ad te, et inquietum est cor nostrum, donec requiescat in te."

the object loved but also of those who love the same object. Such a union in the natural order is a moral union—one of mind and heart, will and sentiment—but in the supernatural order where an ontological bond is involved, the union becomes an inner reality of the spiritual order. Just as many physical members animated by a soul form a body, so also many persons vivified by the same charity form a society, a corporate being, a body.<sup>188</sup> St. Augustine uses the term *compaginare* to designate the formation of members into one body, both of the physical body<sup>189</sup> as well as of the mystical body. It is not only the object that is loved (i.e., God) that effects this corporate unity, but also the infused life of charity which is common to all forming the body (*compages*). Thus all who are animated by charity form a single body; but in a body there is compactness, unity; unity in turn preserves charity. If one separates himself from the body compacted by charity, he himself is without charity.<sup>190</sup> Just as fire permeates many separate pieces of solid metal in a crucible and reduces them through its heat into a single element, so charity pervades the soul of the multitudes in order to make but one organism of them. The analogy is carried farther: the iron is inseparable from its heat, but is one red molten mass; charity, too, is not separable from the one body which it forms.<sup>191</sup>

A sequel to this spiritual corporate oneness is that men who are embraced by it and inwardly possess the unifying life of charity must manifest it by love toward one another.<sup>192</sup> It also

<sup>188</sup> *Confes.*, X, 3, 3 (PL 32, 780; ed. M. Skutella, 211): "Sed quia charitas omnia credit, inter eos utique, quos connexos sibimet unum fecit."

<sup>189</sup> *Confes.*, I, 7, 12 (PL 32, 666; ed. M. Skutella, 9): "Qui dedisti vitam infanti, et corpus, quod ita ut videmus instruxisti sensibus, compegisti membris. . . ."

<sup>190</sup> *Enar. in Ps.* 30, 1 (PL 36, 239): "Charitas autem compagem facit, compages complectitur unitatem, unitas servat charitatem, charitas pervenit ad charitatem."

<sup>191</sup> *In Io. Ep. tr.* 10, 5, 3 (PL 35, 2055): "Quomodo ipsa compaginata est in unum, sic omnes quae ex illa pendent, unum facit, et quasi conflatur illos ignis. Aurum est, conflatur massa, et fit unum aliquid: sed nisi fervor charitatis accendat, ex multis in unum conflare non potest."

<sup>192</sup> *In Io. Ev. tr.* 66, 13, 2 (PL 35, 1809): "Ad hoc ergo nos dilexit, ut et nos diligamus invicem: hoc nobis conferens diligendo nos, ut mutua dilectione constringamur inter nos, et tam dulci vinculo connexis membris corpus tanti capitis simus."

follows that whatever good or virtue one member possesses all the other members possess, for "charity causes that which each member has in the body to belong to all the members of the body."<sup>193</sup> Vision is proper to the eye, but does it not belong to all the members of the body in which those eyes are? Whilst here upon earth in the kingdom of charity this is not yet realized in fullness it will be so in the perfected kingdom of charity in heaven, where "there will be no envy of unequal charity, because in all will reign the oneness of charity."<sup>194</sup> The body formed of men united by the bond of charity here below will remain the same hereafter and will be united by that same charity, although its members will be changed for the better, forming an immutable body.<sup>195</sup>

In a striking passage contained in his Letter to Honoratus—known also as *De Gratia Novi Testamenti Liber*<sup>196</sup>—St. Augustine deals with the natural superiority of the human nature over the nature of other created beings and treats of its elevation by grace and charity. A rational nature, be it angelic or human, is endowed with a capacity for perfect happiness, but does not contain this happiness within itself. The will of man must seek its good outside itself. There are innumerable goods that bring satisfactions to the heart of man, but only the attainment of a completely satiating good is capable of rendering the soul perfectly happy. Otherwise the soul is restless until it is satiated by some such perfect good. Such a good cannot lie within man because whatever is within man is changeable. It lies outside of him. Only an immutable and infinite good is able to quench the thirst of the soul. It lies, however, in the power of the free will of man to choose the immutable good or in its stead some other object which it seeks under the guise of good. The conversion of the will to the supreme good is a virtue, the aversion from it is a vice.

Because human nature proceeds by creation from God, it cannot be evil in itself, but like all of God's creatures is good. Nay,

<sup>193</sup> *In Io. Ev. tr.* 67, 13, 2 (PL 35, 1812).

<sup>194</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>195</sup> *De pec. mer. et remis.*, I, 1, 1 (PL 44, 109; CSEL 60, 3): "Ipsa charitas qua in uno incommutabili unum sumus in melius commutandi."

<sup>196</sup> *Ep.* 140, 23, 56 (PL 33, 561-62; CSEL 44, 202-3).



having a spiritual component, the soul, human nature is superior to all purely corporeal creatures. For example, the soul is more noble than light, which is the most excellent of corporeal beings. It is axiomatic that every spiritual nature is more excellent than a corporeal nature. For the dignity of the soul does not lie in quantity, since it has no tridimensional bulk, but in a certain spiritual power with which it is endowed. The power of intelligence is superior to the images drawn from the corporeal senses. The intellectual knowledge of man and his volitions differ essentially from those of animals.

Furthermore, the human soul is able to rise above that excellence which is native to it by participating in a good that is proper to a nature superior to it. This is, in some measure, illustrated by an analogy taken from beings inferior to man. Corporeal natures, such as soil, water, and air can be ennobled by partaking of the perfection of some higher corporeal being. Add light to them and they become more excellent than they were in themselves. So also incorporeal, rational beings are raised above the excellence and powers inherent in them by participating in the perfections of God Himself. The elevation of the being of man takes place when the new life of grace and charity is infused into his soul; it is then that he begins to adhere to God "by a most pure and most holy love."<sup>197</sup>

God has condescended to let man participate in His goodness, but He does not impose His gifts upon man. It lies in the power of the free will of man to accept His generous offer. If men undertake the means to participate in the divine life whilst here on earth and fail to develop that life to its maturity by good works and virtue, they will not participate in the glories of the consummate life in heaven. If rational creatures are devoid of this participation in the life of God, they are without the nuptial garment in which God wants them to be dressed already in His earthly kingdom.<sup>198</sup> Without charity men cannot have the life of

<sup>197</sup> *Ibid.*: "Ipsius Creatoris fiunt participatione meliores, cum ei cohaerent purissima et sanctissima charitate."

<sup>198</sup> *Ibid.*, "Qua (charitate) omnimodo si caruerint, tenebrescunt, et obdurescunt quodammodo."

grace; they cannot live in union with God; they cannot reflect His image.<sup>199</sup>

We gain some knowledge of the invisible God from the visible world through reason. We attain a higher knowledge of Him through faith. But it is through charity that we unite ourselves to God and possess Him. "You do not see God; live Him, and you have Him."<sup>200</sup> Those departed from this life and separated from God forever cannot have charity any more.<sup>201</sup> Through charity we come to God, inhere in God, and are enlightened by God.<sup>202</sup> He is the essential and supreme object of this virtue. The soul of St. Augustine gives voice to this truth with the conviction of one who has wandered far from God. "Thou, O God, be my inheritance; I love Thee, wholly do I love Thee, with my whole heart, with my whole soul, with my whole mind do I love Thee. Of what use will everything be to me that Thou shalt give me outside of Thee? To love God gratuitously is to hope for God of God, to hasten to be filled with God, to be satiated with Him. He suffices for Thee; apart from Him nothing is sufficient for Thee."<sup>203</sup>

There can be no doubt, says St. Augustine, that the man who possesses charity is a temple of God. "If charity does not dwell there, God does not dwell there; if however charity dwells there, God dwells there."<sup>204</sup> The indwelling of God in man through charity is not in order that God may have a place to stay but in order that the life of the soul may be sustained and supported by Him.<sup>205</sup> St. Augustine distinguishes clearly between

<sup>199</sup> S. Cuesta, "La concepción agustiniana del mundo a través del amor," *Augustinus Magister* (Paris: 1954), I, 355-56: "El amor de Dios y a Dios realiza la doble función con que se consigue el destino que Dios mismo ha señalado a las criaturas: la unificación y la deificación. Si lo queremos reducir a uno solo: la unión de las criaturas con su Creador."

<sup>200</sup> *Sermo* 34, 3, 5 (PL 38, 211).

<sup>201</sup> *Ep.* 140, 23, 57 (PL 33, 562; CSEL 44, 203): "ab illa charitate aversi."

<sup>202</sup> *Ep.* 140, 23, 58 (PL 33, 562; CSEL 44, 204): "Accedere ad Deum, et illuminari, et inhaerere illi per charitatem." *Ibid.*, 21, 53 (PL 33, 560; CSEL 44, 199): "Amor quo anima inhaeret Deo . . ."

<sup>203</sup> *Sermo* 334, 3 (PL 38, 1469).

<sup>204</sup> *Enar. in Ps.* 149, 4 (PL 37, 1951).

<sup>205</sup> *In Io. Ep. tr.* 9, 4, 1 (PL 35, 2045); *Annot. in Job*, I, 38 (PL 34, 878).

the inbeing of God in all things in the natural order of creation and the inhabitation of God in man through charity. By His omnipresence God contains all things by maintaining them in existence and conserving them; by His inhabitation He animates and fosters the supernatural life of charity.

The gift of charity is infused into the soul of man together with the gift of faith. By the latter we are converted to God and enlightened by Him;<sup>206</sup> by the former, united and assimilated to Him. If man is justified, however, and is in possession of faith and charity, he has not as yet attained his goal but merely the means to reach it. The soul must turn to Him from whom it came, and this it does by charity. It must live more and more from this source of life, and see the light in His light, be perfected and made happy.<sup>207</sup> The gift of love is not stationary or inactive but grows with the deeds of love which emanate from it as water does from a mainspring.<sup>208</sup> "Make daily progress in this love by praying and doing well in order that by the aid of Him who commands and gives it, it may be nourished and increased until becoming perfect it perfects you."<sup>209</sup> Thus the image of God which is received in the incipient stage of the reborn life of man becomes more perfect in the life of love until it becomes a perfect image of God and a consummate union with the all-beatifying and highest good.<sup>210</sup>

How is charity related to God? Charity is seated in the will. All human acts proceed from the will and are affected by love. What the will seeks is good or something under the guise of good. It is proper for the will, therefore, to seek that good which is the highest. God is the highest good; He is the sum-total of all that is good. We should not seek anything that is below Him; nor is there anything that can be sought above Him. It is dan-

<sup>206</sup> *Ep.* 140, 23, 57 (PL 33, 562; CSEL 44, 203).

<sup>207</sup> *Confes.*, XIII, 4, 5 (PL 32, 847; ed. M. Skutella, 331).

<sup>208</sup> *Enar. in Ps.* 149, 4 (PL 37, 1952): "Tu crescis ex Deo, non ille ex te."

<sup>209</sup> *Ep.* 189, 2 (PL 33, 854; CSEL 57, 132).

<sup>210</sup> *Ep.* 140, 23, 57 (PL 33, 562; CSEL 44, 203); *Sermo* 178, 10, 11 (PL 38, 965-66); cf. L. A. Krupa, *Obraz Boży w Człowieku według Nauki św. Augustyna* (Lublin: 1948), pp. 150 ff.

gerous to seek anything below God, and nothing can be found above Him.<sup>211</sup> The will must seek Him first and above all as indispensable good. "*Prius diligite Deum.*"<sup>212</sup> Moreover, it is genuine piety when we love God gratuitously. We cannot expect any reward from God that would be outside of Him, for there is nothing better than He is. Behold there is God, the creator, and the earth which He created. We may rejoice in the beauty and grandeur of the earth on account of the creator, but if we love the earth in itself we become the earth; for we become what we love. If we rejoice because God gives us the earth how much more must we rejoice because He gives us Himself in love?<sup>213</sup>

Charity extends itself also to men; it is that virtue "by which we love God and our neighbor."<sup>214</sup> "A good life," says St. Augustine, "consists in this that those things are to be loved which must be loved, namely God and neighbor, and in the manner in which they must be loved."<sup>215</sup> As to the manner in which they are to be loved, God must be loved for His own sake, and the neighbor for God's sake. Besides loving one's neighbor one must also love oneself since the love of oneself is the measure of the love of one's neighbor. Here again God is loved for His own sake, whereas we love ourselves on account of God.<sup>216</sup> The love of oneself is not Christian charity if the love of God is impaired by it: if God is loved less because we love ourselves, we have not the right kind of love. In other words, whoever loves himself not in God but in himself has not the charity of a just man, but the vanity of a proud man.<sup>217</sup> "Love God and learn there to love yourselves, so that, when loving God you love yourselves, you may securely love your neighbor as yourselves."<sup>218</sup>

St. Augustine furnishes us with an answer to the question,

<sup>211</sup> *De mor. Ecc.*, I, 8, 13 (PL 32, 1316).

<sup>212</sup> *Sermo* 90, 10 (PL 38, 566).

<sup>213</sup> *Sermo* 91, 3, 3 (PL 38, 568).

<sup>214</sup> *Sermo* 350, 2 (PL 39, 1534).

<sup>215</sup> *Ep.* 137, 5, 17 (PL 33, 524; CSEL 44, 121-22); *Ep.* 167, 5, 16 (PL 33, 739; CSEL 44, 604).

<sup>216</sup> *De doctr. christ.*, III, 15, 23 (PL 34, 74).

<sup>217</sup> *Sermo* 365, 2, 2 (PL 39, 1527).

<sup>218</sup> *Sermo* 90, 6 (PL 38, 563).



much disputed among theologians, whether one can possess certainty that he has fraternal charity.<sup>219</sup> He teaches that upon carefully examining our consciences we may know,<sup>220</sup> and thus have confidence,<sup>221</sup> even be certain (*securi*)<sup>222</sup> of being in possession of charity, and thus also of the state of justice in our souls. This opinion does not stand in opposition to the doctrine of the Council of Trent which defined against Luther that man could not have "the certitude of faith" with regard to the possession of justice."<sup>223</sup> The Council did not have in mind to disavow the various other opinions which were even entertained by the theologians participating at the Council on this subject.<sup>224</sup>

The love of any object, which is a created, finite good, must not be an impediment to the love of God, the highest, all-satiating good, but really a stepping-stone to it. If the beauty of the human body is pleasing to man it should lead him to praise its maker. If the soul of man is beautiful and good, it can be loved in God. Even a spiritual being like the immortal soul cannot be loved in itself because it is mutable and only obtains its immutability in God.<sup>225</sup> A fortiori is this true of all material beings which are so much inferior to man because they are temporal, mutable, and perishable. If we love them we become subject to them, and being under their spell we cannot pass judgment upon their value but mistake them as an end, whereas they should serve as a means.<sup>226</sup> How trenchantly is the love of charity relating to God and creatures expressed in this sentence of the Confessions: "For *too* little doth he love Thee, who loves anything with Thee, which he loveth not for Thee."<sup>227</sup>

He who knows how to love God with his whole soul and heart will know how to love his own soul and not his body, and he

<sup>219</sup> J. Gallay, "La conscience de la charité fraternelle d'après les Tractatus in Primam Joannis," *Rev. des Études Augustiniennes*, I (1955), 19.

<sup>220</sup> *In Io. Ep. tr.* 6, 10 (PL 35, 2025); *ibid.*, 8, 12 (PL 35, 2043).

<sup>221</sup> *In Io. Ep. tr.* 6, 4 (PL 35, 2021).

<sup>222</sup> *In Io. Ep. tr.* 5, 10 (PL 35, 2017); *ibid.*, 6, 10 (PL 35, 2026).

<sup>223</sup> Denzinger, *Enchiridion*, n. 802.

<sup>224</sup> J. van der Meersch, "Grâce," *Dict. de Théol. Cath.*, VI, 1619.

<sup>225</sup> *Confes.*, IV, 12, 18 (PL 32, 700; ed. M. Skutella, 67).

<sup>226</sup> *Confes.*, X, 6, 10 (PL 32, 783; ed. M. Skutella, 216).

<sup>227</sup> *Confes.*, X, 29, 40 (PL 32, 796; ed. M. Skutella, 238): "Minus te amat qui tecum aliquid amat quod non propter te amat."

who knows how to love his soul will know how to love his neighbor.<sup>228</sup> Faulty self-love was the perdition of the first man. The sin of self-love in Adam consisted in this that he cherished his own will above God's. He who truly loves God prefers the will of God to his own, and thus learns to love himself truly by not loving himself. To love oneself without regard to God's will is to love oneself in oneself, and not in God: and this is a vice.<sup>229</sup>

There are, therefore, three distinct but correlated objects to which charity is referred: namely, God, self, and neighbor. There are two precepts: the first is the love of God, the second is the love of neighbor as oneself.<sup>230</sup> The whole decalogue is founded upon these two precepts.<sup>231</sup> Notwithstanding the three objects and the two precepts of charity there is but one charity and one Giver of it. Wherefore the charity by which we love our neighbor is not diverse from the charity by which we love God.<sup>232</sup> In this doctrine St. Augustine is in accord with the teaching of the early Fathers.<sup>233</sup> Theologians attempt to explain the unity of the virtue of charity in diverse ways.<sup>234</sup>

### Union with Christ

If, in addition to the love of God and love of neighbor, there is still a *charitas Christi*,<sup>235</sup> the latter is reducible to the *charitas Dei*. St. John's solemn words that "the Word was made flesh" are equivalent to saying that the Son of God has become the Son of man. The Son of God and the Son of man designate one and the same person possessing a divine and human nature. Just as the union between body and soul in the constitution of man does not form two persons but only one, so also a union between the Word and the assumed human nature<sup>236</sup> does not constitute a new

<sup>228</sup> *Sermo* 90, 6 (PL 38, 563).

<sup>229</sup> *Sermo* 96, 2, 2 (PL 38, 585-86).

<sup>230</sup> Matt. 22:37-40; *Enar. in Ps.* 140, 2 (PL 37, 1816).

<sup>231</sup> *Ep.* 167, 5, 16 (PL 33, 739; CSEL 44, 604).

<sup>232</sup> *Sermo* 265, 8, 9 (PL 38, 1223).

<sup>233</sup> T. Barosse, "The Unity of the Two Charities in Greek Patristic Exegesis," *Theological Studies*, XV (1954), 355-88.

<sup>234</sup> Cf. H. Lennerz, *De virtutibus theologicis* (5th ed.; Rome: 1947), p. 324.

<sup>235</sup> *Ep.* 61, 1-2 (PL 33, 228-29; CSEL 34, I, 222-24).

<sup>236</sup> St. Augustine, as well as St. Thomas, referring to the human nature

person or supersede the person of the Word.<sup>237</sup> Loving Christ we love the person that subsists in both natures. Since there is only one person and that person is divine, the love that we accord to Christ is the same that is accorded to the Father, Son, and the Holy Ghost.

In the Incarnation Christ descended in order that we may ascend in the elevation of our nature. He partakes of our human nature in order that we, while retaining our own nature, may partake of His divine nature.<sup>238</sup> However the assumption by Christ of a human nature did not degrade Him for He did not lose what He was, whereas our participation in His nature elevates us.<sup>239</sup> We can be changed for the better because we are mutable, but the Word which is immutable cannot be changed for the worse. The union of the human flesh with the Word takes place through the rational soul of Christ.<sup>240</sup>

If the Son of God by assuming a human nature has become the Son of man, it is not to be thought impossible for men to become the adopted sons of God. This they do by participating in the divine nature of the Word.<sup>241</sup> In order that this may be attained man must be reborn not by a carnal birth but by a spiritual one.<sup>242</sup> The protoparent was raised in creation from an unsullied natural condition to the supernatural state, but his children must be transformed from the state of original sin to the state of justice.<sup>243</sup> On account of its mutability the human rational soul cannot be just, wise, and happy unless it participates in an immutable good.<sup>244</sup>

Jesus Christ is the just one and the justifier; we have been

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alone in Christ, calls it "homo." This is disapproved by recent theologians on the grounds that *homo* designates the nature and the personality, whereas Christ only assumed a human nature. Cf. Seiller, "Homo assumptus," *Wissenschaft und Weisheit*, XIV (1951), 160-63.

<sup>237</sup> *Ep.* 140, 4, 12 (PL 33, 543; CSEL 44, 163-64).

<sup>238</sup> *De Trin.*, IV, 8, 12 (PL 42, 890).

<sup>239</sup> *Ep.* 140, 4, 11 (PL 33, 542; CSEL 44, 162).

<sup>240</sup> *Ep.* 140, 4, 12 (PL 33, 542; CSEL 44, 163); cf. *In Io. Ev. tr.* 47, 10 (PL 35, 1738).

<sup>241</sup> *Ep.* 140, 4, 11 (PL 33, 542; CSEL 44, 162).

<sup>242</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>243</sup> *Ep.* 140, 30, 73 (PL 33, 570; CSEL 44, 221).

<sup>244</sup> *Ep.* 140, 31, 74 (PL 33, 571; CSEL 44, 221).

justified by His grace as a result of His passion and death.<sup>245</sup> Christ is the life of the reborn.<sup>246</sup> It is a hidden life which does not manifest itself to the senses, but which nevertheless is a spiritual reality. Reborn souls live by this life not only here upon earth but also hereafter in heaven. This hidden life which is a spiritual participation in the life of Christ is rooted in charity.<sup>247</sup> Those who are reborn in Christ belong no longer to themselves but live for Christ. Bound to Him by charity they no longer can follow their own wills but the will of Christ, just as Christ who by His divine life was one with the Father loved Him and performed His will.<sup>248</sup> Thus through charity we adhere to Christ, live His life, are made one with Him. Through effective charity also we conform our will to His will doing good and fulfilling the precepts.<sup>249</sup>

In a certain passage of his work *On the Trinity*<sup>250</sup> St. Augustine shows at length how all things point to the one mediator and how He reunited all men who have fallen away from God. The diversified events of the Old Testament receive their unity from the fact that they point to the one who was to appear in the future as the savior of all. Men strayed from a unity and became divided; they were again to be reduced to a unity. The aberration of men was from the one true God to whom while men adhered they were one, when they parted with Him through their iniquities they became many. It was congruous that these divisions into a multiplicity should herald the advent of the one, and that men freed from the many encumbrances which divided them should again become one. Many were the sins which brought death to the soul, and were to bring death to the body, but one died to erase them all. Believing in His resurrection and arising with Him in spirit we became one with Him through justification.

<sup>245</sup> *Ep.* 185, 9, 39 (PL 33, 810; CSEL 57, 34).

<sup>246</sup> *Ep.* 140, 24, 62 (PL 33, 564; CSEL 44, 207).

<sup>247</sup> *Ep.* 140, 25, 62 (PL 33, 564; CSEL 44, 208): "Existit vero ex occulto ista charitas." *Ibid.*, 25, 62 (CSEL, 207): "(charitate) vivunt corda in saeculum saeculi."

<sup>248</sup> *Ep.* 140, 28, 68 (PL 33, 568; CSEL 44, 215).

<sup>249</sup> *Ep.* 140, 26, 63 (PL 33, 565; CSEL 44, 211): "Hoc totum agitur cum in hac peregrinatione fides per dilectionem operatur." *Loc. cit.*, 25, 62 (PL, 564; CSEL, 208): "Charitas nunc in bonis operibus exercetur."

<sup>250</sup> IV, 7, 11-9, 12 (PL 42, 895-96).



This *One* to whom all the events of revelation point is the Mediator between God and men, Jesus Christ, the sacrificial lamb of the New Testament. Through His life, passion, and death we have been reconciled to God. To Him we adhere, Him we possess, through and in Him we are reborn, justified, and made one. Thus mankind has unity in its physical origin; unity in its elevation to the sonship of God; unity in its fall; unity in its restoration; unity in its terrestrial institution of salvation; unity in its mystical organism of life; unity in the heavenly life of the saints. There is but one head for heaven and for earth.

If it is said that we are made one with Christ, there is an essential and prodigious difference in the unity between Christ and His heavenly Father on the one hand, and Christ and the apostles together with the faithful on the other hand. By virtue of Christ's union with the Father, Christ can say: I and the Father are one;<sup>251</sup> by virtue of His union with the apostles and the faithful, Christ can say: I and they are one body,<sup>252</sup> because the head and the body form but one body. Christ is the head, whereas the faithful form the body.<sup>253</sup> The Father and the Son are one because they possess one and the same substance. The Father, Son, and the Holy Ghost can be in us as indwellers, but we cannot be of one substance with them.<sup>254</sup>

Yet Christ wants men to be one with the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost,<sup>255</sup> but through Him (*in ipso*).<sup>256</sup> Original sin has severed the bond of charity and disunited mankind from God. Moreover it left free rein to concupiscence and cupidity. And thus, severed from a unifying object and goal, men divided themselves according to their various inclinations, desires, and loves. From their ways of iniquity and cupidity they have been redeemed by the mediator and restored to unity. This unity caused by the merits of the God-man has a twofold foundation. First, on account of the human nature of Christ man can become one

<sup>251</sup> John 10:30: "Ego et Pater unum sumus."

<sup>252</sup> IV, 9, 12 (896): "Ego et ipsi, non unum, sed unus, quia caput et corpus unus est Christus."

<sup>253</sup> *De Trin.*, IV, 9, 12 (PL 42, 896).

<sup>254</sup> *In Io. Ev. tr.* 110, 17, 1 (PL 35, 1920).

<sup>255</sup> John 17:21: "ut omnes unum sint."

<sup>256</sup> *De Trin.*, IV, 9, 12 (PL 42, 896).

with Him according to that nature. For inasmuch as He is man, He is the mediator; inasmuch as He is the Word, He is not the mediator, but is equal to the Father and the Holy Ghost.<sup>257</sup> Secondly, there is a union of wills which have as their ultimate object eternal bliss. And thus a single spirit, a single soul, as it were, is formed by the common glow of charity just as masses of iron ore are molten and purified in the crucible of fire into one body of steel.<sup>258</sup> "As the Father and the Son are one not only in equality of substance, but also in will; so also those between whom and God Christ is the mediator are one not only because they are of the same nature but also because they are of the same communion of love."<sup>259</sup>

We are in God, but are not one substance with Him. The Father, Son, and the Holy Ghost are in us, but not in such a manner as to be of the same nature as we are. When it is said that we are in God, we are in Him as a creature is in its creator; viz., His presence brings us into existence by the creative act and sustains us continuously in existence by the preservative act. When the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost are said to be in us, and dwelling in our hearts as in a temple, this indwelling results from grace and is concomitant with charity.<sup>260</sup> However both expressions, viz., that God is in us and we in God are correctly used also of the supernatural order where the faithful through grace are made partakers of the divine nature.<sup>261</sup> God is in them by enlightening their intellects and affecting their wills.<sup>262</sup>

As is evident from what has already been said, charity alone does not constitute the inner religion of the soul, but it is one of three virtues whose object it is to attain God. Faith, hope, and charity form the inner life of the spirit and are the bonds uniting man with God and Christ. Faith causes one fold by believing

<sup>257</sup> *Confes.*, X, 43, 68 (PL 32, 808; ed. M. Skutella, 261).

<sup>258</sup> *De Trin.*, IV, 9, 12 (PL 42, 896): "Per eandem in eadem beatitudinem conspirantem concordissimam voluntatem, in unum spiritum quodam modo igne charitatis conflata." <sup>259</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>260</sup> *In Io. Ev. tr.* 49, 11, 10 (PL 35, 1745); *ibid.*, 110, 17 (PL 35, 1920): "Sunt quippe ipsi in nobis, tamquam Deus in templo suo: sumus autem nos in illis, tamquam creatura in Creatore suo."

<sup>261</sup> *In Io. Ev. tr.* 49, 9 (PL 35, 1745).

<sup>262</sup> *Ibid.*

in the same unseen God, and by incorporating one into the body of Christ.<sup>263</sup> Hope makes one tenaciously cling to the same as yet unpossessed God and to inhere firmly in the body of Christ through which God is to be attained.<sup>264</sup> Once God is seen and attained these two virtues shall cease; there will be no reason or room for them in the heart of man.

Not so with charity. By charity we love God now, and shall love Him by charity in the life to come. Now we embrace Him whom we do not see, then we shall possess Him as seen. Hence charity not only does not cease or diminish in the next life, but increases. Charity, therefore, is greater than faith and hope because it does not cease to exist, and because its unitive power binds us here with Christ and God, but more so in eternity.<sup>265</sup> In fact, that which makes us properly one with God and Christ is charity.<sup>266</sup>

The underlying principle in St. Augustine's concept of charity is that cupidity divides, but love unites. Since men can love a vast variety of created objects, and loving the object makes them one with it, the love of creatures dissipates and divides the hearts and wills of men. Loving God, the sole rightful object of love, men are united and ennobled. Cupidity, the love of creatures, is centrifugal; charity, the love of God, self, and neighbor for God's sake, is centripetal.

Charity by its very nature serves rather the common than the individual good.<sup>267</sup> Charity unites the individual to God and to Christ, and perpetuates this union in the vision of God. But it also unites all men into a body in order to provide for the salvation of all.<sup>268</sup> Christian religion not only promotes the increase

<sup>263</sup> *In Io. Ev. tr.* 110, 17, 2 (PL 35, 1921): "Quoniam credendo unum fiant."

<sup>264</sup> *Sermo* 158, 8 (PL 36, 866).

<sup>265</sup> *Enar. in Ps.* 91, 1 (PL 38, 1171): "... major est supra fidem et spem ... charitas autem non novit nisi crescere magis magisque." *De doct. Christ.*, I, 39, 43 (PL 34, 36): "Quia et cum quisque ad aeterna pervenerit, duobus istis decedentibus charitas auctor et certior permanebit."

<sup>266</sup> *In Io. Ev. tr.* 110, 17, 10 (PL 35, 1921): "Ut quod unum efficimur fidelissima charitate, gratiae Dei noverimustribuendum esse, non nobis."

<sup>267</sup> *Ep.* 140, 25, 62 (PL 33, 564; CSEL 44, 207): "Charitas in commune magis quam in privatim consulens."

<sup>268</sup> *Ep.* 140, 25, 63 (PL 33, 565; CSEL 44, 210): "Id est non commoda privata sectantes, sed in commune, ubi salus omnium est, consulentes."

of the supernatural life in the individual, but strongly inculcates zeal for the growth of the spiritual life of all men, especially of those already united in one body. The union of all members in a body is brought about by charity.<sup>269</sup> Charity is the life of hearts by which men live in communion with each other.<sup>270</sup>

Charity is the great instrument born of God for the unification of men. Men who love God and mutually love themselves form a city of God. As every city must be governed by laws, so also this city of God has precepts and laws. Its supreme law is charity and its God is Charity itself.<sup>271</sup> Whoever is full of God is full of charity and if many are full of charity they form a city of God. If men wish to belong to the communion of the people of God, they must become citizens of this city of God. If they remain outside it, they cannot have communion with God.<sup>272</sup>

Charity unites all members to form the Church, the body of Christ. He who loves the Church will possess the Holy Ghost who is the soul of the body of Christ. Who possesses the Holy Ghost has charity. It is true that each member has not all the charismatic gifts of the Holy Ghost, for He bestows His gifts in various measure to diverse members. Yet because of the communion of life and of the body's oneness, that which one member has belongs to all members of that body. St. Augustine adduces an example taken from the human body. The eye alone has the capacity and task of seeing for the body to which it belongs; but does the eye see for itself alone? Does it not see for every other member of the body? Indeed, it sees for the hands, the feet, and for the other members. The eye does not turn itself away from a blow which is aimed at the foot. The hand alone works in the body, but does it work only for itself? It works for the eye, too; for if a blow is aimed at the face, the hand will not say: "I shall not move because it is not aimed at me." "We have,"

<sup>269</sup> *In Io. Ev. tr.* 32, 7 (PL 35, 1645): "Unitas enim membrorum charitate concordat."

<sup>270</sup> *Ep.* 140, 24, 63 (PL 33, 565; CSEL 44, 210): "Haec est vita cordium, qua vivimus in saeculum saeculi, ab initio fidei usque ad finem speciei." Cf. A. Maxsein, "Philosophia cordis' bei Augustinus," *Augustinus Magister* (Paris: 1954), I, 358-71.

<sup>271</sup> I John 4:8.

<sup>272</sup> *Enar. in Ps.* 98, 4 (PL 37, 1261).



therefore, says St. Augustine, "the Holy Ghost if we love the Church: we love it, however, if we remain in its unity and charity."<sup>273</sup> Charity is superior to all charismatic gifts.<sup>274</sup> Have it and you have all.<sup>275</sup>

By the same token that charity unites us with God, it also unites us with Christ; and by the same token that it unites us to Christ, it unites us one with another in the mystical body of Christ. Such is the nature of the supernatural order. Someone could say that his religion consists in the love of God, meaning God the Father. But if one loves at all he cannot love the Father alone, but must also love the Son. If one admits loving the Father and the Son, he must also love our Lord Jesus Christ. Loving Christ, the head of the mystical body, he will also love the members of the head. If he does not love the members, he cannot love the head. "His members are the Church of God."<sup>276</sup>

Inversely, we may start with the lowest order and proceed upward to attain God in love. Charity is the foundation for the social doctrine of the equality of all men. Gilson sums up Augustine's social doctrine in the words, *opta aequalem*.<sup>277</sup> The one I love is my equal, and I am equal to the one I love; that is the reason why I love him as myself.<sup>278</sup> If one properly loves his brethren, who are members of Christ's mystical body, he will love Christ. If one loves Christ, one necessarily loves the Son of God who is in Christ. If one loves the Son of God, he will also love the Father.<sup>279</sup>

Augustine builds this same argument around the concept that man through the grace of regeneration is the child of God. The sons of God are the body of the Son of God. We are one with Him inasmuch as the only-begotten Son of God the Father is the head and we are His members. Who loves the sons of God will also love the Son of God. And who loves the Son of God

<sup>273</sup> *In Io. Ev. tr.* 32, 7, 8 (PL 35, 1645).

<sup>274</sup> I Cor. 12:7-13:3.

<sup>275</sup> *In Io. Ev. tr.* 32, 7, 8 (PL 35, 1646): "Ipsam habeto, et cuncta habebis."

<sup>276</sup> *In Io. Ep. tr.* 10, 3 (PL 35, 2055).

<sup>277</sup> É. Gilson, *Introduction à l'étude de Saint Augustin* (Paris: 1949), p. 179.

<sup>278</sup> *In Io. Ep. tr.* 8, 8 (PL 35, 2040); cf. Marie Comeau, "Le commentaire de la 'Prima Joannis,'" *Augustinus Magister* (Paris: 1954), I, 163.

<sup>279</sup> *In Io. Ep. tr.* 10, 3 (PL 35, 2055).

will love the Father. No one can love the Father unless He loves the Son, and he who loves the Son will also love the sons of God. And who are these sons of God? They are the members of the Son of God; they form the mystical body. Because, therefore, of the relationship of God to the mystical body of Christ, through His eternal and only-begotten Son, love cannot be separated from God and given to man, or vice versa. God, Christ, the Church, and man are loved by the love of charity in accordance with the will of God. And the charity by which we love brings us into union with the body of Christ. "And in loving one also becomes a member, and comes into the oneness of the body of Christ; and there will be one Christ loving Himself. For when the members love one another, the body loves itself."<sup>280</sup>

### Oneness with the Church

Charity is the unitive bond which unites many to form not only the body of Christ, but also the Church. The mystical body of Christ is at the same time the visible Church of Christ, the Catholic Church, or the *Catholica*. Those who are members of the visible and sacramental Church are members of Christ's mystical body. Moreover, charity is the mark distinguishing between those who inwardly, truly, and really are members of Christ's body and those who apparently are members of it but who, devoid of charity, in reality do not constitute it. All members of the Church are united in one visible society, all are bound by a common faith, all participate in the same sacraments, all eat of the eucharistic body and blood of Christ, yet they are inwardly divided into those who have charity and those who have not.<sup>281</sup>

Whether a member of the visible Church is actually sanctified by grace and the concomitant charity is a thing which in many cases only God can know. Man cannot for certain be aware of who is a living member of the body of Christ and who is not because he cannot fathom the souls of others. But in many instances it is evident that men within the visible Church, the body of Christ, are outside of it by their manner of living.<sup>282</sup> Such is the case with patent sinners who are not visibly separated from

<sup>280</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>281</sup> *Ad Donat. post Col.*, I, 20, 27 (PL 43, 669).

<sup>282</sup> *Contra lit. Petil.*, II, 80, 17 (PL 43, 314).

the Church, but who remain members of it. Sinners do not form in the true sense the body of Christ, for they are not united to it by that internal and life-giving bond which is charity.

Besides sinners, there are others who are visibly wanting in charity. Such are schismatics, who dissociate themselves from the Church of Christ. Just as heretics, being opposed to the one body of truths, are outside of the one true Church, so also schismatics, transgressing against the unity of the one body, sever themselves from the membership of the one Church of Christ. Heretics sin against the oneness in mind and schismatics against the oneness in heart. Both sinners and schismatics sin against the same charity each in their own way: sinners default the gift of charity by their way of life, while schismatics violate the law of charity by breaching the unity of the Church, which is the body of Christ.<sup>283</sup>

In the controversy with the Donatist faction the word "charity" is substituted for the word "unity," because charity and unity are so closely associated in the psychology and ecclesiological terminology of St. Augustine that they can be used indiscriminately in treating of the mystical body as a whole. Where there is unity among the members, there is charity, and where there is charity there is unity. Charity is the cause of the unity of the Church, unity is the direct effect of charity. The Church as a whole can never be without charity anymore than it can be without the Holy Ghost. Yet in the Church, which is the body of Christ, there are external and internal bonds. Wherefore it is possible for individual members to be bound to it by external ties without actually being united to it by internal ties, e.g., the bond of charity.

Charity in its unitive power is thus analogous to faith. The same faith unites people into a body of the faithful. Faith is an external act and its meritorious value derives from the internal act of the individual who makes it. But it is also an external act inasmuch as all who embrace that faith are joined into a society of men professing the same truths. Charity is a gift of God, a virtue of the soul, and an internal act by which we love God for His own sake and our neighbor for the sake of God. Its meritorious

<sup>283</sup> *In Io. Ep. tr.* 7, 11 (PL 35, 2035).

value and its life-giving unitive power lie in this act. By it we are united to God, the highest good, and to Christ, as true members of God's kingdom and true members of the body of Christ. Nevertheless, like faith, charity is not only an internal and life-giving bond, but also an external tie binding men who belong to the communion of the Catholic Church into a society for the attainment of a common goal.

There are three substantives of which St. Augustine makes metonymic use in his defense of the Catholic Church against the Donatist schism; namely, the Holy Ghost, charity, and unity. These three terms have the sequence of cause and effect: the Holy Ghost is the source of charity, and charity is the cause of unity. But St. Augustine freely substitutes one for the other,<sup>284</sup> and accuses the schismatics of sinning against either the Holy Ghost, or charity, or unity. The Holy Ghost is the soul of the one body of Christ dwelling in it as in a temple. Each soul is a temple of the Holy Ghost, but also corporately taken all the souls constitute a temple of the Holy Ghost. Charity is the internal bond by which all men are united to the body of Christ. It belongs to the nature of a body formed of many members, united by the cement of charity, and animated by a spirit to be an organism and as such to have unity.

As stated, the key-words in the controversy against Donatism are the Holy Ghost, charity and unity. In reference to the Holy Ghost, Augustine argues that those who are outside of the body of Christ do not possess the Holy Ghost, who "is not received except in the Catholic Church."<sup>285</sup> "Let them not seek the Holy Ghost except in the body of Christ."<sup>286</sup> Being separated from the Church they may possess some things that rightly belong to the body of Christ, as the Donatists validly administered the sacrament of baptism, but they do not possess the Holy Ghost who, as the soul, is confined to the body of Christ.<sup>287</sup> As a principle of life and unity He has compacted the diverse and widely

<sup>284</sup> *In Io. Ep. tr.* 7, 11 (PL 35, 2035); *Enar. in Ps.* 122, 1 (PL 37, 1630).

<sup>285</sup> *De bapt. contra Donat.*, III, 16, 21 (PL 43, 148; CSEL 51, ed. M. Petschenig, 212).

<sup>286</sup> *Ep.* 185, 11, 50 (PL 33, 815; CSEL 57, 43).

<sup>287</sup> *Sermo* 269, 1, 2 (PL 38, 1236).



spread peoples of the earth into a single body by diffusing the one and same charity into their hearts. For this reason both unity and catholicity are distinctive marks of the Church of Christ. Just as the tower of Babel made many languages of one, so the Holy Ghost made one language of many.<sup>288</sup>

If those who are separated from the Church have not the Holy Ghost, they will likewise not have charity because both are inseparable. The fact that schismatics did not remain in the Church's unity is sufficient evidence that they are devoid of charity.<sup>289</sup> Although the Holy Ghost is the soul of Christ's body the created bond by which He binds the faithful together is charity.<sup>290</sup> They may possess other gifts of the Holy Ghost such as faith and hope; to them may also be given the charismatic gifts of which St. Paul speaks.<sup>291</sup> All of these are indeed great gifts, but without charity they are of no avail for salvation. One may even undergo martyrdom but if it is outside of the body of Christ it cannot be meritorious for eternal life. "Add charity, all will be of benefit; take away charity, the rest has no value."<sup>292</sup>

Salvation cannot be obtained except in the body of Christ. Christ, who is just and the justifier, justifies His own body.<sup>293</sup> Since no one can be a member of His body without charity; there cannot be any righteousness without charity.<sup>294</sup> No one can be righteous who is separated from the body of Christ. Just as a member that is amputated from a living body can no longer participate in the life of the spirit animating that body, so too a member severed from the body of Christ cannot have the Holy Ghost, charity, or the life of justice. These are to be found only in the body of Christ.<sup>295</sup>

The sacraments are divisible in so far as they may be received in the Church and outside of it. Thus baptism which is a property of the Church was also validly administered by the Donatists. But

<sup>288</sup> *In Io. Ev. tr.* 6, 1, 10 (PL 35, 1429).

<sup>289</sup> *Sermo* 138, 3, 3 (PL 38, 764).

<sup>290</sup> *In Io. Ev. tr.* 6, 1, 10 (PL 33, 1429).

<sup>291</sup> I Cor. 13:1-3.

<sup>292</sup> *Sermo* 138, 2, 2 (PL 38, 764).

<sup>293</sup> *Ep.* 185, 9, 40 (PL 33, 810; CSEL 57, 35).

<sup>294</sup> *De serm. Dom. in monte*, I, 15, 13 (PL 34, 1236).

<sup>295</sup> *Ep.* 185, 9, 42 (PL 33, 811; CSEL 57, 36-37).

charity, like unity itself, is by its nature indivisible, and can only be the exclusive property of the one true Church. As long as one who is within the Church has true charity he cannot be moved from the Catholic Church. If some one who is outside the Church begins to have charity he will find his way into the Church,<sup>296</sup> for whoever comes into the Church has charity.<sup>297</sup> "Christian charity cannot be preserved except in the unity of the Church."<sup>298</sup>

Those who separate themselves from the Church transgress not only against the Holy Ghost and charity, but also against the unity of the body of Christ. The whole Christ is the head and the body.<sup>299</sup> Schismatics divide the body of Christ.<sup>300</sup> Whoever separates himself from the Church is not in that body of which Christ is the head. It is incongruous for a Christian to be separated from the Church; as a Christian he adores the head, but as a schismatic he blasphemes the body. Just as the Father loves His only begotten Son so He loves also those whom He has adopted in Him and through Him.<sup>301</sup> These are the members of His mystical body. And Christ loves His body, and even if a person separates himself from that body Christ the head does not separate Himself from it.<sup>302</sup> Severing themselves from the unity of the Church, which is the body of Christ, they also sever themselves from the bond of charity.<sup>303</sup> "Charity is not possessed except in the unity of the Church."<sup>304</sup> "We have charity if we embrace the unity."<sup>305</sup>

The Catholic Church alone is the body of Christ, whose head is the Savior of His body. Outside of this body the Holy Ghost does not vivify any one; . . . no one is a partaker of divine charity who is

<sup>296</sup> *Enar. in Ps. 21, 19* (PL 36, 176).

<sup>297</sup> *In Io. Ev. tr. 6, 23* (PL 35, 1435).

<sup>298</sup> *Contra lit. Pet., II, 77, 171* (PL 43, 311).

<sup>299</sup> *Enar. in Ps. 54, 1* (PL 36, 662).

<sup>300</sup> *De serm. Dom. in monte, I, 5, 13* (PL 34, 1236).

<sup>301</sup> *In Io. Ev. tr. 110, 17, 5* (PL 35, 1923): "Qui enim diligit Unigenitum, profecto diligit et membra ejus quae adoptavit in eum."

<sup>302</sup> *In Io. Ep. tr. 10, 5, 8* (PL 35, 2060).

<sup>303</sup> *Ep. 173, 6* (PL 33, 755; CSEL 44, 644): "Foris autem ab Ecclesia constitutus, et separatus a compage unitatis et vinculo charitatis, supplicio punieris."

<sup>304</sup> *Sermo 265, 9, 11* (PL 38, 1223).

<sup>305</sup> *Contra lit. Pet., II, 77, 171* (PL 43, 312).

an enemy of unity. Those who are outside the Church, therefore, have not the Holy Ghost. . . . Who, therefore, desires to have the Holy Spirit should take care not to be outside the Church.<sup>306</sup>

### Celestial Union

In the mystical body of Christ here below the reborn live an internal life of faith, hope, and charity for the purpose of attaining an everlasting life. As the faithful form a terrestrial religious society here upon earth so also the blessed will form a celestial kingdom.<sup>307</sup> But will those bonds by which men have been united in this life be carried into the next? Will they continue to be united by faith, hope, and charity? When the blessed see what they once knew by believing, faith will necessarily cease. And likewise when they shall have attained God and with Him all the blessings of the future life which they have ardently desired and longed for on earth, there will be no need for hope. Then St. Augustine asks: "What about charity? Is it possible that it exists at present and will not exist then? If, we love whilst believing and not seeing, how (much more) shall we love when seeing and beholding? Therefore, there will be charity, but it will be perfect."<sup>308</sup>

Although the grace of justification is a gratuitous gift of God,<sup>309</sup> it is still possible for us to merit and get a reward. Just as the justice of some is greater and lesser in others,<sup>310</sup> so also charity is greater in some than it is in others. Charity can be nourished and augmented only in this life,<sup>311</sup> but when it has attained its consummation in heaven, it will retain that degree of perfection for all eternity.<sup>312</sup> The measure of the perfection attained here below is determined by the will of God,<sup>313</sup> and the zeal of man.<sup>314</sup> The perfect charity of life eternal will be free

<sup>306</sup> *Ep.* 185, 11, 50 (PL 33, 815; CSEL 57, 43).

<sup>307</sup> *Ep.* 138, 3, 17 (PL 33, 533; CSEL 44, 144).

<sup>308</sup> *Sermo* 158, 9, 9 (PL 38, 867).

<sup>309</sup> *Ep.* 185, 9, 39-41 (PL 33, 810-11; CSEL 57, 34-36).

<sup>310</sup> *Ep.* 167, 3, 13 (PL 33, 738; CSEL 44, 601).

<sup>311</sup> *Sermo* 332, 3 (PL 38, 1462).

<sup>312</sup> *Sermo* 156, 15, 16 (PL 38, 858).

<sup>313</sup> *Enar. in Ps.* 56, 1 (PL 36, 661).

<sup>314</sup> *In Io. Ep. tr.* 9, 4, 1 (PL 35, 2045).

from all the encumbrances of sin and united to God in beatific fruition.<sup>315</sup> The blessed will then contemplate forever the immutable reality of God face to face, and, in all peace and tranquility, will love what they praise and praise what they love.<sup>316</sup>

As one star differs from another in brightness, so also the dwellings of the blessed in heaven will differ in luminousness. The intuitive vision of God possessed by one saint will be greater than that accorded to another. The degree of our possession of God in heaven will depend on the degree of our union with Him here below. The greater the charity in this life, the greater will it be in the future life; and the greater charity in heaven, the greater will be its eternal bliss. But there will be no envy on account of the inequality of reward, for charity will reign supreme in all.<sup>317</sup>

Let us summarize the role of charity in our salvation from its inception to its consummation. The charity by which we, as adopted children of God, congruously love God and our neighbor on account of God is infused into our hearts in baptism fruitfully administered; or, if justification can take place extra-sacramentally, in the moment of our justification. Cleansed of original and personal sins (if there are such) we are at the same time incorporated into the body of Christ. The bond which binds us to Christ the head and to the members forming His body is charity; by virtue of this gift we are able to love God and Christ as God above all things as well as the actual and potential members of Christ's body on account of God. The degree of our union with Christ is not the same in all the members of the body of Christ but is greater or lesser according to the degree of charity that unites us to the head.<sup>318</sup> One with Christ because of charity we are to bear fruit which in turn increases the virtue of charity in our souls and makes our union more intimate with Christ.<sup>319</sup> By growing in charity we become more Godlike, for

<sup>315</sup> *Retract.*, I, 7, 4 (PL 32, 593; CSEL 36, 31); *Ep.* 167, 5, 17 (PL 33, 740; CSEL 44, 605).

<sup>316</sup> *Ep.* 140, 26, 63 (PL 33, 565; CSEL 44, 211).

<sup>317</sup> *In Io. Ev. tr.* 67, 13, 2 (PL 35, 1812).

<sup>318</sup> *Sermo* 332, 3 (PL 38, 1462).

<sup>319</sup> *Confes.*, XII, 14, 19 (PL 32, 833; ed. M. Skutella, 305).



the object of our love transforms us into itself, and more Christ-like, for the life of the head permeates more abundantly its members.

The Church of life eternal will continue to be united by the bond of a never-failing but ever-glowing charity. The Church here below is marred by the coexistence of sinners with the just, but it will be relieved of such in its eternal existence because there will be no place for such as are without charity. The Church of heaven is without blemish and hence full of charity. Just as the sacred humanity will eternally remain united hypostatically with the divinity so the blessed will forever form His body and partake of the eternal bliss of God. They will form the spiritual house of God, the city of God, the eternal kingdom, the celestial Jerusalem, the eternal body of Christ. This union of the blessed will be consummated by perfect charity. She is the life of hearts and the bond of souls not only in this life but also in the next. Here will begin the communion of a certain divine and heavenly kingdom <sup>320</sup> of which "the king is truth, the law charity, and the mode eternity." <sup>321</sup>

<sup>320</sup> *Ep.* 140, 26, 63 (PL 33, 565; CSEL 44, 210).

<sup>321</sup> *Ep.* 138, 3, 17 (PL 33, 533; CSEL 44, 145).

## CHAPTER 3

# GRACE AND JUSTIFICATION

## I. GRACE

THE Christian notion of grace derives from Sacred Scripture. The meaning of grace as found in the writings of St. Paul differs fundamentally from the meaning of grace (*charis*) as found in the pagan literature of those times.<sup>1</sup> Augustine leans heavily on St. Paul, whom he calls "the preacher and defender of grace."<sup>2</sup> In fact, in his very first contact with the letters of St. Paul, Augustine considers the Apostle as the great teacher of grace.<sup>3</sup>

St. Paul's idea of grace is not easy to formulate in its entirety. The Apostle is applying a new concept, pregnant with vitality and possessed with elasticity, to a new Christian life.<sup>4</sup> The grace of Christ is the very reason for the existence of Christianity. The need of grace is a doctrine that is common to the earliest Fathers.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. A. Bonhöffer, *Epiktet und das Neues Testament*, in *Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten*, X (Giessen: 1911), p. 276; C. M. Cobern, *The New Archaeological Discoveries* (3rd ed., New York and London: 1918), p. 121; E. Meyer, *Ursprünge und Anfänge des Christentums* (Stuttgart: 1921-23), III, 322.

<sup>2</sup> *Ep.* 194, 5, 19 (PL 33, 881; CSEL 57, 191); *De spir. et lit.*, 13, 22; 24, 40 (PL 44, 214, 224; CSEL 60, 175, 193); *De gest. Pel.*, 14, 35 f. (PL 44, 341; CSEL 42, 90 f.); *De praed. sanct.*, 20, 41 (PL 44, 990).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. C. Boyer, *Christianisme et Néo-Platonisme dans la formation de s. Augustin* (Paris: 1920), pp. 66-70; *id.*, "La dialectique de la conversion de s. Augustin," *Essais sur la doctrine de s. Augustin* (Paris: 1932), pp. 1-40.

<sup>4</sup> J. Wobbe, *Die Charis-Gedanke bei Paulus* (Münster: 1932), p. 31: "Die Bedeutung von Charis ist oft schwer festzustellen, weil sie bei Paulus kein fest umgrenzter Begriff ist, sondern ein lebendiges Wort, das unmerkliche Übergänge von einem Sinn zum andern aufweist."

<sup>5</sup> The Protestant scholar, G. P. Wetter, *Charis, Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des ältesten Christentums* (Leipzig: 1913), p. 212 writes: "Nehmen wir diese Worte (i.e., Catholic definition of grace), wie sie jetzt dastehen, so zeigt sich, dass die katholische Auffassung von Gnade weit mehr als die pro-

Augustine appeals continually to the letters of St. Paul in his strife with the Pelagians. Yet Augustine's concept of grace is not coextensive with that of St. Paul.

The generic development, beginning with the earliest Christian notion of grace and leading to the present concept of it, may be graphically presented by the form of a pyramid. At the base, possessing the widest comprehension of elements, is St. Paul's doctrine of grace. About midway of the cone, converging to a more definite and specific content, is St. Augustine's concept. Tapering up to a point of definiteness and precision is the modern definition-like concept of the doctrine. The word grace, as it is understood by us, is the result, in the course of centuries, of a homogeneous development in a new doctrine, introduced by revelation and explored by Fathers and theologians.<sup>6</sup>

There is no philosophical influence on St. Augustine in developing St. Paul's doctrine on grace. This subject was unknown to Plotinus.<sup>7</sup> The Bishop had to rely solely on scriptural and patristic sources; reason plays an insignificant, if any, role in his doctrine of grace. By the same token he was no innovator of this doctrine, although in the course of his long strife with the Pelagians on grace and allied subjects he exerted his mind and

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testantische mit den Vorstellungen der ältesten Kirche, wie wir sie in den nachpaulinischen Schriften und in denen der apostolischen Väter und Kirchenväter finden, kongruent ist. Denn sie scheint mit den Gedanken der hellenistischen Zeit ganz vertraut zu sein, sie spricht noch dieselbe Sprache wie die Menschen der Kaiserzeit, und ihre religiösen Gedanken wandern noch dieselben Bahnen wie die der Christen nach der Mitte des zweiten Jahrhunderts in den hellenistischen Grosstädten. Wir können daher auch von den ältesten Auslegern des N. T. eben in dieser Hinsicht so viel lernen, weil ihre Frömmigkeit der ersten christlichen Generationen so ähnlich war."

<sup>6</sup> Wobbe, *op. cit.*, p. 95: "Paulus kennt sie noch nicht in dem bestimmten Sinn, den wir aus den Wörtern Charis, gratia, Gnade heraushören. Obwohl der Unterschied zwischen dem paulinischen und dem heutigen Sprachgebrauch gross ist, besteht doch kein Gegensatz. Die theologische Wissenschaft hat nur aus dem lebendigen Wort des Apostels einen fest umgrenzten Begriff gemacht, der nicht mehr den ganzen Inhalt der paulinischen Charis enthält. . . . Damit hat Charis nichts wesentlich Neues erhalten, denn in den Briefen des Apostels ist bereits das Fundament gelegt, auf das die folgenden Jahrhunderte den wohl durchdachten Bau der gnadenlehre aufführen konnten."

<sup>7</sup> R. Arnou, *Le désir de Dieu dans la philosophie de Platon* (Paris: s.d.), pp. 222-27.

mustered his energies, as no Father before or after him, in exploring the scriptural and patristic meaning and implications of grace.<sup>8</sup> He was thus made to present a massive array of testimonies in defense of its nature and need, and resulting in a whole theology on the subject.

There can be no doubt that Augustine must have experienced almost palpably the effects of divine grace in his own conversion. He feels too that it was unmerited on his part. The Bishop remarks that there were many who were opposed to the truth of the divine grace; they were outside of the Church and obdurate in their wickedness. These he compares in their sinfulness and malice to a hard, almost insoluble crystal. Yet even they have been converted by the grace of God.<sup>9</sup> There is no need to enumerate many such cases that are perhaps known to us, for it suffices to mention the name of the Apostle of the Gentiles.<sup>10</sup>

On account of his wonderful conversion from a fierce enemy of Christ's Church to its staunchest supporter through no merits of his own, St. Paul became the great preacher of grace in his Epistles, especially in the one to the Romans.<sup>11</sup> St. Augustine, frequently called the other Paul on account of his doctrine on grace, sings in glowing terms the praises of grace for by its power he was raised from the depths of the quagmire of base sensuousness to the heights of the ardent love of God.<sup>12</sup> Are not Augustine's *Confessions* tribute to the marvels of divine working in the

<sup>8</sup> Some consider St. Augustine to be the author of the Catholic doctrine of grace. Thus, N. P. Williams, *The Grace of God* (New York: 1930), p. 19: "It is Augustine who must be reckoned as the real artificer of the ecclesiastical concept of 'grace' in the sense of divine power, as the companion concept of 'original sin.' Until he bent his energies to the task of scientifically diagnosing the hereditary wound of the human soul and of thinking out the nature of the remedy, the two ideas had developed independently, in so far as they had developed at all: Augustine, in the light of his own cataclysmic experience of instantaneous conversion from sin to God, elaborated them in intimate logical connection, as correlative members of a vast intellectual scheme which we now know as the doctrine of grace, thereby adding a whole new area to the domain of systematic theology." Likewise A. Harnack, *Dogmengeschichte*, III, 85; E. Jauncey, *The Doctrine of Grace to the End of the Pelagian Controversy* (London: 1925), p. 288.

<sup>9</sup> *Enar. in Ps.* 147, 25 (PL 37, 1933-34).

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>11</sup> *De spirit. et lit.*, 7, 12 (PL 44, 207; CSEL 60, 164).

<sup>12</sup> Cf. A. D'Alès, "Doctor gratiae," *Studiën*, LXII, 113 (1930), 317-38.



soul of one who appeared to be so distant from God? <sup>13</sup> They are not, therefore, a cry of desperation arising out of his difficult teaching on grace, but a cry of jubilation arising from the heart of one returning to his father's house.<sup>14</sup> Considering his past St. Augustine was in a better position than the preceding Church writers, such as Origen, St. John Chrysostom, or the Cappadocians to understand and interpret the profound and mysterious dicta of St. Paul on the power of grace.

His great accomplishments in the doctrine of grace have rightly merited for him the title "Doctor of Grace." Councils, Fathers, and theologians have, throughout the history of Catholic thought, reverted to his works as to an inexhaustible source of true doctrine on grace.<sup>15</sup> No investigator of the history of this vital concept of Christianity, no theologian whose attention is focused on the genesis of the doctrine of grace can bypass the great African expounder of grace, defending it not only against the Pelagians of the fifth century but also against all Pelagian-minded men of all times.

Augustine's profound investigations into the doctrine of grace and his insistence on its gratuitousness and necessity were occasioned by the teaching of the Pelagians and Semipelagians, whom he calls the "enemies of grace."<sup>16</sup> The gravity of their error can be measured by the enormity of time and energy consumed by

<sup>13</sup> Cf. J. M. Le Blond, *Les conversions de saint Augustin* (Paris: 1950), pp. 5 ff.; P. Courcelle, *Recherches sur les Confessions de saint Augustin* (Paris: 1950), pp. 14 ff.; J. F. Harvey, *Moral Theology of the Confessions of St. Augustine* (Washington, D.C.: 1951), pp. xvii ff.

<sup>14</sup> A. Stohr, "St Augustine, der Herold der göttlichen Gnade," *Div. Thom.* (Fr.), IX (1931), 145: "Wir wollen lieber versuchen—ganz wie bei Paulus—darin den lauten Ruf des zum Vaterherzen Heimgekehrten zu erkennen."

<sup>15</sup> Pius XI, Lit. Enc. "Ad Salutem Humani Generis," *Act. Ap. Sed.*, 1930, p. 223: "(Augustinus) vestigavit . . . adeo subtiliter feliciterque, ut, Doctor Gratiae nuncupatus deinceps atque habitus, ceteros catholicos posteriorum aetatum scriptores, praeundo, adjuverit atque una simul prohibuerit, quominus in difficillimis ejusmodi quaestionibus alterutrum peccarent."

*Ep.* (21) "Apostolici verba praecepti" ad episcopos Galliarum, 431 (P. Coustant, *Epistolae Romanorum Pontificum* [Paris: 1721], 1187; PL 50, 530): "Augustinum sanctae recordationis virum pro vita sua atque meritis in nostra communione semper habuimus, nec unquam hunc sinistrae suspicionis saltem rumor adpersit: quem tantae scientiae olim fuisse meminimus, ut inter magistros optimos etiam ante a meis semper decessoribus haberetur."

<sup>16</sup> *Op. imp. contra Jul.*, I, 95 (PL 45, 1112).

St. Augustine in combating them. An index of his effort is his numerous and exhaustive counter works which he continued to write to his last breath.<sup>17</sup> Pelagians disseminated capital errors regarding grace and allied doctrines. They denied the existence of original sin and consequently the necessity of baptism. They considered grace to be given in virtue of the merits of man. They maintained that it was possible to live here upon earth without sin.<sup>18</sup>

In reality, the Pelagians made a threefold distinction in the justification of man. They discerned between 1) the capability (*posse*) to become just; 2) the will (*velle*) to become just; 3) and the action (*esse*) by which one becomes justified. They admitted that the capability, i.e., the powers of attaining justification, was from God alone; but the willing of good and its execution were the work of man, unaided by the power of God.<sup>19</sup> Augustine responds that not only are the natural powers of willing and acting from God but also are the will itself and the act proceeding from it.<sup>20</sup>

Neither the bestowal of a free will, nor the promulgation of the law, nor the revelation of doctrine constitutes the grace of God, as the Pelagians maintained. Grace is superadded to human nature. It is a divine aid bestowed upon the will so that it may fulfill the law and that it may live according to the doctrine revealed by God. For, although the doctrine and the law are good, holy, and righteous,<sup>21</sup> they cannot promote our spiritual well-being and

<sup>17</sup> F. van der Meer, *Augustinus der Seelsorger* (Köln: 1951), pp. 159 ff.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. N. Merlin, *Saint Augustin et les dogmes du péché originel et de la grâce* (Paris: 1931).

<sup>19</sup> *De grat. Christi et de pec. orig.*, I, 4, 5 (PL 44, 362; CSEL 42, 127-28): "Nos (Pelagius) inquit, sic tria ista distinguimus . . . Primo loco posse statuimus, secundo velle, tertio esse. Posse in natura, velle in arbitrio, esse in effectu locamus. Primum illud, id est, posse, ad Deum proprie pertinet, qui illud creaturae suae contulit: duo vero reliqua, hoc est, velle et esse, ad hominem referenda sunt, quia de arbitrii fonte descendunt."

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 14, 15 (PL 44, 368; CSEL 44, 138): "Ac per hoc, quando Deus docet, non per legis litteram, sed per Spiritus gratiam; ita docet, ut quod quisque didicerit; non tantum cognoscendo videat, sed etiam volendo appetat, agendoque perficiat. Et isto divino docendi modo etiam ipsa voluntas et ipsa operatio, non solum volendi et operandi naturalis possibilitas adjuvatur."

<sup>21</sup> Rom. 7:12.

help us in attaining salvation unless they are aided by the grace of the Holy Spirit.<sup>22</sup>

The sovereign dominion of the omnipotent will of God seems to loom over his expositions regarding the nature of grace. The divine will appears to be the first and last reason for the bestowal of all grace.<sup>23</sup> Commenting on the words of St. Paul: "Or who hath first given to Him, and recompense shall be made him?"<sup>24</sup> Augustine says that man can offer nothing of his own—neither faith, nor prayer, nor any good work—for which God would be obliged to repay the creature by offering his grace. All good things come from God, and Him alone.<sup>25</sup> If, according to Sacred Scripture, God appears to be our debtor, it is not because He receives something from us first, but because He has pledged Himself to us by His promises.<sup>26</sup>

There is no doubt that Augustine conceives grace as a reality affecting the soul of man, but a further question arises whether this reality is an abiding element in the soul or a transient aid. The Bishop does not distinguish verbally between actual and habitual grace, but the distinction in effect underlies his whole doctrine on grace. The grace which justifies the sinner is infused into his soul as an abiding, spiritual, supernatural element; it is given (to use an Aristotelian term) as a habit.<sup>27</sup> In virtue of this

<sup>22</sup> *Ep.* 217, 4, 12 (PL 33, 983; CSEL 57, 412): "Non est igitur gratia Dei in natura liberi arbitrii et in lege atque doctrina, sicut pelagiana perversitas desipit; sed ad singulos actus datur illius voluntate . . . : quia et liberum arbitrium ad diligendum Deum primi peccati granditate perdidimus, et lex Dei atque doctrina, quamvis sancta et justa et bona tamen occidit, si non vivificet Spiritus, per quem fit, non ut audiendo, sed ut obediendo, neque ut lectione, sed ut dilectione teneatur."

<sup>23</sup> P. Platz, *Der Römerbrief in der Gnadenlehre Augustins* (Würzburg: 1938), p. 250: "Als Hauptgedanke scheint uns beherrschend über allen Ausführungen Augustins zu stehen die grosse Wahrheit von der unumschränkten Herrschaft des allmächtigen Willen Gottes, des Urgrunds aller Gnade."

<sup>24</sup> Rom. 11:35: "Quis prior dedit illi, et retribuetur ei?"

<sup>25</sup> *Ep.* 194, 3, 6 (PL 33, 876; CSEL 57, 180); *Sermo* 26, 14 (PL 38, 177); *Sermo* 168, 5 (PL 38, 914); *Contra II ep. Pel.*, IV, 6, 16 (PL 44, 621; CSEL 60, 538 f.); *Contra Jul. Pel.*, IV, 3, 15 (PL 44, 744); *De praed. sanct.*, 2, 3, 4 (PL 44, 962).

<sup>26</sup> *Enar. in Ps.* 32, *Sermo* 1, 9 (PL 36, 284); *Enar. in Ps.* 83, 16 (PL 37, 1068); *Sermo* 110, 4 (PL 38, 611); *Sermo* 158, 2 (PL 38, 863); *Sermo*, Morin, 13, 4 (*Mis. Agost.*, I, 644).

<sup>27</sup> F. J. Leenhardt, "Pédobaptisme catholique et pédobaptisme réformé,"

grace God dwells in the soul of man, and the holiness of man is measured by the degree of its intensity: "Whence is it that among the holy some are more holy than others unless because they have God dwelling in them more abundantly?"<sup>28</sup> Although incapable of merit, infants regenerated by baptism are in possession of this ontological element in their souls on account of which God inhabits them.<sup>29</sup> From this habitual grace which justifies we must distinguish the grace which actually exerts an influence on every meritorious deed before as well as after justification. The grace which aids in the production of any and every good act<sup>30</sup> is given by way of a transient, actual help.<sup>31</sup>

The grace of the New Testament is the grace of Christ, so called because it accrues to us the inheritors of the sin of Adam in consequence of the merits of Jesus Christ, that is to say through His life, passion, and death. He has made us in creation as the Word; He has remade us through grace as the Word made man.<sup>32</sup> He has elected us from the universal mass of perdition<sup>33</sup> in order to make us by His grace the children of God and participants in the divine nature. We cannot be such, however, unless we are liberated from sin, and the grace of Christ which makes us children of God frees us from the shackles of sins with which we cannot live in close proximity with God. Moreover, the nature

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*Études théol. et rel.*, XXV (1950), 167-70, erroneously makes it "a natural thing": "la théologie sacramentaire (d'Augustin) implique que la grâce est une réalité objectivée, indépendante du Saint-Esprit, une chose naturelle qui adhère à la nature."

<sup>28</sup> *Ep.* 187, 5, 17 (PL 33, 838; CSEL 57, IV, 95).

<sup>29</sup> *Ep.* 187, 8, 26 (PL 33, 841; CSEL 57, IV, 103).

<sup>30</sup> *Ep.* 217, 4, 12 (PL 33, 983; CSEL 57, 412): "... ad singulos actus datur."

<sup>31</sup> F. Cayré, *Les sources de l'amour divin. La divine présence d'après Saint Augustin* (Paris: 1933), p. 202: "Un lien étroit rattache donc l'une à l'autre, sans les confondre, la grâce qui justifie (grâce habituelle) et les grâces qui aident directement l'âme à produire les actes bons (grâces actuelles)."

"La vraie vertu a pour condition fondamentale la grâce qui justifie. Celle-ci ne suffit point sans doute, et les actes bons, surnaturellement bons, ne peuvent, dans l'état présent de l'humanité, être produits sans un secours spécial, qui est comme le complément actif de la justice recue. . . . On ne peut donc jamais entièrement séparer les deux grâces."

<sup>32</sup> *Sermo* 26, 11, 12 (PL 38, 177).

<sup>33</sup> *Sermo* 26, 12, 13 (PL 38, 177).



which has been wounded by sin must be healed, otherwise we cannot rightly think, love, and act unless we are cured from the infirmity consequent upon original sin. Thus grace is a medicine for human nature<sup>34</sup> and Christ is the divine physician,<sup>35</sup> who heals us from pride and gives us an example of humility.<sup>36</sup> "For now we treat of that human nature which is wounded, and we treat of that grace of God by which it is healed through Christ, the doctor, of whom it (human nature) would not be in need if it were healthy."<sup>37</sup>

The grace of Christ is on this account called a *gratia liberatrix*.<sup>38</sup> It is the sole medium of freeing man. Whosoever is freed is freed by the grace of God.<sup>39</sup> Without the Savior who was never wanting to mankind, "no man has been delivered, no man is delivered, no man shall be delivered,"<sup>40</sup> because "without His grace no one is freed from condemnation."<sup>41</sup> From what is man delivered? Not only from sin, original and personal, but also from the law of sin<sup>42</sup> and the consequences of sin. And thus the effects of His grace are a work not only of restoration to dignity but also of emancipation from indignities. "The grace of liberation sets us free from the slavery of Satan<sup>43</sup> into whose servitude we have fallen as a result of our abandoning God."<sup>44</sup> It delivers us from

<sup>34</sup> *Op. imp. contra Jul.*, III, 150 (PL 45, 1308).

<sup>35</sup> Cf. J. Mohan, *De nominibus Christi doctrinam divi Augustini christologicam et soteriologicam exponentibus* (Mundelein, Ill.: 1936), pp. 57 f.; R. Arbesmann, "Christ the Medicus humilis in St. Augustine" *Augustinus Magister* (Paris: 1954), II, 623-29.

<sup>36</sup> W. M. Green, "Initium omnis peccati superbia": Augustine on Pride as the First Sin," *University of California Press*, XIII (1949), 407-32; P. Adnès, "L'humilité, vertu spécifiquement chrétien d'après saint Augustin," *Rev. d'ascétique et de mystique*, XXVIII (1952), 208-23.

<sup>37</sup> *De nat. et gratia*, 64, 76 (PL 44, 285).

<sup>38</sup> *Sermo* 194, 2, 2 (PL 38, 940).

<sup>39</sup> *Ep.* 179, 6 (PL 33, 776; CSEL 44, III, 694).

<sup>40</sup> *De civ. Dei*, X, 32, 2 (PL 41, 315; ed. Dombart-Kalb, I, 459).

<sup>41</sup> *De perf. just. hom.*, 19, 42 (PL 44, 315; CSEL 42, 45).

<sup>42</sup> *Sermo* 155, 3, 3 (PL 38, 842).

<sup>43</sup> *Sermo* 71, 1, 2-3 (PL 38, 445-46).

<sup>44</sup> *De nupt. et concup.*, II, 3, 8 (PL 44, 440; CSEL 42, 259): "Nec quisquam nisi per gratiam liberatoris isto solvitur vinculo servitutis, a quo est hominum nullus immunis." Cf. J. Rivière, *Le dogme de la rédemption chez saint Augustin* (Paris: 1933), pp. 19 ff.

the miseries of this life,<sup>45</sup> the domination of concupiscence,<sup>46</sup> and from the death of the body.<sup>47</sup>

Grace accomplishes its salutary effect both by an uplifting power and by an attracting force. Thus when a wise man asks God for continence he begs for strength to be continent, and this strength he receives in grace. But God also endows the noble, the virtuous, the good, even though it be difficult and forbidding, with the power of attraction which it exerts upon the soul of man. By its gentle beckoning and suave drawing grace reacts on the faculties of our soul inducing them to do what they would not do before. Sheep are drawn by holding out to them a verdant branch. Boys are attracted by showing them sweets. The celestial Father draws men in some similar manner in the domain of grace: "He delights us by His doctrine and not by imposing on us a necessity."<sup>48</sup>

Upon this quality of grace is founded the interpretation of grace as a *delectatio victrix*. Jansenius, organizing the thoughts of Bajus on grace into a system, portrays the aid of grace under a twofold aspect: either as a "delectation" which originates from God and draws us to good or a "delectation" which stems from the earth and draws us to evil. There is a continual tug of war between the heavenly delight and the earthly pleasure. Through the fall of the protoparent the will of man is no longer in possession of freedom but is drawn internally and physically by pleasure. The stronger delectation overcomes the weaker. If the heavenly delight outweighs the terrestrial pleasure, it is called by Jansenius *gratia magna* and *victrix*; if it does not, it is named *gratia parva* and *victa*.<sup>49</sup> The five propositions extracted from Jansenius' *Augustinus* and condemned as heretical by Pope Innocent X in his Dogmatic Bull "Cum occasione" of May 31, 1653,

<sup>45</sup> *De civ. Dei*, XXII, 1-4 (PL 41, 784-86; ed. Dombart-Kalb, II, 552-58).

<sup>46</sup> *Retract.*, I, 23, 1 (PL 32, 620-21).

<sup>47</sup> *Ep.* 177, 11 (PL 33, 769; CSEL 44, 679).

<sup>48</sup> *In Io. Ev. tr.* XXVI, 4-7 (PL 35, 1608-10).

<sup>49</sup> *Augustinus seu doctrina sancti Augustini de humanae naturae sanitate, aegritudine, medicina adversus Pelagianos et Massilienses* (Rothamagi: 1643), III, l. IV, on the nature and essence of grace. See H. de Lubac, *Surnaturels, Études historiques* (Paris: 1946), pp. 45-49.

revolve about Jansenius' assertion that in the fallen state of man no one ever resists interior grace.<sup>50</sup>

The new interpretation of *delectatio victrix* aroused the inheritors and custodians of St. Augustine's doctrine to its defense. Augustinianism is a school composed chiefly of the members of the Augustinian order who have interpreted and systematized St. Augustine's doctrine on grace.<sup>51</sup> Founded by Aegidius Romanus,<sup>52</sup> it had for its principal exponents around and after the time of Jansenius such men as Noris (1631-1704), P. Mansos, F. Bellelli (1675-1742), L. Berti (1696-1766), J. Bertieri (1734-1806), P. Marcelli. Accepting grace in the sense of a *delectatio victrix* they gave it an interpretation which did not infringe on the freedom of the will and at the same time served them in explaining the nature of an efficacious grace. Such a grace is granted by God in the form of an overpowering delectation (*delectatio victrix*) which infallibly draws the will of man to a free consent (in this it differs essentially from the interpretation of the Jansenist), enticing the will morally in virtue of its relative power (in this it differs from the *premotio physica* of the Thomists), but intrinsically (in this they differ from the congruism of the Molinists).

Jansenius and the moral predeterminism of the Augustinian School invoke principally the words of St. Augustine: "We are drawn to act according to what delights us more,"<sup>53</sup> so that for a just man living the life of God and working with the grace of Christ, good works are accomplished congenially and even spon-

<sup>50</sup> Cf. C. Du Plessis d'Argentré, *Collectio Judiciorum de novis erroribus, qui ab initio XII saeculi . . . usque ad a. 1713 in Ecclesia proscripti sunt et notati* (Lutetiae Parisiorum: 1755 ff.), III, II, 261 ff.

<sup>51</sup> For a brief, general history of the Augustinian School, cf. Ursicino Dominguez del Val, "Carácter de la Teología según la escuela agustiniana de los siglos XIII-XX," *La Ciudad de Dios*, CLXII (1950), 229-71; CLXIII (1951), 233-55; CLXIV (1952), 513-31.

<sup>52</sup> Cf. F. Gavardi, *Theologia ex antiquata juxta doctrinam S. P. Augustini ab Aegidio Columna fundatissimo expositam* (Romae: 1683-96), 6 vols.; K. Werner, *Der Augustinismus des späteren Mittelalters* (Wien: 1883); N. Mattioli, *Studio Critico sopra Egidio Romano Colonna* (Roma: 1896).

<sup>53</sup> *Exp. Ep. ad Gal.*, 49 (PL 35, 2141): "Quod amplius nos delectat, secundum id operemur necesse est." Cf. Daniel, *Dissertation théologique sur cet axiome de S. Augustin: "Quod amplius nos delectat, secundum id operemur, necesse est"* (Paris: 1714).

taneously.<sup>54</sup> At times this is true, especially in the higher stages of the spiritual life. But as long as man is in this life the wounds inflicted by original sin on human nature are not totally healed. Man must cooperate, mostly the hard way, in the work of salvation.<sup>55</sup> The spiritual life is an everlasting combat because the struggle is within man.<sup>56</sup> This condition requires constant renunciation and sacrifice.<sup>57</sup> Through sin the nature of man is divided.<sup>58</sup> Nor is it as yet united in the just man, not even in the life of the Apostle of the Gentiles who was both spiritual and carnal.<sup>59</sup> The liberating grace, therefore, appears as a principle of unification capable of re-establishing harmony between conflicting tendencies which reside in the soul of the sinner.<sup>60</sup> Through grace the soul again finds the lost unity and discovers the happiness which accrues from the love of genuine good,<sup>61</sup> although with the limitations of earthly existence.

### Grace and Charity

In the light of this distinction we can see why grace can be presented as antecedent to charity and as a reality that is concomitant with charity. Grace, inasmuch as it is an actual aid—a drawing, a beckoning—precedes the life of grace and all that constitutes it.

This is the reason why Augustine portrays grace as antecedent to faith, hope, and charity, and that under a twofold respect. It is

<sup>54</sup> *Exp. Ep. ad Gal.*, 49 (PL 35, 2141): "Si plus delectat pulchritudo . . . castitatis, per gratiam quae est in fide Jesu Christi, secundum hanc vivimus, et secundum hanc operamur."

<sup>55</sup> Cf. E. Dinkler, *Die Anthropologie Augustins* (Stuttgart: 1934); H. Rondet, "L'Anthropologie de saint Augustin," *Rech. science rel.*, XXIV (1939), 163-96; *id.*, *Gratia Christi: Essai d'histoire du dogme et de théologie dogmatique* (Paris: 1948), pp. 104 f.; R. Florez, "Puntos para una antropología agustiniana," *Augustinus Magister* (Paris: 1954), I, 556.

<sup>56</sup> *Sermo* 9, 13 (PL 38, 85): "Est enim bellum quod secum agit homo. . . ."

<sup>57</sup> *Sermo* 170, 16 (PL 38, 924).

<sup>58</sup> *Confes.*, V, 10, 18 (PL 32, 714; ed. M. Skutella, 91): "Verum autem totum ego eram, et adversum me impietas mea me diviserat." *Confes.*, VIII, 11, 27 (PL 32, 761; ed. M. Skutella, 176): "de meipso adversus meipsum."

<sup>59</sup> *Sermo* 154, 7 (PL 38, 836): "Idem ergo ipse et spiritualis et carnalis? Idem plane, quamdiu hic vivit, sic est."

<sup>60</sup> *Confes.*, VIII, 10, 22 (PL 32, 759; ed. M. Skutella, 171-72).

<sup>61</sup> *Sermo* 159, 6 (PL 38, 870).



antecedent to the whole supernatural life with the complex of virtues which constitutes it, because God is the giver of salutary life. The calling must come from God; this He does through actual grace. But also each act of faith, hope, and charity is made as the result of the actual grace which is given to man. "All these things grace accomplishes in him to whom it is given, and all of whose acts it precedes."<sup>62</sup>

Grace, therefore, is presented by the Bishop of Hippo as a light affecting the intellect and as a transient power drawing the will forward and thus creating in man a disposition that is necessary for regeneration. Through regeneration a union is achieved with God. When man is reborn and is possessed with the new life, actual grace does not cease its operations, but continues to enlighten, inspire, and move man toward greater sanctification. Although faith, hope, and charity constitute a part of the new life in which one is reborn, a man is activated to acts of faith, hope, and charity under the stimulus of an active grace.<sup>63</sup>

On the other hand, grace is presented not only as a stimulus applied by the Holy Ghost to man's faculties of intellect and will but also as an abiding state of the soul. The natural state of the soul is raised to the supernatural state, its natural being is elevated to a participation of the divine life through grace so that the new life of the soul is said to be a life of grace. The state of grace is not without faith, hope, and charity,<sup>64</sup> for to infuse grace is to infuse these three virtues in the soul.<sup>65</sup>

<sup>62</sup> *De dono pers.*, 16, 41 (PL 45, 1018): "Praevenit ergo et fidem gratia: alioquin si fides eam praevenit, procul dubio praevenit et voluntas, quoniam fides sine voluntate non potest esse. Si autem gratia praevenit fidem, quoniam praevenit voluntatem; profecto praevenit omnem oboedientiam; praevenit etiam charitatem, qua una Deo veraciter et suaviter obeditur; et haec omnia gratia in eo cui datur, et cuius haec omnia praevenit, operatur."

<sup>63</sup> *De grat. Christi*, 12, 13 (PL 44, 367; CSEL 42, 136): "Qua gratia agitur, non solum ut facienda noverimus, verum etiam ut cognita faciamus; nec solum ut diligenda credamus, verum etiam ut aedita diligamus."

<sup>64</sup> *Ep.* 55, 2, 3 (PL 33, 205): "Secundum hanc fidem et spem et dilectionem, qua coepimus esse sub gratia, jam commortui sumus cum Christo et consepulti illi per baptismum. . . ."

<sup>65</sup> *De grat. Christi*, 13, 14 (PL 44, 367; CSEL 42, 136): "Haec gratia si doctrina dicenda est, certe sic dicatur, ut altius et interius eam Deus cum ineffabili suavitate credatur infundere, non solum per eos qui plantant et rigant extrinsecus, sed etiam per seipsum qui incrementum suum ministrat

All will admit that the grace of St. Augustine is to be conceived as a reality that pervades the substance of the soul.<sup>66</sup> His charity, too, is such a reality which is inseparable from grace. Whenever grace abides in the soul charity will be there too, and whenever a soul is united to God in charity it necessarily possesses the life of grace. The association of these two forms in the writings of St. Augustine has given rise to the question whether habitual grace and the virtue of charity are to be identified, or whether they are distinct and separable realities. Some writers, leaning on St. Augustine, countenance the opinion that they are one and the same reality;<sup>67</sup> others maintain that they are terms representing two different realities which stand or fall together.<sup>68</sup>

Grace and charity form the heart of supernatural life and are the fountainhead of salutary works. Charity comes into the soul through actual grace<sup>69</sup> and coexists with habitual grace. Acts of charity in turn spring from the soul under the impulse of actual grace. And meritorious deeds can be said to come from grace<sup>70</sup> or to spring from charity.<sup>71</sup> We already know the connection

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occultus (I Cor. 3:7), ita ut non ostendat tantum modo veritatem, verum etiam impertiat charitatem. Sic enim docet Deus . . . simul donans et quid agant scire, et quod sciunt agere."

<sup>66</sup> N. P. Williams, *The Grace of God* (New York: 1930), p. 42: "... grace . . . , it stands for a reality." A. C. McGiffert, *A History of Christian Thought*, II, 92: "From an early day divine grace had been understood not simply as the kindness and favor of God, shown especially in salvation, but also in an objective sense as something bestowed upon men or inspired into them."

<sup>67</sup> Thus Peter Lombard, *Sent.*, I. II, dist. 26; Scotus, In 2 *Sent.*, dist. 27; Bellarminus, *De gratia et lib. arb.*, I. I, c. 6.

<sup>68</sup> St. Thomas, *Summa theol.* Ia IIae, q. 110, a. 3; In 2 *Sent.*, dist. 26, q. 1, a. 4, 6; *De ver.*, q. 27, a. 2; Suarez, *De Grat.*, 16, c. 12, etc.

<sup>69</sup> *Sermo* 32, 8, 8 (PL 38, 199): "Qui vult ergo implere legem, gratiam cogitet. . . . Non enim erat illis (Judaeis) charitas, quae est per gratiam; sed timor erat . . . qui transit ad Christum, transit a timore ad amorem."

<sup>70</sup> *Sermo* 32, 9, 9 (PL 38, 200): "Et ut noveritis, fratres, quia gratia hoc implet, nemo debet de viribus suis praesumere: hoc est enim praesumere de gratia Dei. Vocat enim te Deus, et jubet ut facias: sed ipse dat vires, ut quod jubet, impleri possit."

<sup>71</sup> *De grat. Christi et pec. orig.*, II, 24, 28 (PL 44, 399; CSEL 42, 187): "Diffundebatur in eis charitas per Spiritum Sanctum, 'qui ubi vult spirat,' non merita sequens, sed etiam ipsa merita faciens." Cf. T. J. McKugo, *De relatione inter charitatem Augustinianam et gratiam actualem* (Mundelein, Ill.: 1936), pp. 30 ff.

that exists between the Holy Ghost and charity. Just as the Holy Ghost is an abiding power, so charity, in this connection, is a permanent principle of meritorious works. But "to give grace," according to the Bishop of Hippo, is the same as "to give the Holy Ghost."<sup>72</sup> So intimately and inextricably is charity associated with grace that charity is said to be "the grace of the New Testament."<sup>73</sup>

This is the reason why the transition from grace to charity, and from charity to grace is so natural to St. Augustine.<sup>74</sup> He simply overlooks or neglects to determine the precise relationship between them. Abiding grace is a substratum in which charity is imbedded and through which grace produces its meritorious deeds. Grace is life; charity is a power through which the supernatural life manifests itself in its highest degree and most worthy manner.

### Incorporation by Grace

St. Augustine teaches that when man possesses the image of God (*imago Dei*) in its fullness he becomes the partaker of the divine nature (*particeps Dei*).<sup>75</sup> The participation in the divine nature is not according to the body, for God is a spirit, but according to the soul. Both faculties of the soul, the intellect and the will, are rendered by divine grace capable of receiving something of the divine in them and of uniting with God.<sup>76</sup>

Indeed we already participate in some manner in the divine perfections through our mind which possesses the spiritual power of knowing and of self-determination. But when St. Augustine

<sup>72</sup> *Sermo* 270, 6 (PL 34, 1243).

<sup>73</sup> *Quaest. in Hept.*, V, 15 (PL 34, 755; CSEL 28, ed. J. Zycha II, 382). Cf. H. Lange, *De gratia* (Freiburg im Br.: 1929), p. 287.

<sup>74</sup> *De grat. Christi et pec. orig.*, I, 26, 27 (PL 44, 374; CSEL 42, 147): "... nos gratia Dei accipere charitatem. . ." *Ibid.*, I, 10, 11 (PL 44, 366; CSEL 42, 184): "Sed nos eam gratiam volumus iste (Pelagius) aliquando fateatur, qua . . . nec solum revelatur sapientia, verum et amatur. . ." *Ep.* 217, 4, 12 (PL 33, 983; CSEL 57, 412; *De spirit. et lit.*, 3, 5 (PL 44, 203; CSEL 60, 157).

<sup>75</sup> *De Trin.*, XIV, II, (PL 42, 1044 s.): "Eo quippe ipso imago ejus est [mens], quo ejus capax est, ejusque particeps esse potest; quod tam magnum bonum, nisi per hoc quod imago ejus est, non potest."

<sup>76</sup> *In Io. Ep. tr.* 8, 6 (PL 35, 2039); cf. L. A. Krupa, *Obraz Boży w Człowieku według Św. Augustyna* (Lublin: 1948), pp. 29-38.

speaks of a participation in the divine nature he means more than a participation in God's power of knowing through the natural powers of human understanding. It is the opinion of de Blic that Augustine means this much and no more.<sup>77</sup> So far as the intellect is concerned, this participation consists in a capability which is superadded to the natural powers.<sup>78</sup> Such is the internal gift of grace which permeates the soul and raises the power of its capabilities.

However the participation of the human soul in the divine life is not to be made exclusive of a participation in the divine knowledge. Both faculties of the soul of man, the intellect and the will, constitute the spiritual life of man as the divine Spirit, too, is conceived of as being Intellect and Will. The gift of faith, infused into our heart by God, implements and raises the natural understanding by the endowment of a superior power of knowing and by the accretion of new truths which are revealed by God. By the diffusion of charity in the soul of man by the Holy Ghost the will is endowed with a power of loving God (known also now by faith), and of neighbor as God loves Himself and man. Moreover, the intellect and will of man are closely related, and human action, be it natural or supernatural, is dependent upon the cooperation of both faculties.

Many Augustinian scholars, such as Cayré,<sup>79</sup> Schmaus,<sup>80</sup> Weinand,<sup>81</sup> Boyer,<sup>82</sup> Słomkowski,<sup>83</sup> Huijbers,<sup>84</sup> Braem<sup>84a</sup> concur in

<sup>77</sup> "La péché originel selon saint Augustin," *Rech. de science religieuse*, XVI (1927), 418: "Qu'est-ce donc que cette image de Dieu que nous portons inscrite en notre être? Rien d'autre en somme, que la raison capable du vrai et du bien et susceptible de s'illuminer par une participation croissante de la Sagesse éternelle, comme aussi de s'obscurcir, par l'éloignement de cette divine Vérité."

<sup>78</sup> A. Gardeil, *La structure de l'âme et l'expérience mystique* (Paris: 1927), I, 126: "C'est clair qu'il s'agit du don intrinsèque à l'homme de la grâce sanctifiante, qui, dans l'illumination augustinienne ne saurait avoir qu'un caractère illuminateur, n'intervenir que comme une Sagesse."

<sup>79</sup> *La contemplation augustinienne* (Paris: 1927), pp. 128-31.

<sup>80</sup> *Die psychologische Trinitätslehre des hl. Augustinus* (Münster: 1927), p. 297.

<sup>81</sup> *Die Gottesidee, der Grundzug der Weltanschauung des hl. Augustinus* (Paderborn: 1910), p. 97.

<sup>82</sup> *L'idée de vérité dans la philosophie de saint Augustin* (Paris: 1927), pp. 225-27; E. Gilson, *Introduction à l'étude de saint Augustin* (3me. éd.; Paris: 1949), p. 283.



the interpretation just given, viz., that when St. Augustine makes man "a partaker of God" (*particeps Dei*) the meaning is not exhausted by the fact that man possesses the powers of knowing and willing, inherent in his nature, but embraces also the spiritual life, superadded by grace. The natural life is a foundation for the supernatural life and some knowledge of the Trinity is a prerequisite for understanding man's participation in the life of the Triune God.

St. Augustine's image of the Trinity is formed around three psychological concepts: *mens* (embracing the soul and its powers), *notitia* (spontaneous knowledge of oneself and of the reflexive knowledge of the nature of the soul), and *amor* (spontaneous and deliberate love). The spirit, its knowledge, and its love are three distinct realities which however do not make but one reality. When these three are perfect—and this they are when the spirit knows and loves itself alone—they are equal among themselves. This equality is such as to involve identity—identity of spirit, of its knowledge, and of its love—so that all three terms are consubstantial. Nothing can equal the intimateness of this triad; it exceeds, in its spiritual unity as well as in its spiritual being, all creation. In order to sustain the power of this image the Bishop is led to neglect the distinction existing between the soul and its faculties.<sup>84b</sup> *Mens*, *notitia*, and *amor* are three necessarily consub-

<sup>83</sup> "Charakter darów stanu pierwotnego według nauki św. Augustyna," *Przegląd Teologiczny*, Lwów, XI (1930), 361.

<sup>84</sup> T. Huijbers, "Het Beeld van God in de ziel volgens Sint Augustinus' 'De Trinitate,'" *Augustiniana* (Louvain), II (1952), 88-107; 201-29.

<sup>84a</sup> "Augustinus' leer over de heiligmakende genade," *Augustiniana* (Louvain), III (1953), 5-20; 328-40.

<sup>84b</sup> The psychological doctrine of St. Augustine is usually interpreted as making no allowances for a distinction between the soul and its faculties so that *notitia* and *amor* signify the mind but according to diverse relations to objects. In this manner is Augustine understood by M. Schmaus, *Die psychologische Trinitätslehre des hl. Augustinus* (Münster: 1927), p. 272; E. Gilson, *Introduction à l'étude de saint Augustin* (3me éd.; Paris: 1949), p. 270; F. van Steenberghen, "La philosophie de saint Augustin d'après les travaux du Centenaire," *Rev. Néoscholastique de Philosophie*, XXXV (1933), 257; Reypens, "Âme" in *Dict. de Spiritualité*, I (1934), 438; R. Tremblay, "La théorie psychologique de la Trinité chez saint Augustin," *Études et Recherches: Cahiers de théologie et de philosophie*, VIII (1952), 83-109; T. Huijbers, "Zelfkennis en Godskennis in de geest volgens S. Augustinus'

stantial realities; two of them—*notitia* and *amor*—set the spirit knowing and loving himself on the one hand and the spirit known and loved on the other in an internal relationship; being substantially identical, they necessarily contain the third: the act of knowledge and love. All three terms are not distinct except through relationship of one to another, and when this relationship ceases they are absolutely identical. This consubstantiality explains the circumincession of the three divine persons, for each element of the triad remains in itself, but the elements are nevertheless in one another because the spirit loving is in His love, and His love in His knowledge and His knowledge in the spirit knowing.<sup>85</sup>

If the soul of man bears an impression upon it, it is because in her inner life she evidences, besides a unity of nature, three distinct but equal and consubstantial activities. In Book IX of his work "On the Trinity" Augustine proves the likeness existing in the human soul with the triune God by referring to the inner life of man as expressed by three terms: *mens*, *notitia*, *amor*; in Book X of the same work he changes the vocabulary and the psychological thought couched in it by using the terms: *memoria*, *intelligentia*, *amor*. Some interpreters see in the first triad of words the designation of a habitual image, whereas in the second triad an actual image;<sup>86</sup> whereas other interpreters invert the order,

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'De Trinitate,'" *Augustiniana: sexto decimo exacto saeculo a die natali S. Aurelii Augustini* (Louvain: 1954), p. 57. In this he differs from St. Thomas according to whom the soul knows itself, not directly through itself, as in St. Augustine, but through its acts and thus the faculties of the soul can neither be identified with the essence of the soul nor reduced to it; cf. Forest, *La structure métaphysique du concret selon saint Thomas d'Aquin* (Paris: 1931), pp. 270-71. However, see A. Arostegui, "La supuesta identidad agustiniana del alma y sus potencias," *Revista de Filosofía*, XI (1952), 43-64, according to whom there exists a real distinction between the soul and its faculties in the teaching of St. Augustine.

<sup>85</sup> Cf. R. Tremblay, "La théorie psychologique de la Trinité chez saint Augustin," *Études et Recherches: Cahiers de théologie et de philosophie*, VIII (1952), 83-109; C. Boyer, "L'image de la Trinité: Synthèse de la pensée agustinienne," *Gregorianum*, XXVII (1946), pp. 173-99; 333-52.

<sup>86</sup> A. Gardeil, *La structure de l'âme et l'expérience mystique* (Paris: 1927), I, 50-76; II, 281-312; F. Cayré, *La contemplation Augustinienne; Principes de la spiritualité de saint Augustin* (Paris: 1927), p. 104; *id.*, *Les sources de l'amour divin: La divine présence d'après saint Augustin* (Paris: 1933), p.

detecting an actual image in the first enumeration and a habitual one in the second.<sup>87</sup> Both the first and second sets of triads refer not to an actual but rather habitual image, for the soul is in its essence the permanent image of the eternal Trinity.<sup>88</sup> The change of psychological terms, therefore, is to be explained by a persistence of effort and ingenuity in seeking out an adequate image.<sup>89</sup> Participation of the soul of man in the divine life does not mean of the soul of the learned man, as St. Augustine points out in the work (Book XIII), but by the wise man enlightened by faith (Book XIV). The supernatural character of this participation is especially portrayed in his pastoral works where sanctifying grace and the theological virtues, especially charity, are inculcated as indispensable for the deification of the soul.<sup>90</sup>

Grace has a twofold effect: a negative one by removing sin and the weaknesses of human nature, and a positive one by sublimating that human nature. These effects are simultaneous: "the remission of sins and the justification of the grace of God."<sup>91</sup> A being is raised above its level by participating in the perfection of a higher being: "Those beings which are lower become better by participating in the better (being)."<sup>92</sup> Participating in the life of God, man becomes deified: "Deified man inheres in eternal and unchangeable truth."<sup>93</sup> A participant in God's life does not

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126; E. Gilson, *Introduction à l'étude de saint Augustin* (Paris: 1949), pp. 286-89; I. Hübscher, *De imagine Dei in homine viatore secundum doctrinam S. Thomae Aquinatis* (Lovanii: 1932), pp. 44-49.

<sup>87</sup> M. Schmaus, *Die psychologische Trinitätslehre des hl. Augustinus* (Münster: 1927), pp. 250-53; F. M. Sladeczek, "Die Selbsterkenntnis nach Augustinus," *Scholastik*, V (1930), p. 242; M. L. Pénido, "La valeur de la théorie 'psychologique' de la Trinité," *Eph. theol. Lov.*, VIII (1931), 15; L. A. Krupa, *Obraz Boży w Człowieku według Nauki Św. Augustyna* (Lublin: 1948), p. 92.

<sup>88</sup> T. Huijbers, "Het Beeld van God in de ziel volgens Sint Augustinus' 'De Trinitate,'" *Augustiniana*, II (1952), 88-107; 201-29.

<sup>89</sup> *De Trinit.*, XV, 3, 5 (PL 42, 1060): "In nono (libro), ad imaginem Dei, quod est homo secundum mentem, pervenit disputatio . . . in decimo hoc idem diligentius subtiliusque tractatum est."

<sup>90</sup> J. A. Stoop, *Die Deificatio hominis in die Sermones en Epistulae van Augustinus* (Leiden: 1952).

<sup>91</sup> *Enar. in Ps.* 136, 1 (PL 37, 1761).

<sup>92</sup> *Ep.* 140, 23, 56 (PL 33, 559): "Inferiora . . . meliora fiunt participatione melioris."

<sup>93</sup> *Sermo* 166, 4 (PL 38, 909).

become one in substance with God for there is "life under God, life with God, life from God, life God Himself."<sup>94</sup>

We must guard ourselves, therefore, against pitting the effects of grace as conceived by the Greek Fathers against the same as conceived by St. Augustine as if there were contrasts and even opposition. Mausbach asserts that "in the Greeks grace is a wonderful elevation, glorification, divinization of man; in Augustine it is healing, deliverance, reconciliation of the weak, enslaved men estranged from God."<sup>95</sup> It is, however, true that the Greek Fathers associated the effects of grace more emphatically with the Incarnation, whereas Augustine focuses them around the Redemption. Without Christ being "de-formed" on the Cross, man could not be "re-formed" to the divine image-likeness.<sup>96</sup>

St. Augustine's doctrine is a balanced synthesis of the negative and positive elements, although by force of personal and polemical circumstances the stress is not equally on both.<sup>97</sup> His personal life, in which he experienced the effects of the healing grace and the Pelagian tenets which denied original sin and the resulting weakness of human nature brought to attention the healing power of grace and its need by fallen nature. The doctrine of the mystical body is an expression of a participation in the life of God through Christ; it is a manifestation of the deification of man. "Let us rejoice because we have been made not only Christians but Christ."<sup>98</sup>

<sup>94</sup> *Sermo* 297, 8 (PL 38, 1363).

<sup>95</sup> J. Mausbach, *Thomas von Aquin als Meister christlicher Sittenlehre* (München: 1925), pp. 37-38; in the same strain, D. O. Rousseau, "Incarnation et Anthropologie en Orient et Occident," *Irénikon*, XXVI (1953), 363-75.

<sup>96</sup> *Sermo* 27, 6, 6 (PL 38, 181); cf. G. B. Ladner, "St. Augustine's Reformation of Man to the Image of God," *Augustinus Magister* (Paris: 1954), II, 868.

<sup>97</sup> J. Henninger, *S. Augustinus et doctrina de duplici iustitia* (Mödling: 1935), p. 70: "Hic aspectus justificationis, Patribus graecis valde familiaris, Augustino quoque notus est, licet minus in eo insistat." V. Capánaga, "La deificación en la soteriología agustiniana," *Augustinus Magister*, II, 754: "En la soteriología agustiniana la deificación tiene una importancia considerable." G. Philips, "L'influence du Christ-Chef sur son Corps mystique suivant saint Augustin," *Augustinus Magister* (Paris: 1954), II, 813: "Le Docteur africain a enseigné la doctrine de notre deification à la manière des orientaux."

<sup>98</sup> *In Io. Ev. tr.* 21, 8 (PL 35, 1568).



The new life by means of which man becomes a participant in the life of God is received in baptism. In it he received that supernatural reality in virtue of which he lives by participation the life of God. The rebirth of man in baptism is spiritual and is wrought by grace,<sup>99</sup> so that men born to God "are regenerated by the grace of Christ,"<sup>100</sup> or by the grace of the Holy Ghost.<sup>101</sup> On this account baptism, the sacrament of regeneration, is called "the sacrament of grace."<sup>102</sup> Regeneration consists in liberating man from the death of original and personal sins by the infusion of the life of grace together with faith, hope, and charity.<sup>103</sup>

Just as baptism is not administered to man without regard to the Church to which it was committed, so likewise the life of grace is infused into the soul of man by reason of Christ into whose body it incorporates the regenerated man. The Holy Ghost who was responsible for the conception of Christ's human nature in the womb of the Virgin is the cause of man's regeneration in the womb of the Church and of his incorporation into the mystical body of Christ. The means by which He accomplishes the regeneration is grace and charity: grace we conceive as life, and charity as the bond of union with the body of Christ. Because in the spiritual life of the soul charity and grace are not separable, Augustine refers either to grace or to charity as spiritual factors making us members of Christ's body.

Water, which expresses externally "the sacrament of grace," and the Holy Spirit, who works intrinsically, "the gift of grace," regenerate the man, born of Adam, "in the one Christ."<sup>104</sup> That the life of grace cannot be without a union with Christ is evident

<sup>99</sup> *Ep.* 140, 9 (PL 33, 541; CSEL 44, ed. A. Goldbacher, III, 161): "Haec est gratia Novi Testamenti . . . ut intelligat anima Deum suum, et gratia ejus renascatur illi. Haec quippe nativitas spiritualis est, ideo non ex sanguinibus, non ex voluntate viri . . . sed ex Deo."

<sup>100</sup> *Retract.*, 2, 38 (PL 32, 646; CSEL 36, ed. P. Knöll, 177).

<sup>101</sup> *Contra Jul. Pel.*, 6, 2, 5 (PL 44, 823): "Nascuntur enim per carnis concupiscentiam, renascuntur per Spiritus gratiam."

<sup>102</sup> *Ep.* 98, 2 (PL 33, 360; CSEL 34, ed. A. Goldbacher, II, 521-22): "Aqua igitur exhibens forinsecus sacramentum gratiae, et Spiritus operans intrinsecus beneficium gratiae, solvens vinculum culpae, reconcilians bonum naturae, regenerant hominem in uno Christo, ex uno Adam generatum."

<sup>103</sup> *Ep.* 98, 2 (PL 33, 360; CSEL 34, ed. A. Goldbacher, II, 521-22).

<sup>104</sup> *Ibid.*

from the effects of baptism in children who are said to be incorporated into the body of Christ through grace.<sup>105</sup> Since baptism has been entrusted to the Church, which begets through the grace of this sacrament new members for Christ's body, she merits to be called the mother of Christ.<sup>106</sup> "*Vulva matris, aqua baptismatis.*"<sup>107</sup> For "we are born spiritually and born in the Spirit by word and sacrament."<sup>108</sup>

St. Augustine thus associates two principal thoughts with grace; namely, a renewal of life in the soul of man, and a oneness of life with Christ through incorporation into the mystical body. These effects are not performed in different and separable stages but simultaneously the act that brings life also brings oneness with Christ. They are inaugurated in the sacrament of baptism and consummated in the sacrament of the Eucharist whose "spiritual fruit" is the mystical body.<sup>109</sup>

But did not the Bishop of Hippo ascribe the cause of union with Christ to charity? It is possible for him to consider incorporation into the mystical body as an effect either of grace or charity because both of these sanctifying elements are inseparably present in the regenerated and just soul. Where grace is absent, there too charity will be absent; and if a soul is devoid of charity, it will be devoid of grace. In Augustine's theology charity is, strictly speaking, the unifying factor in the mystical body of Christ, but divine grace, being the life that is common to Christ and the regenerated soul, makes them one in the mystical body.

The union between Christ and His members is not founded upon mere imitation of Christ's life and the ethical likeness that would ensue from it, but upon the reality of the supernatural life of grace. It is this life that is common to the souls of Christ's members, and to the soul of Christ, the head; it is the life that the

<sup>105</sup> *De pec. merit. et remis.*, I, 9, 10 (PL 44, 114; CSEL 60, ed. C. Urba and J. Zycha, 11): "Gratia baptizatos quoque parvulos suo inserit [Christus] corpori."

<sup>106</sup> *De sanc. virg.*, 5, 5 (PL 40, 399; CSEL 41, ed. J. Zycha, 239): "Mater ejus est tota Ecclesia, quia membra eius, id est, fideles ejus per Dei gratiam ipsa utique parit."

<sup>107</sup> *Sermo* 119, 4, 4 (PL 38, 674); cf. Paola Rinetti, "Sant' Agostino e l' 'Ecclesia Mater,'" *Augustinus Magister* (Paris: 1954), II, 829.

<sup>108</sup> *In Io. Ev. tr.* 12, 5 (PL 35, 1486).

<sup>109</sup> *Sermo* 272 (PL 38, 1247).

souls of Christ's members receive from the soul of Christ, the head. The sacred humanity of Christ is conceived by St. Augustine as the fount of grace, which He merited for all mankind, and can be possessed only in union with Him.<sup>110</sup> He diffuses the life of grace to each member in accordance with his capacity for receiving it.<sup>111</sup>

Making the baptized one with Himself in the mystical body, Christ vivifies, saves, frees, redeems, enlightens him, and all this is accomplished by grace.<sup>112</sup> He delivers them from the death and hideousness of sin to make them the immaculate members of His body in the newness of its life of grace.<sup>113</sup> Christ is the heavenly man "because He came from heaven to be clothed with a body of earthly mortality, that He might clothe it with heavenly immortality. And he (St. Paul) calls others heavenly, because by grace they become His members, that, together with them, He may become one Christ, as head and body."<sup>114</sup>

God lives in humanity.<sup>115</sup> But this He does not fully except through grace. In the life of grace lies the supernatural order for which the law exists in Sacred Scripture, particularly in St. Paul, and for which the Church is constituted the depository in this world. She is the true "city of God" which is in possession of all the means of sanctification, doctrine, hierarchy, sacraments.<sup>116</sup>

<sup>110</sup> Cf. E. Braem, "Augustinus' leer over de heiligmakende genade," *Augustiniana*, I (1951), 7-20; 77-90; 153-74.

<sup>111</sup> *De praed. sanct.*, 15, 31 (PL 44, 982): "Appareat itaque nobis in nostro capite ipse fons gratiae, unde secundum uniuscujusque mensuram se per cuncta ejus membra diffundit. Ea gratia fit ab initio fidei suae homo quicumque christianus, qua grātia homo ille ab initio suo factus est Christus; de ipso Spiritu et hic renatus, de quo est ille natus; eodem Spiritu fit in nobis remissio peccatorum, quo Spiritu factum est ut nullum haberet ille peccatum."

<sup>112</sup> *De pec. mer. et remis.*, I, 26, 39 (PL 44, 131; CSEL 60, ed. C. Urba and J. Zycha, 37).

<sup>113</sup> *Enar. 19 in Ps.* 118, 7 (PL 37, 1556): "Fit ergo cor immaculatum membrorum et corporis Christi, gratia Dei per ipsum, corporis caput."

<sup>114</sup> *De civ. Dei*, XIII, 23, 3 (PL 41, 398; ed. Dombart-Kalb, I, 591): "Coelestes vero ideo appellat et alios quia fiunt per gratiam membra ejus, ut cum illis sit unus Christus, velut caput et corpus."

<sup>115</sup> F. Cayré (et alii), *Dieu vit en homme* (Paris: 1953), pp. 285-97.

<sup>116</sup> F. Cayré, "Notion de la mystique d'après les grands traités de saint Augustin," *Augustinus Magister* (Paris: 1954), II, 621.

In describing the relationship of grace to the mystical body of Christ, Augustine follows in the footsteps of the Apostle of the Gentiles. For St. Paul, too, grace is a reality infused into the soul of man; it is a new, supernatural life which is necessarily related to Christ. Through grace we are brought close to God and made like to Him, but we are also incorporated into the mystical body of Christ, who is the Son of God the Father.<sup>117</sup>

### Grace and Sinners

The question may suggest itself to us whether all who receive the sacrament of baptism are incorporated into the body of Christ. Does the reception of grace as an abiding and life-giving effect necessarily follow any and every reception of the sacrament of baptism? As has been previously noted, the effect of this sacrament is not produced by the visible, external rite alone. It consists principally in this, that with the performance of the visible action and application of water, the Holy Ghost bestows internally the gift of the life of grace.<sup>118</sup>

The rite of baptism is common to all who possess and administer it in the name of Christ. Wherever and by whomsoever it is rightly administered, within the Church of Christ or outside of its pale, it will always be valid, although not always fruitful. When validly administered even outside the Church, it cannot be readministered upon return to the true Church of Christ. The reason is that the sacrament validly administered, even outside the Church, leaves an effect, a certain consecration, in the soul of the recipient.<sup>119</sup> It sets him apart from men as one belonging to Christ and the Church.<sup>120</sup> While such an effect is not the grace of life which the sacrament was instituted to produce, it is

<sup>117</sup> J. Wobbe, *Die Charis-Gedanke bei Paulus* (Münster: 1932), p. 19: "Durch Eingliederung in den mystischen Leib Jesu Christi ist der Mensch in ungeahnter Weise Gott genähert und verähnlicht. Aus Güte hat Gott ihm ein übernatürliches Leben geschenkt."

<sup>118</sup> *Ep.* 98, 2 (PL 33, 360; CSEL 34, ed. A. Goldbacher, II, 521): "Aqua igitur exhibens forinsecus sacramentum gratiae, et Spiritus operans intrinsecus beneficium gratiae."

<sup>119</sup> *Contra ep. Parmen.*, II, 13, 28 (PL 43, 70; CSEL 51, ed. M. Petschenig, 79): "quadam consecratione . . . homini datur."

<sup>120</sup> *Ibid.*



nevertheless an abiding effect which demands the infusion of such life and attains it as soon as the obstacle to the infusion of life is removed.<sup>121</sup>

Those, therefore, who have received baptism outside the fold possess nevertheless some indestructible sign of belonging to Christ. It is a badge indicating that its possessor belongs to the Church of Christ even if he received it outside the Church or has strayed from the true Church in which he received it. All possessing the spiritual seal of the Holy Ghost upon their souls, but separated from the one fold, are likened to military deserters; these are marked with the insignia of the army to which they belong but they have deserted it. When members bearing the inward sign of Christ return to the Church to which they rightfully belong, they are not marked anew by baptism (whether they received the sacrament in or outside the Catholic Church) but are reinstated as members of the true Church of Christ and begin to exercise their duties in virtue of the deputation—the character which they already possess.<sup>122</sup>

In consequence the sacrament of baptism may produce in the soul of the individual the full effect for which it was instituted by Christ, or only a partial effect. The sacrament is thus not frustrated whether administered in the Church or outside it. If it causes its full intended effect then it produces the indelible character which is an indestructible spiritual stamp on the soul of the recipient by virtue of which he belongs forever to Christ and to His Church; moreover simultaneously with this effect it produces grace, the new life, by which one actually becomes a living member in the body of Christ. If the sacrament of baptism causes only a partial effect it consists of the impression of the indelible character on the soul, but without the life of grace. If grace is not attained, then a living incorporation into the mystical body of

<sup>121</sup> Cf. G. G. Willis, *Saint Augustine and the Donatist Controversy* (London: 1950), pp. 157 f.

<sup>122</sup> *De symb.*, 8, 16 (PL 40, 636): "Sed de haereticis baptismum non mutamus. Quare? Quia sic habent baptismum, quomodo desertor habet characterem: ita et isti habent baptismum; habent, sed unde damnentur, non unde coronentur. Et tamen si desertor ipse correctus incipiat militare, numquid audet quisquam ei characterem mutare?" G. G. Willis, *op. cit.*, pp. 159–60.

Christ has not been effected. The life of grace has not been received on account of some attending circumstances or obstacles.

The partial effect of the sacrament of baptism is attained by two classes of men:

1) Those who are outside the pale of the one Church of Christ. Such are heretics and schismatics. When speaking of both these classes of men St. Augustine does not make the distinction between those who are culpably such (viz., those who are or should be cognizant of their error or dissension) and those who may be ignorant of their attachment to a false church. This distinction, no doubt, lurks in his mind but he does not make use of it. He is addressing himself to those who are or should be aware of their erroneous belief or dissension from unity. The sacrament of the heretic or schismatic is valid and therefore, when properly administered, is not to be repeated when they return to the unity of the fold. For when they administer or receive the sacrament of baptism, it produces the indelible character, but the fact that they stand outside of the unity of Christ makes the administration of the sacrament unfruitful. It cannot produce grace except in the unity of the Church—in the unity of truth and charity.<sup>123</sup>

It is now in connection with grace that we can see the need of the Church. Remission of sins and the acquisition of grace are impossible except in and through the Church. Nor is it within one's power to take leave of the Church without incurring sin and losing grace. The very bestowal of actual graces is either in view of entering the one Church of Christ or of persevering in it.<sup>124</sup>

2) Those who are considered as members of the Church and live in unity with it but who, because of the want of the right disposition in the reception of the sacrament, do not receive the life of grace. They are called "false brethren in the communion

<sup>123</sup> *Enar. in Ps. 77, 2* (PL 36, 984): "Sicut et nunc jam revelata fide quae tunc velabatur, omnibus in nomine Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus sancti baptizatis (Mt. 28:19), commune est lavacrum regenerationis; sed ipsa gratia cujus ipsa sunt sacramenta, qua membra corporis Christi cum suo capite regenerata sunt, non communis est omnibus. Nam et haeretici habent eundem baptismum, et falsi fratres in communione catholici nominis. Ergo et hic recte dicitur: 'Sed non in omnibus illis beneplacitum est Deo.'"

<sup>124</sup> *Sermo 71* (PL 38, 445-70); cf. G. Favara, "Chiesa e grazia in santo Agostino," *Divus Thomas* (Piacenza), IV (1952), 375-95.

of the Catholic name" who became partakers of the external rite of the sacrament, but not of that baptismal grace "by which members of the body of Christ have been regenerated with their head."<sup>125</sup>

In his work *De fide et operibus*<sup>126</sup> Augustine inveighs against the opinion and practice of admitting to the sacrament of baptism such as are noted for vice and wickedness and who are unwilling to change their lives and even declare their intention of continuing to live in sin after baptism. The holy sacrament is not to be administered indiscriminately. The wicked are to be tolerated in the Church but not fostered. By the fact that the Scriptures predict the coexistence of the good and the wicked in the Church, the rules of discipline are not to be relaxed.

Persons to be baptized must be prepared to receive the sacrament. They are to be instructed not only in matters of faith but also in morals and discipline. One must possess the right disposition in order to receive the grace of the sacrament. Otherwise, just as the heretic and schismatic outside the Church, the sinner inside the Church will receive the indelible character but not the life of the sacrament.

There are thus men in the Church who do not receive the newness of life but remain the old man that they were, notwithstanding their visible accession to the unity of the Church. They cannot become true members of Christ who through their wicked lives continue to be members of a harlot. They may be in that Church which is the body of Christ but because they do not possess grace, and consequently do not participate in His life, they merely adhere to it as dead members.

## II. JUSTIFICATION

The notion of justification is inseparable from the notion of grace.<sup>1</sup> For justification is founded upon grace. The beginning of justification comes from God and not from man. No man can be justified except by the grace of God. He gives the first impulse

<sup>125</sup> *Enar. in Ps.* 77, 2 (PL 36, 984).

<sup>126</sup> *De fide et oper.*, I, 1 ff. (PL 40, 197 ff.; CSEL 41, ed. J. Zycha, 35 ff.).

<sup>1</sup> Cf. P. Schanz, "Die Lehre des hl. Augustinus über die Rechtfertigung," *Theol. Quart.*, LXXXIII (1901), 481-528.

toward justification; He gives the beginning of faith (the *initium fidei*); He causes the preparatory acts. All this takes place by virtue of His grace. The works of man preceding justification would remain natural and ineffective toward the supernatural process of justification unless they were initiated and aided by the power of God.<sup>2</sup>

The term justice (*justitia*) denoting the state or condition of man, and the term justification (*justificatio*), the act, process, or transition from the state of injustice to that of justice, occur very frequently in the writings of the Bishop. He does not, however, always discriminate in the exact usage of these two terms but employs *justificatio* to denote both the beginning and the growth in supernatural life.<sup>3</sup> The doctrine underlying these two important terms forms a fundamental concept of his theology. But like many other of his vital religious concepts—e.g., grace, faith, charity, Church,<sup>4</sup> liberty<sup>5</sup>—it cannot be condensed into the form of a definition.

St. Augustine makes use of the term "justice" to designate the well-ordered and harmonized state of body and soul of our first parents. Although the Fathers prior to the time of St. Augustine, such as St. Irenaeus, St. Athanasius, and St. Gregory of Nyssa, have expressed their mind on this condition of our first parents, St. Augustine surpasses those Fathers in the developing of the fullness of that doctrine and in grasping its correlation to the whole supernatural order. He seems to have been the first to use the word justice for this purpose.<sup>6</sup>

Is the state of original justice in our protoparents, according to St. Augustine, identifiable with sanctifying grace or is its essence to be sought in some other reality? This is a disputed question. Kors treats primarily of the meaning of original justice in

<sup>2</sup> P. Platz, *Der Römerbrief in der Gnadenlehre Augustins* (Würzburg: 1938), p. 137.

<sup>3</sup> *Sermo* 158, 4 (PL 38, 864).

<sup>4</sup> This has been pointed out when these terms have been studied in their respective places.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. J. Mausbach, *Die Ethik des hl. Augustinus* (2 Aufl.; Freiburg im Br.: 1929), I, 25.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. A. Słomkowski, *L'état primitif de l'homme dans la tradition de l'Église avant saint Augustin* (Paris: 1928); *id.*, *Pierwotny stan człowieka według nauki Św. Augustyna* (Lwów, 1933).



the works of St. Thomas, but he retraces the genesis of his interpretation to St. Augustine. He says that for St. Thomas sanctifying grace and original justice are two adequately distinct gifts and entirely different entities. The majority of contemporary theologians are not in accord with these interpretations of St. Thomas' doctrine.<sup>7</sup> As for St. Augustine, Kors holds that original justice consists in the subordination of the body to the soul, of concupiscence to the will, and of the whole man to God.<sup>8</sup> Kors also maintains that Augustine's original justice refers to acts rather than to a condition or state of our first parents.<sup>9</sup> This interpretation is gainsaid by others.<sup>10</sup> Treating of the relationship between sanctifying grace and original justice, Kors treats them as two distinct realities; namely, original justice was a gift of nature, whereas sanctifying grace was a personal gift bestowed by God upon the protoparents.<sup>11</sup> Of the same opinion is A. Michel.<sup>12</sup>

Others—e.g., Turmel,<sup>13</sup> J. de Blic,<sup>14</sup> N. Merlin<sup>15</sup>—treating of the original state of the protoparents apparently do not acknowledge sanctifying grace as a constituent of original justice, since

<sup>7</sup> Cf. L. Teixidor, "Una Cuestión lexicográfica. El uso de la palabra Justicia Original, en Santo Tomás de Aquino," *Estudios Eclesiásticos*, VI (1927), 337-76; VIII (1929), 23-41; C. Vollert, "St. Thomas on Sanctifying Grace and Original Justice," *Theological Studies*, II (1941), 369-87.

<sup>8</sup> J. B. Kors, *La justice primitive et le péché originel d'après s. Thomas* (Paris: 1930), p. 7. This notion of original justice is drawn from St. Augustine's *De peccatorum meritis et remissione*, II, 36-37 (PL 44, 172-73).

<sup>9</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 8: "On peut voir que chez saint Augustin, l'expression de justice originelle est prise dans le sens de justice actuelle, plutôt que de justice habituelle."

<sup>10</sup> A. Słomkowski, "Relatio gratiam sanctificantem inter et iustitiam originalem secundum doctrinam S. Augustini," *Collectanea Theologica*, XVIII (1937), 33 ff.

<sup>11</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 14: "Il semble légitime, à notre avis, de concevoir cette rectitude non comme proprement et substantiellement surnaturelle, mais comme un don spécial, surajouté, qui n'élèverait pas à l'ordre surnaturel, comme le ferait la grâce sanctifiante. La justice originelle est donc réellement distincte de la grâce."

<sup>12</sup> "Justice originelle," *Dict. de Théol. Cath.*, VIII, 2032-33: "Saint Augustin . . . semble en effet distinguer la rectitude de la nature dans laquelle Dieu créa l'homme de la grâce par laquelle il l'aidait à faire le bien."

<sup>13</sup> "Le dogme du péché originel dans S. Augustin," *Rev. d'hist. et lit. rel.*, VII (1902).

<sup>14</sup> "Le péché originel selon s. Augustin," *Rech. de science rel.*, XII (1927).

<sup>15</sup> *Saint Augustin et les dogmes du péché originel et de la grâce* (Paris: 1931).

they make no mention of it. Espenberger is of the opinion that the relationship between original justice and sanctifying grace probably cannot with certainty be established from the works of St. Augustine.<sup>16</sup> Again others—e.g., Jansenius,<sup>17</sup> Tixeront,<sup>18</sup> Słomkowski<sup>19</sup>—maintain that sanctifying grace constitutes the state of justice not only in mankind as it is redeemed by Christ but also in the first man as he was constituted by God.

### Meaning

In general the term "justice" can be distinguished as occurring in several meanings each of which belongs to a separate science. It occurs 1) in the legal or juridic sense which expresses the relationship between the state and citizens, or of citizens among themselves; 2) in the ethical sense according to which, as a cardinal virtue, it balances the will inclining it to respect the right of others; 3) in a theological meaning according to which there exists a proper relationship between God and man. In this sense, referring to a permanent condition of man's soul, the term impresses a characteristic mark on the vast works of St. Augustine and embraces a comprehensive theology which is specifically Christian. This doctrine of Christian justice and justification was developed in patristic literature on account of the Bible where it runs like a golden thread throughout the pages of the books of the Old and New Testament.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>16</sup> *Die Elemente der Erbsünde nach Augustin und Frühscholastik* (Mainz: 1905), p. 13.

<sup>17</sup> *Augustinus, seu doctrina sancti Augustini de humanae naturae sanitate, aegritudine, medicina adversus Pelagianos et Massilienses* (Rothomagi: 1643), II, 77 ff.

<sup>18</sup> *Histoire des Dogmes*, II, 463.

<sup>19</sup> "Relatio gratiam sanctificantem inter et justitiam originalem secundum doctrinam S. Augustini," *Collectanea Theologica*, XVIII (1937), 52: "... concludere possumus, quod, quamcunque partem doctrinae Augustinianae inspicimus, semper ad conclusionem pervenimus, quod justitia originalis a S. Augustino a gratia sanctificante realiter non distinguitur sed potius cum ea identificatur. Hac in re sicut in tot aliis nondum habemus in operibus S. Augustini determinatam terminologiam et sensus nominum saepe mutatur, tamen in eis textibus, ubi et de justitia originali et gratia sanctificante loquitur, realem distinctionem inter utramque minime facit."

<sup>20</sup> E. A. Abbott, "Righteousness in the Gospels," *Proceedings of the British Academy* (London: 1917-18), pp. 351-63; J. Bover, "El 'gran misterio de la piedad,'" *Estudios Eclesiásticos*, XXI (1947), 225-33; H. Dechent,

St. Augustine lays down a general definition of justice which is acceptable to the statesman, philosopher, and moral theologian. Man performs a work or act of justice when he renders to each one what is due to one; it is a *virtus qua sua cuique tribuuntur*.<sup>21</sup> If this is true in the relationship between man and man, how much more is it true in the relationship between man and God. Since God alone is the creator of man and his supreme lord and ruler, man owes God submission, gratitude, and worship.<sup>22</sup> When these acts are rendered to God in the spirit of the Gospels they cannot be without the love of God, and thus justice cannot but become charity—"Perfect charity is perfect justice."<sup>23</sup> And just as charity is greater than the theological virtues of faith and hope because it remains in eternity, so also justice is the first among the cardinal virtues because it will survive for eternity: "it will become so great that it will not be capable of being more perfect."<sup>24</sup>

Justice demands that in this life, whether it be natural or supernatural, man be properly oriented and well ordered in his relation to God. Since man is a composite of unequal and disparate elements among which there is a tug of war, the virtue of justice

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"Der 'Gerechte.' Eine Bezeichnung für den Messias," *Theologische Studien und Kritiken*, C (1927-28), 439-43; A. Descamps, "Le christianisme comme justice dans le premier évangile," *Eph. Theol. Lov.*, XXII (1946), 5-33; *id.*, *Les justes et la justice et le christianisme primitif* (Gembloux: 1950); L. Diestel, "Die idee der Gerechtigkeit, vorzüglich im Alten Testament," *Jahr. für deutsche Theol.*, V (1860), 173-253; L. Gillet, "The Just," *Expository Times*, LVI (1944-45), 277-79; R. A. Knox, *On Englishing the Bible* (London: 1949), chap. III: "Justice and Scandal in the Gospels," pp. 29-40; F. Nötscher, "Das Reich (Gottes) und seine Gerechtigkeit," *Biblica*, XXXI (1950), 237-41; H. Rosman, "'Justificare' est verbum causativum," *Verbum Domini*, XXI (1941), 144-47; T. Preiss, "La justification dans la pensée Johannique," *Hommage et reconnaissance à K. Barth* (Neuchâtel-Paris: 1946), pp. 100-118.

<sup>21</sup> *De lib. arb.*, I, 27 (PL 32, 1235); cf. *De civit. Dei*, XIX, 4, 4 (PL 41, 629; ed. Dombart-Kalb, II, 359): "Quid iustitia, cuius munus est sua cuique tribuere"; cf. G. Armas, "Teología agustiniana del peccado," *Augustinus* (Madrid), I (1956), 169-86).

<sup>22</sup> *De Trin.*, XIV, 9, 12 (PL 42, 1046); *De moribus Ecc.*, I, 25 (PL 32, 1322).

<sup>23</sup> *De nat. et grat.*, 70, 84 (PL 44, 290; CSEL 60, 298); cf. Hermenegildus Lio, "De elementis traditionalibus iustitiae," *Franciscan Studies*, X (1950), 178-80.

<sup>24</sup> *De Trin.*, XIV, 9, 12 (PL 42, 1046): "Cui regenti (Deo) esse subiectum, si iustitiae est, immortalis est omnino iustitia."

requires that the inferior be subordinate to the superior. The order of justice demands that the flesh of man be subservient to the spirit, and the spirit to God, and thus both the body and the soul—in a word, the whole man—will be in the service of God.<sup>25</sup>

We must be free from any suspicion that since Augustine borrows the four cardinal virtues (prudence, justice, temperance, fortitude) from the Greek philosophers he means only as much as they do. He not only adapts them to Christian usage, but even raises them to a higher meaning by inserting such elements from Christian revelation as were unknown to Greek thinking men. The natural justice of the philosopher has been made a Christian virtue because it has been permeated with the supernatural spirit and elements. The ethics of St. Augustine are not only the ethics of the Christian but also of the Catholic Church.<sup>26</sup> "The ethical viewpoints of Augustine in their essentials and almost in their entirety are distinguished by their conformity to Catholic belief and are strikingly imbued with the spirit of the doctrines of Christ as handed down by the Church."<sup>27</sup>

The terms which revolve around justification are such as to belong to the very essence of Christianity; namely, sin, redemption, grace. Justification presupposes the disorder of sin as reigning in the soul of man and consequently it is a work of God whereby man is delivered from sin by the grace merited by Christ Jesus. Specifically the effect is ascribed to God, or to the Holy Ghost, or to Christ as being the cause of our justification, and the means by which it is effected is grace.

Justification sets man free from Adam's sin, which plunged all mankind into damnation. Further, it liberates man from such

<sup>25</sup> *De civit. Dei*, XIX, 4, 4 (PL 41, 629; ed. Dombart-Kalb, II, 359): "Quia iustitia cuius munus est sua cuique tribuere (unde fit in ipso homine quidam justus ordo naturae, ut anima subdatur Deo et animae caro, ac per hoc Deo et anima et caro), nonne demonstrat in eo se adhuc opere laborare potius quam in huius operis jam fine requiescere?"

<sup>26</sup> The Catholic character of St. Augustine's doctrine on morality is admitted by such scholars as A. Harnack, *Lehrbuch der Dogmengeschichte* (4 Aufl.; Tübingen: 1910), III, 98-101; *id.*, *Das Wesen des Christentums* (Leipzig: 1920), pp. 154 ff.; F. Loofs, *Leitfaden zum Studium der Dogmengeschichte* (4 Aufl.; Halle: 1906), pp. 345 ff.

<sup>27</sup> B. Świtalski, *Neoplatonism and the Ethics of St. Augustine* (New York: 1946) p. 38.



sins as he himself has committed and which despoil him of the participation in the divine life. Finally, it sanctifies and perfects man by diminishing those sins which do not deprive him of internal life but which are a blemish and imperfection in it. Since man cannot completely cast off all the imperfections of sin as long as he remains in this life, the process of justification continues throughout the whole time of our temporal existence.<sup>28</sup> Absolute sinlessness and consummate justice are reserved for that life when our union with God shall be perfect.

Much of St. Augustine's theology concerning justification hinges around two verses taken from St. Paul's epistle to the Romans: God . . . "that justifieth the ungodly (*qui justificat impium*),<sup>29</sup> and Christ . . . "died for the ungodly" (*pro impiis mortuus est*).<sup>30</sup> The previous verse is quoted very frequently by St. Augustine, but mostly as a relative clause as given above.<sup>31</sup> The latter is quoted either in connection with the first quoted verse,<sup>32</sup> or more frequently alone.<sup>33</sup> "To justify the ungodly," means to make the ungodly godly, the impious pious, the unjust just. The *terminus a quo* is enmity with God, and this consists in sin; the *terminus ad quem* is godliness, friendship which consists in grace.<sup>34</sup>

<sup>28</sup> *In Io. Ev. tr.* 68, 3 (PL 35, 1815): ". . . vivere debet justus ex fide. Qui enim a Domino peregrinatur, opus habet ex fide vivere; . . . quamdiu peregrinatur, corda mundantur. . . ." Cf. *Enar. in Ps.* 36, *sermo* 1, 6 (PL 36, 359).

<sup>29</sup> Rom. 4:5; cf. E. Tobac, *Le problème de la justification de saint Paul* (Gembloux: 1941).

<sup>30</sup> Rom. 5:6.

<sup>31</sup> *Conf.*, X, 2, 2 (PL 32, 2066 f.; ed. M. Skutella, 210); *Prop. ep. Rom.*, 22 (PL 35, 2066 f.); *Enar. 2 in Ps.* 30, *sermo* 1, 6 (PL 36, 233); *Enar. 2 in Ps.* 31, 6 (PL 36, 262); *Sermo* 160, 7 (PL 38, 877); *Ad. Simpl.*, I, 2, 3 (PL 40, 113); *De spirit. et lit.*, 26, 45 (PL 44, 228; CSEL 60, 199).

<sup>32</sup> *Enar. in Ps.* 113, *sermo* 1, 12 (PL 37, 1480); *Ad. Simpl.*, I, 2, 18 (PL 40, 123).

<sup>33</sup> *Quaest. in Hept.*, II, qu. 154, 3 (PL 34, 649; CSEL 28, ed. J. Zycha, 189); *Enar. in Ps.* 85, 2 (PL 37, 1082); *Enar. in Ps.* 110, 5 (PL 37, 1465); *Sermo* 72, 2 (PL 38, 467); *Sermo* 142, 5 (PL 38, 781); *Sermo* 293, 5 (PL 38, 1331); *Sermo*, Denis 4, 2 (*Miscel. Agost.*, I, 22); *Sermo*, Mai 16, 2 (*Miscel. Agost.*, I, 301); *Sermo*, Wilmart 11, 5 (*Miscel. Agost.*, I, 698); *De patientia*, 20, 17 (PL 40, 621; CSEL 41, 682).

<sup>34</sup> P. Platz, *Der Römerbrief in der Gnadenlehre Augustins* (Würzburg: 1938), p. 140.

Augustine views justification under various aspects. He considers it a pivotal doctrine around which other cardinal doctrines revolve. It involves so many basic elements of Christian doctrine that it has ramifications in the whole domain of theology. Grace and the virtues of faith, hope, and charity are a part of it; it is closely related to such capital doctrines as the sacraments, the Church, and predestination. Justification is conceived as a change from death to life,<sup>35</sup> as a transition from the *massa damnata* to the children of God and heirs of heaven, as a deletion of sin through the infusion of virtue, as a transformation from wickedness to holiness, as a passing from the ownership of Satan to that of God,<sup>36</sup> as a change from a condition in which one sins to that in which the commandments of God are observed.<sup>37</sup>

Gifted by the justice of God man walks in the way of justice,<sup>38</sup> does justice,<sup>39</sup> overcomes concupiscence,<sup>40</sup> is made strong to overcome Satan,<sup>41</sup> lives rightly and well,<sup>42</sup> performs works worthy of a reward,<sup>43</sup> fulfills the law,<sup>44</sup> and is just, "for not the hearers of the law are just before God, but the doers of the law shall be justified" (Rom. 2:13).<sup>45</sup>

Man is rendered holy and pleasing to God not by something of his own but by something that God Himself bestows upon man. This something is a gratuitous gift and it is called justice. It is not however the justice which is God, but a justice which God imparts to man.<sup>46</sup> This justice is, therefore, a created gift;

<sup>35</sup> *Op. imp. contra Jul.*, II, 203 (PL 45, 1228).

<sup>36</sup> *Enar. in Ps.* 7, 5 (PL 36, 100): "Cum justificatur impius, ex impio fit justus, et ex possessione diaboli migrat in templum Dei."

<sup>37</sup> *In Io. Ev. tr.* 26, 1 (PL 35, 1607).

<sup>38</sup> *De nat. et grat.*, 32, 36 (PL 44, 264 f.; CSEL 60, 259-60).

<sup>39</sup> *Quaest. Evang.*, II, 38 (PL 35, 1350).

<sup>40</sup> *Enar. 2 in Ps.* 30, 6 (PL 36, 233 f.); *Ep.* 177, 13 f. (PL 33, 769 f.; CSEL 44, 681-82); *Contra duas ep. Pel.*, III, 2, 2 (PL 44, 587 f.; CSEL 60, 486-87).

<sup>41</sup> *De civ. Dei*, XVII, 4, 7 (PL 41, 531; ed. Dombart-Kalb, II, 209).

<sup>42</sup> *Enar. in Ps.* 142, 5 (PL 37, 1848).

<sup>43</sup> *Enar. in Ps.* 118, *sermo* 22, 2 (PL 37, 1563).

<sup>44</sup> *Enar. in Ps.* 118, *sermo* 10, 5 (PL 37, 1527); *Ep.* 186, 37 f. (PL 33, 830 f.; CSEL 57, 76).

<sup>45</sup> *Contra duas ep. Pel.*, III, 2, 2 (PL 44, 578; CSEL 60, 486).

<sup>46</sup> *In Io. Ev. tr.* 26, 1 (PL 35, 1607): "Quid est hoc, justitia Dei, et justitia hominis? Justitia Dei hic dicitur non qua justus est Deus, sed quam dat homini Deus ut justus sit homo per Deum."

"It is the grace of God through our Lord Jesus Christ."<sup>47</sup> By making justification consist in a created gift Augustine avoids the dangers of a pantheistic union between God and man; by making it a gift that is infused in the soul and permeating it he takes justification out of the category of being an external imputation. The impious is rendered just by an infused justice,<sup>48</sup> for justice passes into the sinner, as sin has passed from Adam into him.<sup>49</sup>

Hardly anyone will today invoke the authority of St. Augustine in defense of Luther's doctrine of justification, consisting in the external imputation of the justice of Christ. Some Protestant writers maintain that Augustine has deviated from the genuine sense of St. Paul,<sup>50</sup> whereas others have forsaken the interpretation given by Luther of the Epistle to the Romans.<sup>51</sup> Such learned authors as Ihmels,<sup>52</sup> Sanday-Headlam,<sup>53</sup> Harnack,<sup>54</sup> Seeberg,<sup>55</sup> Jauncey,<sup>56</sup> Hamel agree that justification in Augustine's works must consist in some positive element, viz., the grace of God or of Christ, which as a spiritual entity is infused into the soul and pervades it.

In the Council of Trent Cardinal Seripando, Superior General of the Augustinian Order, defended the theory of a twofold justice: <sup>57</sup> the one, an inhering justice, which was imperfect and

<sup>47</sup> *Sermo* 131, 9 (PL 38, 733).

<sup>48</sup> *Enar.* 2 in Ps. 30, *sermo* 2, 2 (PL 36, 240).

<sup>49</sup> *Op. imp. contra Jul.*, II, 203; III, 49 (PL 45, 1228, 1270); *Ench.*, 52 (PL 40, 256).

<sup>50</sup> Cf. Ihmels, "Rechtfertigung" in *Realencyclopädie für Prot. Theol.*, XVI, 496-99; Sanday-Headlam, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans* (5th ed.; Edinburgh: 1902), 150.

<sup>51</sup> Cf. Lange, *De Gratia* (Friburgi: 1929), pp. 315 f.

<sup>52</sup> *Loc. cit.*, p. 497.

<sup>53</sup> *Loc. cit.*: "... there can be no doubt that it leads directly to the doctrine of infused grace . . . practically the whole theory is that of an infusion of the grace of faith by which men are made just."

<sup>54</sup> *Dogmengeschichte*, III, 83-84.

<sup>55</sup> *Lehrbuch der Dogmengeschichte* (2 Aufl.; Leipzig: 1910), II, 384.

<sup>56</sup> *The Doctrine of Grace up to the End of the Pelagian Controversy* (London: 1925), pp. 287 f.: "Taking his stand upon Rom. 1:17, he (Augustine) says that the righteousness is that which has its source with God, but is imparted to man. . . . Faith is, then, to St. Augustine, the first gift of grace, and it is imparted to man, not merely imputed, and so is efficient to produce as its fruit good works, which are really righteous, and so acceptable to God."

<sup>57</sup> Cf. S. Ephses, "Der Anteil des Augustinergenerals Seripando an dem

not sufficient to satisfy the justice of God in order to merit and attain life eternal; the other, the imputed justice of Christ which had to be added in order to implement the insufficient inherent justice. Seripando leaned on St. Augustine but the theory cannot be obtained from his writings. For the Doctor teaches an imperfect inherent justice in this life, not because all sins are not deleted in baptism but because concupiscence remains in man and in consequence man is bound to commit sins "from human weakness," though they be small and not many.<sup>58</sup> And thus every person is a sinner but in the sense that he commits venial sins which do not divert him from God or separate him from Christ, do not rob him of justice and charity, and do not deprive him of life eternal. The imputation of the justice of Christ is superfluous. The texts adduced in its favor can and must be interpreted in some other manner.<sup>59</sup> Hence the definition of the Council of Trent which was unsympathetic with the interpretation of Card. Seripando:

The sole formal cause (of justification) is the justice of God, not that by which He is just, but that by which He makes us just, that, namely, with which we being endowed are renewed in the spirit of our mind, and are not only reputed, but are truly called, and are, just.<sup>60</sup>

Grace alone does not account for justification. It serves as a substratum for other elements which together with it form the interior life of the justified man. Infused together with grace into the soul of man in the state of justice are faith, hope, and charity which are like grace itself, the unmerited gifts of God. These are

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Trienter Dekret über die Rechtfertigung," *Römische Quartalschrift*, XXIII (1909), 3-15; H. Rückert, *Die Rechtfertigungslehre auf dem tridentinischen Konzil* (Bonn: 1925), pp. 217-56.

<sup>58</sup> *De sanct. virgin.*, 50, 50 (PL 40, 426; CSEL 41, 296): ". . . quoniam etiam satagentibus vigilantibusque ne peccent, subrepunt quodam modo ex humana fragilitate peccata, quamvis parva, quamvis pauca, non tamen nulla." Also: *De nat. et grat.*, 38, 45 (PL 44, 269; CSEL 60, 266-67); *De perf. just.*, 8, 18 (PL 44, 300; CSEL 42, 16); *In Io. Ev. tr.* 124, 5 (PL 35, 1973); *Contra duas ep. Pel.*, III, 5, 15 (PL 44, 599; CSEL 60, 503).

<sup>59</sup> J. Henninger, *S. Augustinus et doctrina de duplici iustitia* (Mödling: 1935), pp. 37 ff.

<sup>60</sup> *Concilium Tridentinum Diariorum, actorum, etc.* (Friburgi: 1901 ss.), V, 793.



the virtues by which men live "rightly and wisely," for they bring order and harmony into the soul, orientating it toward God, making it beautiful in His sight; indeed, they make our deeds have merit in attaining God as our last end.<sup>61</sup>

Man cannot attain justice without faith, for faith is the beginning of justification. Whatever else may be necessary for justification it must be founded on faith.<sup>62</sup> Explaining the Psalms, the Bishop of Hippo tells his Christian hearers that he will not ask them whether they are just, for they will not dare to answer that they are, but that he can ask them about their faith and that no one will answer that he has no faith. "Your faith," says Augustine, "is your justice," that is, if it is the kind of faith it should be—a living faith.<sup>63</sup>

The "justice of faith," a prerequisite to salvation, is to believe what we do not see in order that through the merit of faith we may attain the vision of that which is believed.<sup>64</sup> But man's justice is also hidden, as is the object of happiness that he is to obtain through it. The belief in what we do not see spurs us to action through which we merit the object of our faith. When we already see what we believe in, then our justice shall become manifest.<sup>65</sup>

Faith, therefore, is the first and an indispensable factor in man's justification. But it is not the only one. Augustine expresses his mind this way: "If we have nothing of justice, we have not faith: if we have not faith, we are not Christians. If we have faith we have something of justice."<sup>66</sup> The other two virtues which, together with faith, form the inner life of man, namely hope and

<sup>61</sup> *Ep.* 120, 3, 20 (PL 33, 462; CSEL 34, ed. A. Goldbacher, II, 721): "Quid est autem aliud justitia, cum in nobis est, vel quaelibet virtus qua recte sapienterque vivitur, quam interioris hominis pulchritudo?"

<sup>62</sup> *Enar. in Ps.* 110, 3 (PL 37, 1464): "Justitiam enim homo non operatur nisi justificatus, . . . a fide incipit."

<sup>63</sup> *Enar. in Ps.* 32, *sermo* 1, 4 (PL 36, 279).

<sup>64</sup> *Enar. in Ps.* 109, 8 (PL 37, 1451).

<sup>65</sup> *Enar. in Ps.* 36, *sermo* 1, 6 (PL 36, 359): "Modo enim abscondita est justitia tua: in fide res est, nondum in specie. Aliquid credis ut facias, nondum vides quod credis. Cum autem coeperis videre quod credidisti, educetur in lumine justitia tua."

<sup>66</sup> *Sermo* 158, 4, 4 (PL 38, 864).

charity, are equally necessary for justification. Hope, like faith, firmly clings in mind and heart to the God who is as yet in reality not possessed. The necessity of charity for justification is strongly inculcated by Augustine when the faith he demands is not any faith but that which expresses itself in charity. "There is no other justice of man in this life, but to live by faith 'that worketh by charity' (Gal. 5:6)." <sup>67</sup>

Julian, a staunch defender of Pelagianism, contended, in his controversies with St. Augustine, that justification consisted in the mere remission of sins.<sup>68</sup> Augustine retorts that remission of sins alone does not suffice to explain the nature of justification but that also something positive is infused that affects the substance of the soul. This positive entity is charity accompanied by the Holy Ghost. By the power of the inhabiting Holy Ghost and by means of the charity He diffuses in the heart, man is able to avoid evil and to do good.<sup>69</sup> <sup>71</sup>

Much of what Augustine ascribes to charity is said of justification and inversely. Charity as well as justification is always underscored as God-given.<sup>70</sup> They are portrayed as coexisting in the same soul: one cannot have charity without justification, just as one cannot have justification without charity. Moreover, the measure of the possession of the one corresponds to the measure of the possession of the other. "Inchoate charity is inchoate justice; advanced charity is advanced justice, great charity is great justice, perfect charity is perfect justice."<sup>71</sup> Just as one cannot live rightly without charity, for one is not united to the

<sup>67</sup> *Enar. in Ps.* 93, 29 (PL 37, 1215): "Non est enim alia justitia hominis in hac vita, nisi ex fide vivere, quae per dilectionem operatur." Cf. *De Trin.*, XIII, 26 (PL 42, 1036).

<sup>68</sup> *Op. imp. contra Jul.*, II, 155 (PL 45, 1212).

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*: "Non per solam peccatorum dimissionem justificatio ista confertur, nisi auctoribus vobis. Justificat quippe impium Deus, non solum dimittendo quae mala facit, sed etiam donando charitatem, ut declinet a malo, et faciat bonum per Spiritum sanctum, cujus subministrationem jugem posebat Apostolus. . . ."

<sup>70</sup> *De spir. et lit.*, 32, 56 (PL 44, 237; CSEL 60, ed. C. Urba and J. Zycha, 215): "Haec est justitia Dei, quam non solum docet per legis praeceptum, verum etiam dat per Spiritus donum."

<sup>71</sup> *De nat. et grat.*, 70, 84 (PL 44, 290; CSEL 60, ed. C. Urba and J. Zycha, 298).

highest Good, so too without justice the soul is not properly oriented and well-ordered toward God and cannot on that account attain the Supreme Being.<sup>72</sup>

The cardinal virtues are not left on the natural level as viewed by the philosophers, but are raised to a supernatural level and are made a part of the life of justice. "Far be it," says St. Augustine, "that true virtue be found in any one that is not just."<sup>73</sup> One cannot be truly just in whom there is not the humility of a just man; nor can one be really just in whom there is not true wisdom. Moreover, one cannot be just unless he lives by faith,<sup>74</sup> which works by charity.<sup>75</sup> Christian justice, therefore, is no longer merely a virtue raised to the supernatural order, it is a theological entity—a spiritual reality abiding permanently in the soul of him who is said to be just. It consists not only in grace with the accompanying theological virtues of faith, hope, and charity, but also in an assembly of so-called moral virtues, among which the four cardinal virtues are to be numbered.

Augustine accepted the Stoic definition of virtue which is the agreement of human action with the law of nature. It is the conformity of man's conduct with his reason, or the conformity of human will to the divine will. The Stoic maxim was: "Live according to nature."<sup>76</sup> Augustine expresses the ethics of the Stoics in the words of Cicero:<sup>77</sup> "*Virtus est animi habitus, naturae modo atque rationi consentaneus.*"<sup>78</sup> But the Bishop of Hippo observes that they did not and could not know what was in conformity with that nature which was to be cleansed from sin by divine ordination and made happy by a vision of God in all eternity. Because these philosophers were unacquainted with Christ, His

<sup>72</sup> *Ep.* 194, 11 (PL 33, 878; CSEL 57, ed. A. Goldbacher, IV, 185): "Charitas Dei, sine qua nemo bene vivit, diffunditur in cordibus nostris. . . ."

<sup>73</sup> *Contra Jul. Pel.*, IV, 3, 17 (PL 44, 745): "Sed absit ut sit in aliquo vera virtus, nisi fuerit justus."

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>75</sup> *De Trin.*, XIII, 26 (PL 42, 1036).

<sup>76</sup> Cf. F. Copleston, *A History of Philosophy* (Westminster, Md.: 1948), I, 394-95.

<sup>77</sup> *De inventione*, II, 53 (ed. H. M. Hubbell [London-Cambridge, Mass.: 1949], p. 326).

<sup>78</sup> *Contra Jul. Pelag.*, IV, 3, 19 (PL 44, 747); cf. *De div. quaest.* LXXXIII, 31, 1 (PL 40, 20).

revelation, and redemptive work, they could not evaluate virtue in the light of the truths which the revelation of Christ embodies.<sup>79</sup>

Augustine also accepted the philosophers' division of virtue into four species, namely prudence, justice, temperance, fortitude<sup>80</sup> although he maintained that they are also contained in the Scriptures.<sup>81</sup> The Bishop attaches a different evaluation to them without changing their objects. He raises them by faith, he joins them to charity, and makes them a part of theological justice. In estimating their value, it does not suffice to take into consideration the act of the virtue, but also the motives which prompt and accompany the act.<sup>82</sup>

The four virtues aid us in conducting our lives. By prudence we discern between good and evil; it thus perfects the intellect. By justice we honor the rights of others; it thus balances the will. By temperance we restrain evil desires and inclinations; it thus moderates the concupiscible appetite. By fortitude we endure adversity and hardships with equanimity and patience; it thus controls the irascible appetite.<sup>83</sup> In the Christian economy these virtues, "by which we live spiritually in this life,"<sup>84</sup> are to help us in attaining the vision of God. The purpose of a Christian virtue is "to live rightly and wisely," and this can be realized only in him who has faith.<sup>85</sup> "If therefore virtues do not aid man in attaining true happiness which faith in Christ promises us to be eternal, in no manner can they be true virtues."<sup>86</sup>

Already Plotinus in his religious philosophy considered these four virtues as means of cleansing the soul, of freeing it from the

<sup>79</sup> *Contra Jul. Pelag.*, IV, 3, 19 (PL 44, 747).

<sup>80</sup> *De civit. Dei*, IV, 20 (PL 41, 127; ed. Dombart-Kalb, I, 169).

<sup>81</sup> *Enar. in Ps.* 83, 11 (PL 37, 1065 f.): "Nam et virtutes agendaе vitae nostrae quatuor describuntur a multis, et in Scriptura inveniuntur."

<sup>82</sup> *Contra Jul. Pelag.*, IV, 3, 19 (PL 44, 747).

<sup>83</sup> *Enar. in Ps.* 83, 11 (PL 37, 1065 f.); cf. B. Świtalski, *Neoplatonism and the Ethics of St. Augustine* (New York: 1946), pp. 52, 53.

<sup>84</sup> *De div. quaest. LXXXIII*, 61, 4 (PL 40, 51).

<sup>85</sup> *De Trin.*, XIII, 26 (PL 42, 1036): "Nunc librum istum ita claudimus, ut admoneamus quod justus ex fide vivit (Rom. 1:17): quae fides per dilectionem operatur (Gal. 5:6), ita ut virtutes quoque ipsae quibus prudenter, fortiter, temperanter, justeque vivitur, omnes ad eandem referantur fidem: non enim aliter poterunt verae esse virtutes."

<sup>86</sup> *Contra Jul. Pel.*, IV, 3, 19 (PL 44, 747).



material world, and of assimilating it to God.<sup>87</sup> Augustine likewise views these virtues as contributory factors towards cleansing the soul.<sup>88</sup> Without purification the soul cannot attain God. This function of the cardinal virtues has something in common with the negative aspect of justification which frees man from sin. But they also contribute toward the perfection of man and aid in the observance of the commandments of God.<sup>89</sup> Since such spiritual advancement cannot take place without the aid of grace this viewpoint of the cardinal virtues approaches to the positive aspect of justification. In the way that justification is directed toward the attainment of God in the beatific vision so also the cardinal virtues lead toward a possession of God. For this reason the cardinal virtues are called active virtues, whereas the possession of God is a contemplative virtue.<sup>90</sup>

It is evident from what has been said that the word "justice" (*justitia*) is used by St. Augustine in a twofold sense. First it occurs in the scriptural and theological sense, which is the predominant usage. This meaning constitutes a complex concept for it embraces the remission of sin, the infusion of grace, the concomitance of the theological virtues (faith, hope, and charity), and an elevation of the four cardinal virtues (prudence, justice, temperance, fortitude) to the level of Christian virtues calculated to aid man in the attainment of God in the beatific vision. Secondly, "justice" occurs in the sense of a cardinal virtue which inclines the will to respect the rights of others. Who can have a greater right than the Creator and ruler to the piety, devotion, worship, and gratitude of man?

It is not always easy to determine the precise meaning of justice in particular passages of Augustine's writings. Sometimes he almost inadvertently and in the same sentence switches from one meaning of justice to another,—from the moral to the theological,—or vice versa. Thus speaking of the cardinal virtues, he considers

<sup>87</sup> Switalski, *op. cit.*, pp. 12, 13.

<sup>88</sup> *De cons. Evang.*, I, 5, 8 (PL 34, 1045); *De musica*, 6, 16, 52 (PL 32, 1190): "Hoc esse arbitror quod agitur in his virtutibus quae ipsa conversione animam purgant."

<sup>89</sup> *De cons. Evang.*, I, 5, 8 (PL 34, 1045-46; CSEL 43, ed. F. Weirich, 8): "Est in praeceptis exercendae vitae hujus temporalis."

<sup>90</sup> *Enar. in Ps.* 83, 11 (PL 37, 1066); *De cons. Evang.*, I, 5, 8 (PL 34, 1045).

faith as belonging to the virtue of justice, and then shifts in the same sentence to the theological justice wherein the just man lives by faith.<sup>91</sup> This is but a single manifestation of a common tendency that underlies the whole domain of Augustine's thought, viz., to view the natural as a stepping stone to the supernatural, to use philosophy in an ancillary role for theology, to consider the end of the state as subordinate to the end of the Church.

A relation also exists between justice as a cardinal virtue and charity. The virtue of justice, respecting the rights of others, leads one to love God and neighbor.<sup>92</sup> Because God is the Supreme Good justice postulates that He be loved above all other goods which are to be loved only in relation to Him. "This is perfect justice by which higher things are loved more and lesser things less."<sup>93</sup> Justice and charity cannot violate the rights of others; they do not inflict injury. Hence the dictum of St. Augustine: "Love, and do what you will."<sup>94</sup> By this is meant that charity is a kind of synthesis of the cardinal and theological virtues, but as Cayré adds, the synthesis is attainable only through the gifts of the Holy Ghost.<sup>95</sup> The fourth century has thus already solved for us the apparent opposition between justice and charity which has come to pervade the whole moral and social life of the nineteenth century.<sup>96</sup>

How is the state of justice—justice in the theological sense—attained by man? Is it simply bestowed upon man without any preparation or is it preceded by human effort? Indeed the justification of the infidel or of the wicked Christian does not take

<sup>91</sup> *De civ. Dei*, IV, 20 (PL 41, 127; ed. Dombart-Kalb, I, 169): "In partibus iustitiae fides est; maximumque locum apud nos habet, quicumque scimus quid sit, quod justus ex fide."

<sup>92</sup> *De div. quaest.* LXXXIII, 61, 4 (PL 40, 51): "Justitia . . . quae per caeteras omnes diffunditur, dilectio Dei et proximi." Cf. J. Mausbach, *Die Ethik des hl. Augustinus* (2 Aufl.; Freiburg im Br.: 1929), I, 209-12; G. Combès, *La charité d'après saint Augustin* (Paris: 1934), pp. 34, 35; 221, 222.

<sup>93</sup> *De vera relig.*, 93 (PL 34, 164): "Haec est enim perfecta iustitia qua potius potiora et minus minora diligimus."

<sup>94</sup> *In Io. Ev. tr.* 7, 8 (PL 35, 2033): "Dilige, et quod vis fac."

<sup>95</sup> F. Cayré, "Le grand augustinisme," *L'année théologique*, XII (1951), 313.

<sup>96</sup> Cf. A. Stevaux, "Justice et charité," *Rev. diocésaine de Tournai*, VII (1952), 211-29; J. Lacroix, "Justice et charité," *Lumière et Vie*, VIII (1955), 79-93: "Justice has value only through the presence within itself of charity."

place without some preparation on the part of man who is a free agent. God's gift is not thrust upon man. It is preceded by such acts as confession, sorrow, humiliation, love. But these acts do not merit justification unless they are preceded by the grace of God which raises them to a supernatural level.<sup>97</sup> Hence justification, just as grace, is a gratuitous gift of God. However, once man is in the state of justice he is in a condition in which he is able to merit.<sup>98</sup>

A further question which obtrudes itself upon one studying St. Augustine's concept of justice is its relation to grace. We do not speak of that grace which God bestows in the form of a transitory aid and must precede all justification, and even every meritorious act after justification has been acquired. But we refer to that grace which permeates the soul as an abiding ontological reality lending it a new and supernatural life. The Bishop well distinguishes between the grace of God by which we are created into the life of the natural order and the grace of God by which we are raised to the life of the supernatural order.<sup>99</sup> By virtue of the former, we simply are, otherwise we should not be at all; by virtue of the latter, we become adopted children of God, participate in the future life, and adhere to God.<sup>100</sup> According to the order preordained by God for all we cannot subsist by our natural life alone. God wants to number us all among His children adopted by grace and destined for His paternal abode. We must either possess the life of God in us or be without it, and on that account culpable in the eyes of God.

Possessing God's life we are in the state of justice—we are justified, we are called just. That life consists of grace. By virtue of grace we are said to be predestined, called, justified, and glorified.<sup>101</sup> Through it we become partakers of the divine nature, adopted children of God, heirs of His future kingdom. This grace

<sup>97</sup> *Enar. in Ps.* 110, 3 (PL 37, 1464).

<sup>98</sup> *Ep.* 188, 3, 13 (PL 33, 853; CSEL 57, 129); *De praed. sanct.*, 10, 20 (PL 44, 975).

<sup>99</sup> *Ep.* 177, 7 (PL 33, 737; CSEL 44, 676): "Etsi enim quadam non improbanda ratione dicitur gratia Dei, qua creati sumus, ut non nihil essemus . . . alia est tamen, qua praedestinati vocamur, justificamur, gloriamur."

<sup>100</sup> *De pecc. mer. et remis.*, II, 24, 38 (PL 44, 174).

<sup>101</sup> *Ep.* 177, 7 (PL 33, 737; CSEL 44, 676).

renders us just not by the justice by which God is just, but by an imparted and created justice.<sup>102</sup> Justice, therefore, consists in a mysterious communication and operation of grace in the soul of man.<sup>103</sup>

It follows from these expositions on supernatural life that whoever is just, cannot be without sanctifying grace, and where grace adorns the soul, there justice is said to reign. Does it further follow from this statement that justice in the soul of man and sanctifying grace are one and the same thing? Many investigators of St. Augustine's concept of supernatural life—e.g., J. Gottschick,<sup>104</sup> F. Cayré,<sup>105</sup> Dumont<sup>106</sup>—see justice and sanctifying grace as expressing the one and the same entity. In a sense this is true: basically, justice and sanctifying grace mean the same supernatural life. Where there is no grace in the soul there cannot be justice; and if one is said to be unjust (whether in the Church or outside it) he is wanting in sanctifying grace. In another sense, sanctifying justice and sanctifying grace differ in comprehension.

Justification in the passive sense, or justice in the theological sense is basically the life of sanctifying grace, but directly it means more than sanctifying grace. For justice means, in its negative aspect, the remission of sin, and in its positive aspect the possession of grace. Grace cannot exist where there is sin, and sin (original or personal mortal) cannot exist where there is grace. Furthermore justice denotes the concomitance of the three theological virtues, faith, hope, and charity. How frequently does St. Augustine inculcate the truth that the just man lives by faith, and that faith works by charity. Finally justice involves the

<sup>102</sup> *Ep.* 140, 72 (PL 33, 570; CSEL 44, ed. A. Goldbacher, III, 219-20): "Non est illa (justitia) intelligenda qua Deus justus est, sed qua justus sunt homines quos gratia sua justificat."

<sup>103</sup> *De pec. mer. et remis.*, I, 10, 11 (PL 45, 115; CSEL 60, ed. C. Urba and J. Zycha, 12): "Nempe legimus justificari in Christo qui credunt in eum, propter occultam communicationem et inspirationem gratiae spiritualis. . . ."

<sup>104</sup> "Augustins Anschauung von der Erlöserwirkungen Christi," *Zeitschr. für Theologie und Kirche*, XI (1901), 104.

<sup>105</sup> *La contemplation Augustinienne: Principes de la spiritualité de saint Augustin* (Paris: 1939), p. 129.

<sup>106</sup> "Le surnaturel dans la théologie de Saint Augustin," *Rech. de sciences relig.*, XI (1931), 534-36.



cardinal virtues (prudence, justice, fortitude, temperance) which are elevated to a Christian level. In fact, Augustine maintains that man cannot possess any virtue in a true way unless he be just.<sup>107</sup> Justice is surrounded by other virtues as her entourage.<sup>108</sup> Thus the whole man is well-ordered, poised, directed, and activated toward God.

Considering the transformation that is caused in the soul of a just man we can understand Augustine's praises and admiration for this great work of God. It brings about a transformation from death to life, from darkness to light, from the slavery of Satan to the childhood of God. What is more wonderful, asks Augustine, than to justify the impious? "This is the magnificence of God, namely, the justification of the sinner. . . . This is the magnificence of God; because where sin abounded, grace superabounded."<sup>109</sup> Justification is the transformation from the hideousness of sin to the beauty of the life of grace.<sup>110</sup>

The spiritual vision of the Bishop of Hippo detects the beauty of a just soul and enjoys the contemplation of it. "What else is justice when it is in us, or any virtue by which we live rightly and wisely, than the beauty of the interior man."<sup>111</sup> Of course it is a spiritual beauty which the physical eye will not see and which cannot be appreciated by those whose judgment relies solely upon the use of the senses.<sup>112</sup> It requires faith to discern it, for it is a radiant reflection of God's life and beauty. More than that, it is the very image of God according to which man is reborn and reformed.<sup>113</sup> The Doctor of grace ever contemplates in the just man that temporal union with God which is a foreshadowing of that perfect union awaiting man after this earthly life.

<sup>107</sup> *Contra Jul. Pel.*, IV, 3, 17 (PL 44, 745): "Sed absit ut sit in aliquo vera virtus, nisi fuerit justus."

<sup>108</sup> *Ibid.* (PL 44, 746): "Porro si veram justitiam non habent impii; profecto nec alias virtutes comites ejus et socias, si quas habent, veras habent."

<sup>109</sup> *Enar. in Ps.* 110, 3 (PL 47, 1464).

<sup>110</sup> *De Trin.*, XV, 14 (PL 42, 1068): "Ab impietate justificatur, a deformi forma formosam transfertur in formam."

<sup>111</sup> *Ep.* 120, 3, 20 (PL 33, 462; CSEL 34, 721).

<sup>112</sup> *De Trin.*, VIII, 6, 9 (PL 42, 954): "Est enim quaedam pulchritudo animi justitia, qua pulchri sunt homines, plerique etiam qui corpore distorti atque deformes sunt. Sicut autem animus non videtur oculis, ita nec pulchritudo ejus."

<sup>113</sup> *In Io. Ev. tr.* 72, 3 (PL 35, 1823): "In illis tantum opera Dei, in his etiam est imago Dei." *Ep.* 120, 3, 20 (PL 33, 462).

His admiration of the beauty and sublimity of justice is evident also from the fact that he raises the question whether it is a greater thing to create than to re-create in justice the soul steeped in the death of sin. Augustine fully realizes that the act of creating is proper to God alone since it postulates an omnipotent power; but so does justification. Although he is unwilling to give a forthright answer to the question, the least that can be said is that justification manifests two great attributes of God, whereas creation only one. "I do not dare to hasten an opinion here: let him understand who can, let him gauge who can, whether it is greater to create the just or to justify the impious. Certainly if the power of both is equal, the latter (to justify) is of greater mercy."<sup>114</sup> This problem was inherited from St. Augustine by the Scholastics.<sup>115</sup>

### The Just United With Christ

Justice cannot be conceived without Christ. He, as the Son of God, is the Wisdom and the Justice of God, who has become for all men "wisdom and justice, and sanctification and redemption."<sup>116</sup> If we are said to be just by a participation in the justice of God, it is equally true that we are just by a participation in the justice of Christ.<sup>117</sup> Christ as God is the principal cause of our justice, as God-man He is the meritorious cause of it. If justice means the removal of disorder which consists in the remission of sin—the purification of the soul—then this task cannot be accomplished except through the redemptive work of Christ who cleanses by His sacrificial blood those who believe in Him.<sup>118</sup> Whether it is the original sin of Adam which inheres in all men, or whether they are the personal sins which each man adds to the original sin, He has abundantly atoned for them all. He is the Redeemer of all—the source of justification for every one.<sup>119</sup>

If justice means life—the infusion of grace—"then Christ transmits justice into children, as Adam does sin; Christ life, as Adam

<sup>114</sup> *In Io. Ev. tr.* 72, 3 (PL 35, 1823).

<sup>115</sup> St. Thomas, *Summa theol.*, Ia IIae, q. 113, a. 9; IIIa, q. 43, a. 4, ad 2; IV *Sent.*, dist. 17, q. 1, a. 5, qu. 1, ad 1; dist. 46, qu. 2, a. 1; qu. 3, ad 2.

<sup>116</sup> I Cor. 1:30.

<sup>117</sup> *Ep.* 120, 3, 19 (PL 33, 461; CSEL 34, 721).

<sup>118</sup> *In Io. Ev. tr.* 68, 3 (PL 35, 1815).

<sup>119</sup> *Sermo* 143, 1, 1 (PL 38, 784).

death.”<sup>120</sup> He has restored the image of God in the souls of men, makes them sons of God, and heirs of His Father’s kingdom.<sup>121</sup> These effects are produced by the grace that Christ merited and imparts to each soul which is willing to draw on the life of salvation from Him.

If justice means faith—the justice of faith, as Augustine calls it—then it is Christ who lives in our hearts by faith; by it our thoughts are nourished, our actions guided.<sup>122</sup> Christ departed from us according to His human nature (for He is always with us according to His divinity) and thereby gives us an opportunity to believe in Him spiritually; for if He were present with us bodily we could not exercise the justifying faith in Him as we do.<sup>123</sup> If justice means hope, it is to Christ whom we do not see that we cling steadfastly in our earthly sojourn until we attain Him in reality. If justice means charity, then it is the bond that unites us to Christ in devout humility.<sup>124</sup>

If justice means the life of virtue, there cannot be any true virtue without Christ. “Christ died in vain if men can arrive, by whatsoever way, without the faith of Christ to the true faith, to true virtue, to true justice, to true wisdom.”<sup>125</sup> In general, virtue means moral action and embraces human activity directed toward the attainment of happiness.<sup>126</sup> Prudence, justice, fortitude, and temperance are of no avail for the reward after life unless they are united with faith in Christ, who has merited for us and promised us eternal bliss.<sup>127</sup> In these virtues He gives us the power and the means to attain the reward of life everlasting.

It is evident that many factors which enter into the constitu-

<sup>120</sup> *Op. imp. contra Jul.*, II, 203 (PL 45, 1228).

<sup>121</sup> *Enar. in Ps. 32, sermo 1*, 4 (PL 36, 279).

<sup>122</sup> *In Io. Ev. tr.* 45, 15 (PL 35, 1727).

<sup>123</sup> *Sermo* 143, 4, 4 (PL 38, 786): “Semper quidem divinitate nobiscum est: sed nisi corporaliter abiret a nobis, semper ejus corpus carnaliter videremus, et nunquam spiritualiter crederemus; qua fide justificati et beatificati, idipsum Verbum Deum apud Deum, per quod facta sunt omnia, corde mundato contemplari mereamur.”

<sup>124</sup> *Enar. in Ps. 142, 10* (PL 37, 1851): “Unusquisque illius gratia justificatus, inhaerens illi in charitate et devota humilitate.”

<sup>125</sup> *Contra Jul. Pel.*, IV, 3, 17 (PL 44, 746).

<sup>126</sup> *De civit. Dei*, IV, 21 (PL 41, 128; ed. Dombart-Kalb, I, 170): “Omnia agenda complectitur virtus; omnia optanda, felicitas.”

<sup>127</sup> *Contra Jul. Pel.*, IV, 3, 19 (PL 44, 747).

tion of the state by virtue of which a soul is said to be just, are the same that constitute the internal life of the soul. To be born, to put off the old man of sin and to put on the new life of Christ is to be justified, and that not by one's own merits or power but by the works and grace of Christ.<sup>128</sup> The justified possess Christ's life and are one with Him. No one can become just unless he at the same time becomes a member of Christ and Christ becomes his head. It is in this manner that a communion of life is expressed not only between Christ and the individual but between Christ and the society of all who are saved.<sup>129</sup> There cannot be a "kingdom of God" unless it is at the same time "the society of Christ," the mystical body of Christ.<sup>130</sup>

The intrinsic character of the union between Christ and the soul in justification was one of the points staunchly defended by St. Augustine in his controversies with the Pelagians. Justification does not rest in the imitation of Christ's example, as they had contended. Following the example of Christ does not justify one any more than the imitation of the example of his saints would, for example of St. Peter and Paul who enjoyed great authority among the Christians. Justification by the faith of Christ "means a hidden communication and inspiration of spiritual grace, by which each one adheres to the Lord and is one spirit." This of course does not preclude but rather necessitates an imitation of Christ by those who are intrinsically just and holy.<sup>131</sup>

Man is united to Christ by the preliminary bond, the justice of faith, and by the perfective bond, the justice of charity. In the assembly of elements constituting justification charity is that factor which properly unites the possessor of it to God and to the

<sup>128</sup> *In Io. Ev. tr.* 3, 12 (PL 35, 1401): "Qui (pertinent) ad Christum? Omnes qui nati sunt per Christum . . . omnes qui per Christum justificati et iusti, non in se sed in illo . . . Christi sunt. Quare? Quia ille caput Dominus noster Jesus Christus. . . ."

<sup>129</sup> *De dono pers.*, 24, 27 (PL 45, 1034): "Ipse (Christus) ex injustis justos, sine ullo merito praecedentis voluntatis ipsorum, ut ille caput, hi membra sint ejus. . . . Et illum ergo et nos praedestinavit; quia et in illo ut esset caput nostrum et in nobis ut ejus corpus essemus, non praecessura merita nostra, sed opera sua futura praescivit."

<sup>130</sup> *De pecc. mer. et remis.*, I, 12, 15 (PL 44, 117; CSEL 60, 15).

<sup>131</sup> *De pecc. mer. et remis.*, I, 10, 11 (PL 44, 115; CSEL 60, ed. C. Urba and J. Zycha, 12).



mystical body of Christ. "Each one justified by His grace, adheres to Him in charity and devout humility."<sup>132</sup>

In the parable of the good shepherd St. Augustine makes a commentary on these words of Christ: "I am the door. By me, if any man enter in, he shall be saved: and he shall go in, and go out, and shall find pastures."<sup>133</sup> He asks what does Christ mean by the words, "to go in," and "to go out," and "to find pastures." He interprets them so as to make them fit into his doctrine on the Church.<sup>134</sup>

"To go in" is to become a member of the Church. They cannot enter the Church, however, unless they enter through Christ who is the door. Becoming members of Christ, they receive the life of grace, for Christ has come in order that they might have life. They become participants of the life of Christ and enter into the temporal life of the Church through faith which works by charity. The life of Christ's members is thus a life of justice.

In order to attain life everlasting they must go out by the door; i.e., they must adhere to Christ and to His Church persevering to the end. They must live and die in the faith and justice which they received, nay, they must make their exit out of this life with merits. For they must have a more abundant life than that which they received when they were united in membership with Christ's body. In the Church of heaven they shall find true pastures where those who sought justice in this life shall be satiated.

### Justice and Sinners

God is all just. He is absolute justice. Just as He is subsisting life, so He is also subsisting justice, and just as the life of man is the participation of the life of God, so also the justice of the soul of man is a participation of the divine justice. Man must not, therefore, consider his own justice to be the same as God's, for the divine subsisting justice is incomparably more excellent than the human participated justice. That is the meaning of the scriptural sentence that man is not just by the justice which is God

<sup>132</sup> *Enar. in Ps. 142*, 10 (PL 37, 1851).

<sup>133</sup> John 10:9.

<sup>134</sup> *In Io. Ev. tr. 145*, 15 (PL 35, 1727).

Himself, but is just by the justice which God imparts to the soul of man.<sup>135</sup>

As the body united to the soul lives by the life of the soul, so the soul lives by the justice of God. Justice is most aptly presented by the concept of life. Just as the body may lose its life by being separated from its life-giving principle, so also the soul may lose its life of justice by separation from God, the only source of all justice. Do not the Scriptures speak of lifeless souls when they refer to the souls of the unjust, impious, and infidels?

St. Augustine distinguishes a twofold life in men's souls. First he distinguishes the natural life of the soul; by this life live the bodies of the just as well as the impious. This life may cease to be imparted to the body, and therein lies the death of the latter, but it will never cease in the soul, for it is immortal. Secondly, he considers the supernatural life as the life of justice in the soul; this life can be lost although the source of it, God, is immortal justice. "Justice is a greater and truer life" than the natural life of the soul, for it is "the life of lives."<sup>136</sup>

From the fact that justification is a participation in the justice of God it follows that the justice of a soul admits of degrees. Since by justice we adhere to God, it will be greater or smaller according to the measure of our union with God or according to the degree of our participation in His justice. We become so much more like God, the more just we become by participating in Him.<sup>137</sup> There is an inchoate justice, an advanced, a great, and a perfect one.<sup>138</sup> In a sermon, the Bishop exhorts his people to make progress in spiritual life, and in so doing makes the growth of spiritual life consist in the growth of internal justice.

We are justified: but justice increases when we make progress. And I shall say how it increases, and shall weigh it with you that each

<sup>135</sup> *Ep.* 120, 19 (PL 33, 461; CSEL 34, II, 721): "Ea porro justitia quae vivit in seipsa, procul dubio Deus est, atque incommutabiliter vivit. Sicut autem haec cum sit in seipsa vita, etiam nobis fit vita, cum ejus efficitur utcumque participes."

<sup>136</sup> *Loc. cit.*, 18.

<sup>137</sup> *Loc. cit.*, 19: "Non ergo Deum nostrae justitiae similem cogitamus, sed cogitemus nos potius tanto similiores Deo, quanto esse poterimus ejus participatione justiores."

<sup>138</sup> *De nat. et grat.*, 70, 84 (PL 44, 290; CSEL 60, 215).

one of you already constituted in justice, having received the remission of sins by the waters of regeneration, having received the Holy Ghost, making progress from day to day, may see where he stands, may approach, make progress, increase, until he shall become consummate, not that he may be finished but perfected.<sup>139</sup>

If justice can be increased, then it can also be diminished and our union with God loosened; more than that, it can be completely lost, and our union with God dissolved. If justice is life consisting basically in the possession of grace, then the loss of justice is death consisting in the loss of sanctifying grace. If the life of grace is more excellent than the life of the body, then those who are strong in justice will prefer to lose any good to that of justice; it is only the weak that will not evaluate it to the point where they are willing to sacrifice it for temporal goods.<sup>140</sup>

These assertions regarding the union of the just with God are also applicable to the union with Christ and His mystical body. Where there is a union with God through justice, there is by that very same token a union with Christ, and the degree of union with God will be equivalent to the degree of union with Christ. In the body of Christ there will be strong members and weak ones; some that have attained a high degree of holiness and others who are deficient in it. There will be those who will retain the life of grace by observing the precepts and thus avoid mortal sin committed by violating them; there will be others who in addition to observing the commandments will practice virtue in a higher degree and perform supererogatory works; and still others, in addition to all this, will try to avoid daily deliberate transgressions.

The side of Jesus was opened on the Cross and thereby the floodgates of the stream of life were opened. The two great sacraments of the Church, namely baptism and the Eucharist, are typified by the water and blood flowing from the side of Jesus. Without them no one can participate in the life of Christ. The first woman proceeded from the side of the sleeping Adam, the protoparent, and she became the life and the mother of all the living. So also from the side of the dying Christ, the second

<sup>139</sup> *Sermo* 158, 5, 5 (PL 38, 864).

<sup>140</sup> *Enar. in Ps.* 43, 25 (PL 36, 492).

Adam, was formed His Spouse, the Church. "O death from which the dead are revived!" In the side of the arc of Noe an entrance was made for animals which were not to perish by the waters of the deluge. The piercing of the side of Jesus and His streaming blood completed the formation of His Church inaugurated in the Incarnation, and thus opened the possibility of life and salvation to all who take refuge in the arc of the New Testament.<sup>141</sup>

There is only one justice toward sanctification and salvation. The justice of God is the justice of Christ. There is only one society in which Christ's justice is to be found, and that is His Church. There is only one body which imparts the life of His justice and that is the body of Christ.<sup>142</sup> Whoever is visibly separated from the oneness of this body has not the bloodstream of justice which flows from Christ the head into each member attached to Him. "No one can be just as long as he shall be separated from the unity of this body. Just as a member that is severed from the body of a living man, cannot retain the spirit of life, so also a man that is severed from the body of the just Christ, can in no way retain the spirit of justice, even if he retains the member's form, which he took in the body."<sup>143</sup>

The sin of heresy separates one from the oneness of belief, and consequently from that one Church which is the pillar of truth and the source of justice. Schism is a sin against charity which unites those of the one faith of Christ into a single body. Because a schismatic is separated from the body of Christ he cannot have the life of justice emanating from Christ the head. Justice and charity stand and fall together.

Sinners constitute a special class of dissidents within the Church, the mystical body of Christ. They are unjust but are mixed with the just, and constitute the one Church with the just. In this they differ from the heretic and the schismatic since they remain attached to the unity of faith and to the unity of external charity. No doubt, within the Church to which they adhere the division between the just and the unjust exists even now. But since

<sup>141</sup> *In Io. Ev. tr.* 120, 2 (PL 35, 1953).

<sup>142</sup> *Ep.* 140, 73 (PL 33, 570; CSEL 44, ed. A. Goldbacher, III, 221): "Ut nos simus iustitia Dei in ipso" (II Cor. 5:20, 21): id est, in ejus corpore quod est Ecclesia, cui caput est, nos simus iustitia Dei."

<sup>143</sup> *Ep.* 185, 42 (PL 33, 811; CSEL 57, ed. A. Goldbacher, IV, 36).



it is a spiritual separation depending on whether man has the interior life or not, a life which is not discernible to the eye of the body, the division remains, for the most part, unknown to us.<sup>144</sup> The Church now suffers on account of the unjust within her and is oppressed as by some foreign element. She will be relieved of them at the end of time when the just will be separated from the unjust; only the just will then constitute the eternal body of Christ.<sup>145</sup>

So far as the possession of the life of grace is concerned the heretic and schismatic outside the Church, and the sinner inside it, belong to the same category: they are without the life of grace. The advantage of the unjust in the Church over the unjust outside the pale of the Church is that the sinner remains attached, not as a living but dead member, to Christ the head and only source of the grace of life. Because of this association with the source of life the chances of conversion for the unjust in the Church are greater than those of the separated heretics and schismatics. "Just as God does not want man to sin, so He wants to spare the sinner, in order that he may be converted and live."<sup>146</sup> This takes place within the mystical body: "The impious who are considered as dead . . . are converted into the body of the Church."<sup>147</sup>

The Bishop of Hippo sees a twofold death: the first death which consists in a separation of the soul from God by a death-bringing sin, or in a separation of the soul from the body, or in both, which is the condition of the impious departed expecting the final judgment of God; the second death (in interpretation of the Apocalypse 2:2) consists in the condemnation of the reunited soul and body to eternal punishment.<sup>148</sup>

<sup>144</sup> *Sermo* 15, 2, 2 (PL 38, 117): "Vasa enim ista, interiorum hominum sunt. Non utique cum visus fuerit justus, jam agnoscitur justus. Eundem aspectum habet et justus et injustus: uterque homo, sed non uterque domus Dei."

<sup>145</sup> *Enar. in Ps.* 90, 2 (PL 37, 1464): "Nullus enim jam inter eos iniquus . . . inter quales nunc necesse est Ecclesia gemat, er quales tunc oportet, cum omnes justi congregabuntur, excludat."

<sup>146</sup> *Enar. in Ps.* 110, 2 (PL 37, 1464).

<sup>147</sup> *Annot. in Job*, 39 (PL 34, 885; CSEL 28, ed. J. Zycha, 624-25).

<sup>148</sup> J. Plumpe, "Mors secunda," *Mélanges Joseph de Ghellinck* (Gembloux: 1951), I, 392 ff.

## CHAPTER 4

### THE SANCTITY OF CHRIST'S MEMBERS AND CHURCH

THE spiritual elements—grace, faith, hope, charity—of which we have spoken unite the soul with God but only through Christ in the mystical body by elevating it to a participation in the life of Christ and through Him of God. Because of the intrinsic principle of life which is infused into the soul of man in virtue of his union with Christ, man is properly oriented to God and to his whole future happiness; that is, he is able to lead a virtuous life on earth, to perform salutary deeds, to live in accordance with his adopted divine sonship, and thereby to inherit the eternal kingdom by attaining God in the beatific vision. A twofold source of sanctification is thus clearly distinguishable; namely, the sanctity which is bestowed on man in virtue of the divine gifts of grace, and the sanctity which is attained by man in virtue of the merits of man. These merits in turn are possible because they are founded upon the divine gifts and the divine promises.

#### SANCTITY OF MEMBERS

The sanctity of the members of the Church is founded upon the sanctity of Christ, hence the sanctity of Christ Himself must be considered before the sanctity of the members can be appreciated. Inasmuch as Christ is God, and considered under this aspect, His holiness is not only equal to, but also numerically identical with that of the Father and the Holy Spirit. Theirs is not a participated sanctity, but an infinite and subsisting one. No shadow of unholiness or imperfection is compatible with it. Just as the divine essence is the source of all being, the divine will is the source of all holiness. For that reason, there is no justice, good-

ness, or holiness in angels and men which is not drawn from this divine source. Apart from this sanctity which is the property of all three divine persons—the Father, Son, and the Holy Ghost—we can distinguish in the human nature of Christ a twofold sanctity.

First, the human nature of Christ has been sanctified by the very fact of its union with the Word, the second Person of the Godhead. "The Son of man was sanctified from the beginning of His creation, when the Word became flesh."<sup>1</sup> It was then that His human nature was anointed "by a mystic and invisible unction" in the womb of the Virgin Mother.<sup>2</sup> The moment of that nature's creation coincides with its assumption by a divine person and it is thereby rendered sacred from its very beginning.<sup>3</sup> There was no moment in which the divine Word was not in possession of that nature by extending the subsisting power of its own personality to that of the created human nature. This union alone is a sufficient and just title for the sanctification of Christ's humanity. For sanctity consists in a union with God, and what greater union for a created nature can there be than to subsist in the same personality with God? <sup>4</sup> God cannot subsist in the personality of man, but divine revelation teaches that a human nature has been created and assumed to subsist in a divine personality.<sup>5</sup> Furthermore, sanctity is synonymous with sinlessness. Because the union of the human nature with the Word is such that the human nature belongs to the person of the Godhead all sin is precluded from it for all sin is incompatible with God.<sup>6</sup>

Secondly, the soul of Christ was sanctified in a manner in which the souls of other men are sanctified by the infusion of God-given grace and by the inhabitation of the Holy Ghost. As God, Christ sent the Holy Ghost and imparted the salutary power of the Holy

<sup>1</sup> *In Io. Ev. tr.* 108, 5 (PL 35, 1916).

<sup>2</sup> *De Trin.*, XV, 26, 46 (PL 42, 1093-94).

<sup>3</sup> *Contra serm. Arian.*, 8 (PL 42, 688): "Nec sic assumptus est ut prius creatus post assumeretur, sed ut ipsa assumptione crearetur."

<sup>4</sup> *Sermo* 186, 1, 1 (PL 38, 999).

<sup>5</sup> *In Io. Ev. tr.* 108, 5 (PL 35, 1916): "Quia una persona facta est Verbum et homo."

<sup>6</sup> *Contra serm. Arian.*, 7 (PL 42, 688): "... quae omnino sine ullo peccato esset hominis quem gerebat, quia de coelo descenderat; hoc est, non tantum homo, verum etiam Deus erat."

Spirit to men, but as man, having a soul as the rest of men, He received the Holy Ghost and His sanctifying gifts. For He was anointed by the Holy Ghost by the ointment of grace. The measure of this sanctification exceeds that bestowed on any other creature. For that reason the Scriptures refer to the holiness of Christ as being a fullness of the grace and a fullness of the Holy Ghost.<sup>7</sup>

Christ is the meritorious cause of our sanctification because by His sacrificial death on the Cross He, and He alone, has abundantly merited for us grace, the remission of sin, justification, and salvation. His blood which is the price of His Church, the mystical body, marks the end of the unrestrained power of Satan in the world. Christ is also the exemplary cause of our sanctification. As the eternal Son of the Father, He is the model of all adopted children of God, who by imitating His life can grow in holiness and attain perfection.

The sacred humanity of Christ is also an efficient instrumental cause of our sanctification because by the grace which flows from it men are reborn and made one with Christ. They thus form the mystical body of which Christ is the head and they the members. We can no longer think only of Christ in His individuality, but in His fullness, complemented by men of all times who have been incorporated into His body by grace, faith, and charity. In virtue of this union the sanctity of Jesus becomes the sanctity of His members because they actually participate in the life of the head. If some adhere to Christ without a life-giving union they are still said, in some extended sense, to belong to the sanctity of Christ, by virtue of the *communicatio idiomatum*, since they continue to form a certain oneness with Him.

The members of the mystical body of Christ are, therefore, sanctified in a manner like to that in which the human nature of Christ is sanctified. Just as the humanity of Christ is sanctified by the very union with the Word, so also all who are united to Christ as His members are sanctified when they are in a living union with the head which imparts to them a continuous stream of the life of grace.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>7</sup> *De Trin.*, XV, 26, 46 (PL 42, 1095).

<sup>8</sup> *In Io. Ev. tr.* 108, 5 (PL 35, 1916).



A threefold grace, therefore, can be easily, distinguished in Christ: 1) the grace of union (an uncreated grace) arising out of the fact that the humanity is joined to the divinity; 2) the created grace by which the soul of Christ is individually sanctified; 3) the grace of the head which flows from Christ into the members forming His mystical body. The members of His mystical body are sanctified in a twofold way: a) by the grace of union, which is a certain sanctification arising out of the union with Christ and in virtue of which members inhering in Christ are said to be holy because their head is holy; b) by the created grace which actually sanctifies the recipients of it by permeating their souls and which establishes a life-giving union with Christ the head.

Sanctification is associated with the name of the Holy Ghost.<sup>9</sup> He is the divine donor of charity by which we love God and our neighbor. The whole law and the prophets are founded upon these two precepts. The degree of charity in the soul determines the measure of sanctification. Christ is responsible for the sanctification of man because it is He who bestows the Holy Ghost, and because it is His own Spirit—the Spirit of Christ. Christ gives the Holy Ghost twice: once<sup>10</sup> upon earth when after the Resurrection He bestows Him upon the apostles for the sake of the love of neighbor; a second time<sup>11</sup> from heaven, for the sake of the love of God. No disciple, no possessor of the Holy Ghost is able to communicate Him to others, because no human being can have power over the divine. Christ receives the Holy Ghost as man, but imparts Him to others as God.<sup>12</sup>

If Christ is said to have received the Holy Ghost in baptism,<sup>13</sup> this does not mean that Christ received Him for the first time, since the soul of Christ received the Holy Ghost in the very moment of its inception in the temple of the Virgin's womb. The baptismal reception of the Holy Ghost by Christ is prefigurative of the Holy Spirit's reception by Christ's members in the mystical

<sup>9</sup> *Sermo* 8, 11, 13 (PL 38, 72).

<sup>10</sup> John 20:22.

<sup>11</sup> Acts 2:4.

<sup>12</sup> *De Trin.*, XV, 26, 46 (PL 42, 1093-94).

<sup>13</sup> Matt. 13:16.

body. He as the Spirit of Christ is the sanctifier not only of Christ's individual soul but also corporately of His mystical body, for acceding to this body men are animated by the Spirit that dwells therein. But they are also individually sanctified by the Holy Spirit whom they have received in the sacrament of baptism.<sup>14</sup>

Since the Church is the body of Christ in which dwells the Spirit of the Father and the Son, its members are termed "holy and faithful"<sup>15</sup> and Christ's body is designated as being holy.<sup>16</sup> This is the reason why Augustine addresses his audience or correspondents as "Your Holiness,"<sup>17</sup> or "Your Charity." Surely the great convert of Hippo fully realizes the frailty of human nature and the abyss of vice to which it will succumb if let to its own resources, but he also is fully aware of the holiness which belongs to the Church by virtue of its life-giving union with Christ and its sanctification by the Holy Ghost.<sup>18</sup>

No one in the mystical body can say that he is holy because he is sanctified by himself, but must confess that he is sanctified by the holiness of Christ. For the member of Christ receives "the grace of sanctity, the grace of baptism and of the remission of sins," and through them he is incorporated at the same time into the mystical body. He can say: "I am holy, because Thou hast sanctified me; because I have received, not because I have mer-

<sup>14</sup> *De Trin.*, XV, 26, 46 (PL 42, 1093).

<sup>15</sup> *Enar. in Ps.* 67, 25 (PL 36, 829): "Secundum illud vero quod idem ipse Christus in corpore suo intelligitur, quod est Ecclesia, propter quod et membra ejus sunt sancti et fideles ejus."

<sup>16</sup> *Enar. in Ps.* 87, 15 (PL 37, 119): "... super ipsum corpus, id est unitatem sanctorum atque fidelium, cui caput est Christus." *Ibid.*: "hujus sancti corporis."

<sup>17</sup> E.g., *Sermo* 4, 13, 13 (PL 38, 40): "Sanctitas vestra."

<sup>18</sup> J. Vetter, *Der Heilige Augustinus und das Geheimnis des Leibes Christi* (Mainz: 1929) p. 48: "Das ist also eine Heiligkeit aus dem 'Sein in Christus,' nicht erst aus dem Sollen und dem Erfüllen seiner Gebote. Dieses letztere ist dem echten Christen eine Selbstverständlichkeit zweiter Linie. Jene 'Heiligkeit in Christus,' in der wir seinsmässig stehen, ist die grundlegende Heiligkeit im Corpus Christi. Es ist nicht jene, die aus dem Gesetze kommt, sondern die in der Vereinigung mit dem Haupte ohne weiteres wirklich besteht; eine Heiligkeit also, für deren Tatsächlichkeit wir nur die Augen des Glaubens zu öffnen brauchen, um uns von ihrem Glänze verklärt zu wissen."

ited." Augustine argues that if a member of Christ's body ascribes sanctity to himself as coming from himself, he is proud; but if, on the other hand, he should say that he is not holy, such a one does injury to Christ, detracting from the dignity of the head. In baptism the regenerated have put on Christ, have become His members, and thereby vested themselves in His sanctity.<sup>19</sup>

Besides sanctification in Christ through the grace of union there is another type of sanctification which results from the good deeds of man. Life in Christ through grace is not an end in itself but a condition in which man may live and act as befits the new life implanted in his soul. If he lives in accordance with the demands of his new life, he will grow and be strengthened in it; as he progresses in the life of grace he will be assimilated more and more to Christ the head. Through the imitation of Him by his moral deeds and virtuous actions man merits an increase of the supernatural and thus becomes more intimately incorporated into the mystical body of Christ.<sup>20</sup>

The mind of St. Augustine, therefore, clearly distinguishes between what can be called ontological sanctity and ethical or moral sanctity. The former accrues to the members from the head by the very reason of their accession to membership in the mystical body: the sanctity of Christ becomes their sanctity. The latter is the reward of their own personal actions and meritorious deeds, but not without the substratum of grace gratuitously bestowed upon man by God.

If the members of the mystical body are said to be holy because they constitute a holy body of a holy head this does not mean that all the members of Christ's mystical body are saints, to the exclusion of every taint of sinfulness and imperfection. Indeed, the radiance of sanctity from the head casts its glow over the

<sup>19</sup> *Enar. in Ps. 85, 4* (PL 37, 1084): "Si enim dixeris te ex te esse sanctum, superbus es; rursus, fidelis in Christo, et membrum Christi, si te dixeris non esse sanctum, ingratus es. . . . Si enim Christiani omnes et fideles et baptizati in illo ipsum induerunt . . . si membra facti sunt corporis ejus, et dicunt se sancta non esse, capiti suo faciunt injuriam, cujus membra sancta non sunt. Jam vide ubi sis, et de capite tuo dignitatem cape."

<sup>20</sup> *Enar. in Ps. 47, 12* (PL 36, 541): "Nolite scandalis circumdare, sed charitate circumdate; ut qui bene vivunt in medio vestrum, eos imitemini, et eorum imitatione Christo, cujus membra sunt, incorporemmini."

whole body, but the personal holiness of the members is necessarily relative and varying in degree in each member according to the holiness of each individual. The members in the mystical body live the life of grace, the life of the head, but this does not mean that they are without the stains of daily sins and the blemishes of imperfection.

As long as the Church is composed of men living an earthly life, as long as it is journeying toward eternity and has not reached it, the Church will be composed of mortals who have not attained the perfection of charity and the fullness of justice.<sup>21</sup> If the members of Christ are considered in themselves, no matter how holy they may be, they cannot entirely extricate themselves from the consequences of original sin.

Nor do those who are sinful and unjust—who do not participate in the life of the body, but adhere to it—destroy the holiness of the good members of Christ's body, for the reason that they cannot mar the holiness of the head. Indeed it would be better if such members were severed from the body of Christ. But such is the nature of Christ's Church here upon earth, that sinners are allowed to remain attached to her during her earthly sojourn as long as they themselves do not detach themselves from her. The Church is an institution of salvation whose purpose is to convert the sinner into a saint.

### The Sanctity of the Church

The sanctity of the Church, as such, is a consequence of the sanctity of the members of the Church and especially of the sanctity of the head of the Church. If Christ, the only mediator and only true source of spiritual life, is the head of the Church, and if the members, participating in His holiness, are holy, then the spiritual society and the one spiritual organism formed of both is holy.<sup>22</sup> This becomes more evident if we consider that St. Au-

<sup>21</sup> *De unit. Ecc.*, 18, 48 (PL 43, 428). Cf. G. G. Willis, *Saint Augustine and the Donatist Controversy* (London: 1950), p. 53.

<sup>22</sup> W. J. Simpson Sparrow, *St. Augustine's Episcopate* (London: 1944), p. 109: "Augustine insisted that the holiness of the Church was something immeasurably greater than the integrity of its members. It was a quality intrinsic in the very nature of the Church itself. The Church itself was holy in virtue of its nature; as being the social body of Christ."



gustine at times does not distinguish between head and members as two distinct elements forming the mystical body but calls both the head and the members Christ.<sup>23</sup> Hence the Church is the *sancta Ecclesia Dei*.<sup>24</sup>

As the holiness of the Word sanctified the assumed human nature in the Incarnation, so also the fullness of Christ's holiness sanctifies the Church which He adopted as His mystical body. The holiness of the eternal Word overflows into the humanity of Christ, and the holiness of Christ's humanity overflows into the mass of humanity forming His mystical body. It is "the Body of Christ, the holy Church, an adopted people"<sup>25</sup> because it is so united with Him as to be inseparable from Him. The Church is a prolongation and fullness of Christ's earthly and visible life.<sup>26</sup> He ascended into heaven in His glorified body, yet He continues to dwell with us in His mystical body. His body, His members here below must partake of His sanctity. "To be in the number of the saints of God" is "to be in the number of the sons of the Church."<sup>27</sup>

Since the one Catholic Church is the body of Christ, it alone can possess the Spirit of Christ, the divine source of holiness and charity. Just as the body of man lives by the spirit of man, so also the body of Christ lives by the Spirit of Christ. The Holy Ghost also causes the sacraments to be channels of divine grace; by means of them man is reborn and grows in the life of God and in union with Christ. Detached from their life-giving source, the sacraments cannot communicate the life of grace outside the one body of Christ; their sanctifying effect cannot be received except in the Church. For these reasons personal holiness can be

<sup>23</sup> *De div. quaest. LXXXIII*, 69, 10 (PL 40, 79): "Non dixit, ita et Christi; sed 'ita et Christus,' ostendens Christum recte appellari etiam universum, hoc est, caput cum corpore, quod est Ecclesia. Et multis Scripturarum locis invenimus Christum etiam hoc modo appellari, ut cum omnibus suis membris intelligatur . . . ut Filium non solum caput Ecclesiae, sed et omnes cum eo sanctos intelligamus, qui sunt unum cum Christo."

<sup>24</sup> *In Io. Ep. tr. prel.* (PL 35, 1977).

<sup>25</sup> *Enar. in Ps.* 117, 13 (PL 37, 1498).

<sup>26</sup> *Enar. in Ps.* 3, 1 (PL 37, 1467): "Est enim corpus Domini plenius ipsa sancta Ecclesia, cujus caput ascendit in coelum."

<sup>27</sup> *Enar. in Ps.* 93, 12 (PL 37, 1201): ". . . jam bene vivens in numero sanctorum Dei, id est in numero filiorum Ecclesiae."

attained only within the Church,<sup>28</sup> and without this holiness no one can be saved. "No one arrives at salvation and life eternal, unless he has Christ as head. No one, however, is able to have Christ as head, unless he is in His body, which is the Church."<sup>29</sup>

St. Augustine perceives the beauty of the Church in the scriptural image presenting the Church as the bride of Christ.<sup>30</sup> St. Paul makes a comparison of the union existing between husband and wife in matrimony with the mysterious union existing between Christ and the Church. Christ is the bridegroom and the Church is His bride.<sup>31</sup> Herein lie the indissolubility and the sacredness of the Christian marriage as it does of the Christian Church.<sup>32</sup> If Christ selects the Church for His spiritual bride He will see to it that she is an unblemished virgin, without spot and wrinkle. He will adorn her with the charms of divine grace and with the grandeur of divine life so that she may be a worthy spouse of the heavenly bridegroom. The initial stage of this wedding took place between the assumed human nature and the Word in the womb of the Blessed Virgin where Christ's humanity was anointed by the ointment of His divinity and was thus rendered sacred. All who are incorporated into Christ's humanity through the regenerative power of baptism as well as by faith and charity become the spouse of Christ. They too, in a certain sense, are consecrated by the unity of life with Him. This is the difference between the nuptials of groom and bride, and of Christ and His Church: in the former the bride is different from those who are present at her wedding, in the latter, those who are present at the nuptials, if they are properly present, are the brides of Christ.<sup>33</sup>

<sup>28</sup> *Sermo* 4, 11, 11 (PL 38, 29): "Omnes quotquot fuerunt sancti, ad ipsam Ecclesiam pertinent."

<sup>29</sup> *De unitate Ecc.*, 19, 49 (PL 43, 429).

<sup>30</sup> Eph. 5:27.

<sup>31</sup> Schumacher, *Das Ehe-Ideal des Apostels Paulus* (München: 1932), pp. 78 f.

<sup>32</sup> *De nupt. et concup.*, 1, 9, 10 (PL 44, 420; CSEL 42, 221); *De bono conj.*, 24, 32 (PL 40, 394); *ibid.*, 18, 21 (PL 40, 388); cf. C. Boyer, *Synopsis praelectionum de sacramento matrimonii* (Romae: 1942), p. 24; N. Lado-mérszky, *S. Augustin Docteur du mariage Chrétien* (Rome: 1942), p. 130; A. Reuter, *S. Augustini doctrina de bonis matrimonii* (Romae: 1942), pp. 254-56.

<sup>33</sup> *In lo Ep. tr.* 2, 2 (PL 35, 1990).

The holiness of the Church is a doctrine as old as the Church itself. It is deeply rooted in the Epistles of St. Paul, who sees God Himself sanctifying the faithful in all things<sup>34</sup> and views the Church as the fullness (*pleroma*) of Christ.<sup>35</sup> The Apostolic Fathers and the earliest Church writers regard the Church as holy because she possesses the invisible presence and power of Christ, although (with the exception of St. Ignatius) they do not insist on the union of the Church with Christ.<sup>36</sup> Holiness of the Church founded upon the doctrine of the mystical body received its support in the development for the first time of the doctrine of the mystical body by Origen.<sup>37</sup> By the very fact that the early Fathers, especially in the wake of Origen, considered the Church principally under the aspect of the mystical body of Christ, they could not avoid identifying the Church with the holiness of her head, Jesus Christ. When the Nicene Fathers included holiness in their more stringent definition of the Church they were explicitly embodying the faith of the early Church in their sacrosanct formula of belief.

The identification of the Church with Christ is the reason why holiness, in the early tradition, was considered not only as a characteristic or attribute of the Church but an essential inherent in the very concept of the Church. By the very fact that the Church is the body of Christ, it is holy. The doctrine is, therefore, no new development of the fourth century. But St. Augustine was able, as no writer before him, to investigate the theology underlying the holiness of the Church by plumbing the depths of the doctrine of the mystical body and of the cognate domain embracing grace and the theological virtues. Though Augustine admits that the Church is a *corpus permixtum*—a body composed of the good and the wicked—during its earthly sojourn, still this does not diminish his high regard and esteem of

<sup>34</sup> I Thess. 5:23; cf. L. Cerfaux, *Le Christ dans la théologie de saint Paul* (Paris: 1951), p. 229.

<sup>35</sup> Eph. 1:23; cf. L. Cerfaux, *op. cit.*, pp. 320-22.

<sup>36</sup> G. Bardy, *La théologie de l'Église de saint Clément de Rome à saint Irénée* (Paris: 1945), pp. 98-101.

<sup>37</sup> G. Bardy, *La théologie de l'Église de saint Irénée au concile de Nicée* (Paris: 1947), p. 150.

the holiness of the Church, for in her he sees Christ live, and work, and save.

### Sanctity and Heretics

Donatism as well as Pelagianism has contributed to the development of St. Augustine's theology on the sanctity of the Church. Both factions admitted and even staunchly defended the holiness of the Church, but error can be committed by overstatement as well as understatement. In the case of the Donatists the Church as the mystical body of Christ was so holy in the personal holiness of its members that there was no room in her for sinners. In the case of the Pelagians, while holiness was dependent upon Christ, it was fundamentally the fruit of man's efforts and merit.

Thanks principally to the Donatist schism and to the Pelagian heresy the attention of St. Augustine was directed not only to the role of grace in the mystical body, but also to the effects of sin in the members of that body. There is a vast difference between sin and sin. There is a death-bringing, i.e., grace-destroying sin, and there is the sin that is committed because of human frailty. This distinction of a mortal and venial sin is of the greatest significance in the doctrine of holiness and in the relationship of members to the mystical body of Christ.<sup>38</sup> Mortal sin makes a man unholy and deprives him of the life of Christ, and severs him from a living union with Christ the head, whereas venial sin produces none of these drastic effects.

No event in Church history brought the doctrine of the holiness of the Church to the foreground as did the strife with the Donatists. Holiness of Church and members became the very axis around which the whole controversy revolved.<sup>39</sup> The purported contamination of the Church by unholy men was supposed to be the cause of their separation from the historical

<sup>38</sup> F. Hünemann, *Die Busslehre des hl. Augustinus* (Paderborn: 1913), p. 1: "Für die Lehre des hl. Augustinus ist von grundlegender Bedeutung die Unterscheidung zwischen Totsünde und lässlicher Sünde oder schwerer und leichter Sünde."

<sup>39</sup> G. G. Willis, *Saint Augustine and the Donatist Controversy* (London: 1950), p. 20; P. V. Kornyljak, *Sancti Augustini de efficacitate sacramentorum doctrina contra Donatistas* (Rome-Philadelphia: 1953).



Church, the one *Catholica*, and the formation of their own episcopates. Holiness has a twofold aspect: an external one which means the commission of serious crime or sin; and an internal one, the loss of the internal life of grace consequent upon sin. The Donatists argued that he who commits sin—certain grievous sins were involved in the controversy—loses the life-giving union with Christ. Such a one, not possessing the life of grace, cannot communicate it to others, if he is dispensing the sacraments. Moreover, by suffering the unholy one to remain in the communion of others, they too are infected with his unholiness and the whole Church, as by contagion, is contaminated.

By separating themselves from the Church the Donatists believed they were parting company with evil in the Church.<sup>40</sup> The starting-point of the schism was a particular crime—the *traditio* during a persecution—that they were unable to prove. Still their argument that one could not give grace if he did not possess it in his soul through a living communion with the body of Christ, could be made applicable to every grievous sin. The controversy did develop into an attack and defense of general theological principles. Augustine takes into consideration not only the alleged crime upon which the Donatists rested their case, but every sin that separates man from a union with Christ. In doing so, he delved into the doctrine of sin and grace, of Christ and the mystical body, of the sacraments and the spiritual life, and he gave expression to theological principles and thoughts that are just as alive and effective today as when they were expressed in his day. Against the Donatists Augustine maintains that the Church is without sin but not without sinners.<sup>41</sup>

Holiness of the Church and of Christ's members also enters into the controversies with his other great adversaries, the Pelagians. However, it is no longer the death-bringing sin involved in the fray with the Donatists but minor faults which nevertheless the Pelagians believed detracted from the perfection of man. This view of the Pelagian doctrine is described by St. Augustine

<sup>40</sup> W. J. Sparrow Simpson, *St. Augustine's Episcopate* (London: 1944), p. 40.

<sup>41</sup> Ch. Journet, "Note sur l'Église sans tache ni ride," *Rev. Thomiste*, IXL (1949), 208–11.

himself in the catalogue of heresies which he composed. He says of them: "In this they go so far as to say that the life of the just has no sin at all, so that they are without spot or wrinkle."<sup>42</sup> It is evident from these words as well as from the whole controversy on this point that there is question of venial sin. While the Donatists taught that a member of the Church with a mortal sin sullied the Church, could not be a rightful member of it and should be severed, the Pelagians maintained that man could not have a rightful place in Christ's body unless he were without venial sin.

It is noteworthy that the Pelagian heresy adopted the very same text of St. Paul<sup>43</sup> in favor of their opinion of holiness as did St. Augustine in support of his kind of holiness. From the time of his encounter with the Pelagians Augustine refers to this text with a certain reserve. In his *Retractationes*, written towards the end of his life but when the echoes of the Pelagian controversy had not yet died down completely, he takes pains to review and restate some of his former sayings on the sanctity of the Church.<sup>44</sup> If the Church is said to be holy not having spot nor wrinkle, it is not the Church of the present time here upon earth that shall be such, but the Church of the future as it shall be in heaven.<sup>45</sup>

The Pelagians and St. Augustine could use the same text to show that the Church of Christ was pure, holy, and beautiful, but both parties entertained a different viewpoint of holiness. Moreover their doctrines of grace in which holiness is rooted were basically at variance and constituted the core of the disputes which consumed many mature years of St. Augustine's life.

<sup>42</sup> *De haer.*, 88 (PL 42, 48).

<sup>43</sup> Eph. 5:27.

<sup>44</sup> The purpose of the book is to reconsider the books written during his life. Cf. M. J. Lagrange, "Les rétractations exégétiques de saint Augustin," *Miscel. Agostin.* (Romae, 1931), II, 373-95; M. F. Eller, "The Retractations of St. Augustine," *Church History*, XVIII (1949), 172-84.

<sup>45</sup> *Retract.*, I, 19, 9 (PL 32, 617; CSEL 36, 95): "Item quod dixi, quam sibi Deus elegit 'gloriosam Ecclesiam, non habentem maculam neque rugam,' non ideo dixi, quia nunc ex omni parte jam talis est; quamvis ad hoc electa non dubitaretur, ut talis sit quando Christus apparuerit vita ejus; tunc enim et ipsa cum illo apparebit in gloria, propter quam gloriam dicta est Ecclesia gloriosa." Cf. M. J. Lagrange, *art. cit.*, p. 389.

St. Augustine sees the sanctity of the Church in the light of its union with Christ. The just are members of Christ the head; in order to make them worthy members He sanctifies them by that life of grace which flows from the fullness of His soul. The Church is the body of Christ, which is sanctified by the Spirit of Christ. The Church is the Spouse of Christ, which must be an unblemished and unspotted virgin; such a one He prepares for Himself by the beauty of His own grace.

St. Augustine, therefore, views the Church in the first place from the viewpoint of the sanctity of Christ and the Holy Spirit who resides in the Church. This view is in conformity with his manner of detecting the sovereignty of God in all things. In the second place only does he take into consideration the individual value of the members of the Church. They are sanctified by a union with Christ first. Further, sanctification depends on their merits and even then not without the merits of Christ. They are thus assimilated to Christ through cooperation with His grace or depart from Him by opposing it.

The attention of the Pelagians is focused not on Christ, the head, or on His body, but on the individual to whom they ascribe a righteousness unblemished by sin. St. Augustine states their position and his own repudiation of it in a sermon dedicated wholly to this part of their doctrine. "They say that the just man has no sin." "The holy men, the faithful of God, cannot have any sin either in deed, word, or thought." Augustine retorts: "You would bring me great joy, if you could prove, that the whole Church in its individual members has no sin."<sup>46</sup>

In the course of the sermon Augustine distinguishes three kinds of sin. 1. There is original sin which is proper to each person and common to all mankind. This is remitted to man by baptism; and now that man is justified "he lives in grace, in faith, and has become a member of Christ, a temple of God."<sup>47</sup> 2. There is a personal sin which is a death-bringing sin (*mortifera peccata*), or what Augustine calls a *crimen*. Of these sins Augustine says: "Because I say that we cannot be without sin we must not kill,

<sup>46</sup> *Sermo* 181, 2, 2 (PL 38, 980).

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, 1, 1 (PL 38, 979).

or commit adulteries, or other deadly sins, which destroy with one blow. Such sins are not committed by a Christian of good faith and good hope.”<sup>48</sup> 3. There are those sins which are called “light” (*levia*) “which are deleted by the eraser of daily prayer.”<sup>49</sup> Of these sins asks Augustine: “Who is there who has not sin?” Scripture teaches us that “no one can live here without sin in this flesh, in this corruptible body, on this earth, in this wicked world, in this life full of temptations.”<sup>50</sup>

The roots of both doctrines reach deeper into theology than at first appears. The holiness of St. Augustine and that of the Pelagians are offsprings of disparate systems of theology explaining divergently the notion of grace upon which holiness is based. Augustine’s concept of grace, as a gratuitous gift, is basically a supernatural theology in which the very starting-point of regeneration, sanctification, perfection and salvation is God. In Pelagian theology grace is merited by the personal efforts and the good deeds of the individual man, and thus sanctification has basically a natural foundation. Holiness is first and, above all, individualistic and becomes corporate not for any basic reason but by the circumstance that many individual holy persons form a community which becomes the body of Christ.

In St. Augustine’s theology holiness is a sequel to the union with Christ. The starting-point and foundation of all other holiness are corporate sanctity founded on the individual with Christ as the head. Regeneration through grace together with the infusion of faith, hope, and charity produces the justification of man, causes a union with Christ, and brings about an elevation of his nature to a participation in the divine nature. God through His initial promptings and inspirations furnishes the understanding of man with the light and his will with the power to act, and is thus the author of his sanctification and salvation, but only in union with Christ the Savior, and the head of His body. The opposite doctrine of the Pelagians was the occasion why St. Augustine became the great champion of the necessity and the

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, 6, 8 (PL 38, 983).

<sup>49</sup> *Loc. cit.*

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, 1, 1 (PL 38, 979).



gratuity of divine grace on the one hand, and the sovereignty of the sanctifying God and the indispensability of the life-dispensing Christ on the other.

In Pelagian theology, there is no original sin, no tainted fallen nature, consequently there is no need of redemption. Nor is there any need of baptism for the attainment of "life everlasting," but it is necessary to enter "the kingdom of God."<sup>51</sup> In virtue of this condition, man is able by his natural powers to keep the natural and the positive law, to abstain from sin, and thus to attain life everlasting.<sup>52</sup> Pressed by scriptural arguments, they later admitted the need of grace, but it fell short of the grace demanded by the Church.<sup>53</sup> The Pelagians feared that if they admitted grace which would have a direct influence on the will, it would be an infringement of its freedom. Pelagian theology, therefore, brings the natural man to the foreground, glorifies his efforts and makes his works precede the works of God.

Having in mind the Pelagian doctrine, Augustine distinguishes three classes of men in reference to venial sin and holiness. There are such as received baptism and pass from this life into the next without any further contact with this world; they are free from the stain of even venial sins. Such also are without the blemish of venial sin who, having lived in this world, are now out of it and united to God; for nothing impure can enjoy the presence of the most holy God. The living members of the earthly and tem-

<sup>51</sup> *Ep.* 178, 1 (PL 33, 773; CSEL 44, ed. A. Goldbacher, III, 690); *Sermo* 294, 1-7 (PL 38, 1336-39); *Ep.* Innoc. I ad Conc. Milev. (PL 33, 784-86).

<sup>52</sup> S. Aug. *Op. imperf. c. Jul.*, 5, 61 (PL 43, 1496-98); *ibid.*, 6, 14 (PL 43, 1525-32); *De nat. et grat.*, 19 (PL 44, 256 ss; CSEL 60, ed. C. Urba and J. Zycha, 246); *Ep.* 175, 3 (PL 33, 760 ss; CSEL 44, ed. A. Goldbacher, III, 656); *Ep.* 176, 2 (PL 33, 703; CSEL 44, III, 664); *Ep.* 179, 3 (PL 33, 774 ss; CSEL 44, III, 692); *Ep.* 186, 9 (PL 33, 827-30; CSEL 57, ed. A. Goldbacher, IV, 52); *De haer.*, 88 (PL 42, 47): "Pelagianorum est haeresis hoc tempore omnium recentissima a Pelagio monacho exorta. Quem magistrum Coelestius sic secutus est ut sectatores eorum Coelestiani etiam nuncupentur. Hi, Dei gratiae . . . in tantum inimici sunt, ut sine hac posse hominem credant facere omnia divina mandata; cum, si hoc verum esset, frustra Dominus dixisse videretur (Jo. 15:5): Sine me nihil potestis facere."

<sup>53</sup> Aug. *De gratia Christi*, 29, 30 (PL 44, 475; CSEL 42, ed. C. Urba and J. Zycha, 149); *ibid.*, 7 (PL 44, 364; CSEL 42, ed. C. Urba and J. Zycha, 131).

poral Church, the body of Christ, even if they are just, are nevertheless not without their venial sins.<sup>54</sup>

The basic reason for these sins is fallen human nature. Inasmuch as man is reborn, he is just; inasmuch as he necessarily contracts certain weaknesses from the protoparent, he is not entirely without sin.<sup>55</sup> Even the baptized are not without concupiscence which is the root of sin and temptation.<sup>56</sup> Because all men inherit such a nature, all men (except Christ, and the Blessed Virgin Mary)<sup>57</sup> are sinners in this sense.<sup>58</sup> Yet this sin is far from being of such a nature as to sever man from a living union with Christ. Those striving for spiritual perfection and closer union with Christ make serious efforts to combat their frequency, even though they are not able to avoid them completely in this life.<sup>59</sup>

Being sins of human frailty, Augustine describes them as being small but frequent,<sup>60</sup> as being light but daily.<sup>61</sup> They are unavoidable in our lives.<sup>62</sup> On that account the good and humble faithful perform almost daily penance, by which such sins are remitted.<sup>63</sup> Daily prayer is sufficient to atone for them,<sup>64</sup> especially the peti-

<sup>54</sup> *In Io. Ev. tr.* 88, 5 (PL 35, 1789); cf. E. F. Durkin, *The Theological Distinction of Sins in the Writings of St. Augustine* (Mundelein, Ill.: 1952), pp. 50 ff.

<sup>55</sup> *Ep.* 185, 40 (PL 33, 810; CSEL 57, ed. A. Goldbacher, IV, 35): "Nunc ergo, in quantum viget in nobis quod ex Deo nati sumus ex fide viventes, iusti sumus: in quantum autem reliquias mortalitatis ex Adam trahimus, sine peccato non sumus."

<sup>56</sup> *De nat. et grat.*, 36, 42 (PL 44, 267; CSEL 60, 263-64).

<sup>57</sup> *Ep.* 167, 3, 10 (PL 33, 737; CSEL 44, 597); *In Io. Ev. tr.* 41, 10 (PL 35, 1698); *Enar. in Ps.* 118, *sermo* 3, 2 (PL 37, 1508).

<sup>58</sup> *De civ. Dei*, XIX, 27 (PL 41, 657; ed. Dombart-Kalb, II, 402-3); *Sermo* 181, 5, 7 (PL 38, 982).

<sup>59</sup> *Ep.* 188, 3, 9 (PL 33, 852; CSEL 57, IV, 127).

<sup>60</sup> *Ep.* 265, 8 (PL 33, 1089; CSEL 57, IV, 646): "Quamvis parva, tamen crebra."

<sup>61</sup> *Ench.*, 71, 19 (PL 40, 265): "De quotidianis autem brevibus levibusque peccatis."

<sup>62</sup> *In Io. Ep. tr.* 1, 6 (PL 35, 1982): "Non potest homo quamdiu carnem portat, nisi habere levia peccata."

<sup>63</sup> *Ep.* 265, 8 (PL 1089; CSEL 57, ed. A. Goldbacher, IV, 646): "Est etiam poenitentia bonorum et humilium fidelium pene quotidiana. . . . Neque enim ea (peccata) nobis dimitti volumus, quae dimissa non dubitamus in baptismo; sed illa utique quae humanae fragilitati, quamvis parva, tamen crebra subrepunt."

<sup>64</sup> *Enchir.*, 71, 19 (PL 40, 265): "Quotidiana fidelium oratio satisfacit."

tion in the Lord's Prayer, "to forgive us our trespasses," has as its purpose the remission of such daily faults. "By confessing our sins we are cleansed."<sup>65</sup> These pious practices which are used to efface the guilt of venial sin are to be united with charity.<sup>66</sup> For "charity covers a multitude of sins."<sup>67</sup> And hence when a faithful Christian who prayed daily dies, he may be purged of all his venial sins and form part of the Church which is without a spot and a wrinkle.

If the sins that are committed by the just are said to be "light," they are not to be neglected. Augustine says that "many venial sins make a great one: many drops fill a river; many grains make a mass."<sup>68</sup> While St. Augustine does not further explain his mind in the passage at hand, he never admits, in the writings against the Pelagians, that a number of venial sins are sufficient to make a man unjust or to sever him from the body of Christ.

A more detailed study of sin, its division and effects is reserved for the subsequent part of this book dealing specifically with the existence of sinners in the Church.

<sup>65</sup> *Sermo* 181, 5, 7 (PL 38, 982): "Peccata nostra confitendo, mundamur." Cf. also *In Io. Ep. tr.* 1, 5-6 (PL 35, 1982).

<sup>66</sup> *In Io. Ep. tr.* 1, 6 (PL 35, 1982).

<sup>67</sup> I Pet. 4:8.

<sup>68</sup> *In Io. Ep. tr.* 1, 6 (PL 35, 1982).

## PART III

### THE CHURCH AND SINNERS

Throughout the Christian centuries historical studies of the concept of the Church, or more specifically the extent of the membership in the Church, have revealed that very frequently sinners have been considered as excluded from the mystical body of Christ. It was the preponderant teaching among the early Scholastics that sin—of course, mortal sin—separated from the mystical body of Christ the individual committing it, although he remained in the unity of the juridical body of the Church.<sup>1</sup> St. Bonaventure is a good representative of the golden period of Scholasticism; not infrequently he excludes sinners from the Church viewed principally as the mystical body of Christ.<sup>2</sup>

In the later Scholastic period Thomas (Waldensis) Netter (1375–1430)<sup>3</sup> distinguishes a twofold Church: the one is invisible, for it is composed only of the just and predestined, and constitutes the mystical body of Christ; the other is visible, for it is formed of the universal body of men, even sinners, adhering

<sup>1</sup> Cf. A. Landgraf, "Sünde und Trennung von der Kirche in der Früh-scholastik," *Scholastik*, V (1930), 246.

<sup>2</sup> Thus, St. Bonaventure denies sinners a place in the *corpus Christi* or membership with Christ; e.g., II *Sent.*, 32, 1, 1, fund. 4 (*Opera Omnia*, ed. Ad Claras Aquas, II, 760): "Membrum Christi quis esse potest, quamdiu manet in peccato mortali?" Cf. IV *Sent.*, 12, 2, 1, 2, fund. 1 (IV, 291); IV *Sent.*, 9, 2, 1, concl. (IV, 207). At other times the same Bonaventure excludes them from the Church without specifying under which aspect he considers the Church: thus, IV *Sent.*, 45, 2, 2, arg. pro neg. 4 (IV, 945): "Iste peccator non est membrum Ecclesiae." Evidently he means in this case the invisible, mystical Church, for elsewhere he admits that sinners are in the Church; e.g., II *Sent.*, 29, dub. III (II, 709): "Et nos videamus Deum peccatores sustinere intra Ecclesiam." Cf. D. Culhane, *De Corpore Mystico Doctrina Seraphici* (Mundelein, Ill.: 1934), pp. 36 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. H. Hurter, *Nomenclator Literarius* (3 ed.; Oeniponte: 1906), II, 817–18; Zimmerman, *Monumenta Histor. Carmel.* (Lerins: 1907), I, 442.



visibly to the Church.<sup>4</sup> Again, Cardinal John Torquemada (Turcremata) (1388-1468),<sup>5</sup> a contemporary of the Carmelite Thomas Netter, draws a line of demarcation between those who constitute the Church in its empirical form and those who constitute the mystical body of Christ. The reason for this distinction is precisely sinners, for sinners adhering to the Church are in the Church and, so far as they can, constitute the Church. They participate in the same rites and sacraments; they confess the one faith; they belong to one and the same religious society with the faithful who are just in a theological sense.<sup>6</sup> But these sinners, Cardinal Torquemada asserts, are not truly members of the body of Christ;<sup>7</sup> in fact, being dead members, they are not, in a full and true sense, even members of the Church considered as an empirical society.<sup>8</sup> Hence the distinction which the Cardinal makes between those belonging to the unity of the Church and those participating in the unity of the body of the Church or of Christ.<sup>9</sup>

The same distinction, under divers phraseologies, prevails in the writings of the ecclesiologists of the sixteenth century. A few

<sup>4</sup> *Doctrinale Antiquitatum Fidei Ecclesiae Catholicae*, Lib. II, art. 2, cc. XII, XXVIII. This distinction of Thomas Netter was refuted by Antonius de Corduba (1578) as unorthodox and as savoring of the Lutheran doctrine of a visible and invisible Church. *Opera in V Libros Digesta* (Venetiis: 1569-Toledo: 1570), Lib. IV, fol. 255-56.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. H. Hurter, *op. cit.*, II, 880-84.

<sup>6</sup> *Summa de Ecclesia* (Venetiis: 1561), Lib. I, fol. 7 (fac. 2), fol. 8 (fac. 1). Cf. K. Binder, *Wesen und Eigenschaften der Kirche bei Kardinal Juan de Torquemada* (Innsbruck: 1955), pp. 179-83.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, c. 8, fol. 10 (fac. 2).

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, c. 57, fol. 69 (fac. 1): "Homines fideles peccatores pertinent aliquomodo ad unitatem Ecclesiae inquantum continuantur ei per fidem, quae est unitas materialis, non tamen possunt dici membra proprie, sicut nec membrum mortuum nisi aequivoce." Cf. also *ibid.*, fol. 68 (fac. 2), fol. 69 (fac. 1). In this he follows the distinction of St. Thomas, *Summa theol.*, IIIa, q. 8, a. 3 ad 2m. Gregorius de Valentia, in his *Commentaria Theologica*, III (Ingolstadt: 1603), disp. I, q. 1, col. 166, calls this teaching of St. Thomas "recepta theologorum sententia."

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, c. 57, fol. 69 (fac. 1): "Ad unionem corporis mystici sive ecclesiae numquam proprie pertinent existentes in peccato mortali, tamen refert dicere unitatem ecclesiae et corporis ecclesiae. In unitate enim ecclesiae sunt boni et mali, dummodo habeant rectam fidem. . . . Unitas vero corporis non est nisi per fidem formatam charitate. Secundum ergo propriam rationem corporis mali non sunt de corpore Ecclesiae, quamvis sint de ecclesia."

examples of the more influential names will suffice. Stapleton asserts a twofold unity of the Church or a twofold society in the Church: the one formed of the just exclusively, the other composed of the just and sinners combined.<sup>10</sup> The same antinomy is reflected in Cardinal Hosius' distinction between being a *membrum Christi*, i.e., through faith and charity, and being *in Christi Corpore Ecclesia*, which is equivalent to *membrum Ecclesiae* and is predicated of sinners.<sup>11</sup> The greatest apologist of this century, St. Robert Bellarmine, in his well-known classification of those who belong to the *corpus Ecclesiae* and those who belong to the *anima Ecclesiae*, gives expression to the inclusion and exclusion of sinners from one and the same Church under different aspects.<sup>12</sup>

It is not maintained that precisely the enumerated authors of the sixteenth century denied inherence to sinners in the mystical body of Christ. There have been such writers in this period. But the examples have been adduced to indicate the problem and the various attempts at solving it. That this was a problem of the theologians of this period is indicated by the fact that Bartholomew Medina made an attempt to classify the explanations of writers into three categories. According to the first, sinners destitute of charity, even if they did retain "the form of the faithful," were not "of the Church or of Christ's members, but they could be said to be a part of the Church." According to the second category, sinners devoid of charity are "potentially" Christ's members, and only such in a certain sense. The name of St. Thomas is included as belonging to this category. According to the third, the wicked were considered not as homogeneous but heterogeneous members of Christ's body which Bartholomew ex-

<sup>10</sup> *Principiorum Fidei Doctrinalium Demonstratio Methodica* (Parisiis: 1582), Controv. I, lib. I, c. 8, p. 11.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. *Confessio Catholicae Fidei Christiana*, c. 20 (*Opera Omnia* [Coloniae: 1584]), I, 42; *Confutatio*, lib. III (*ibid.*, I, 537). Cf. G. M. Grabka, *Cardinalis Hosii Doctrina de Corpore Christi Mystico* (Washington, D.C.: 1945), pp. 253 ff.; L. Bernacki, *La doctrine de l'Église chez le Cardinal Hosius* (Paris: 1936), pp. 120 ff.; J. Smoczyński, *Eklezjologia Stanisława Hozjusza* (Pelplin: 1937), p. 86.

<sup>12</sup> *De Controversiis Christianae Fidei*, III, 2 (*Opera Omnia* [Neapoli: 1857]), II, 75. Cf. J. de la Servière, *La théologie de Bellarmin* (Paris: 1909), 170.

plains as members of a different nature and spirit "than the good who genuinely form the members of the body of Christ."<sup>13</sup>

This antinomy of the inclusion and exclusion of sinners from one and the same Church has its roots deeply and copiously implanted in the voluminous works of St. Augustine.<sup>14</sup> This great African Bishop has profoundly influenced the ecclesiology of the Fathers, the Scholastics, and the theologians of the sixteenth century who had to cope with the same problems he faced when he wrote against the Donatist separation in Africa. The apologists of this period were convinced that they were controverting the same doctrinal position that Augustine faced in the fourth century when he encountered the Donatists in his native Africa. Modern treatises on the Church are founded, to a great extent, on the subject matter and terminologies which he developed and contributed to the fund of religious knowledge.

Now, in the matter at hand it is evident that the writings of St. Augustine abound in a twofold series of statements about the relation of sinners to the Church. If words alone and their apparent meaning were taken into consideration without a more thorough examination, we should be inclined to judge them contradictory. For one chain of testimonies, strong in each link, places the sinners in the Church; the other chain, consisting of no less emphatic and repeated assertions, puts them outside the Church. What is still more remarkable, however, is the fact that the links of these chains have been forged and welded as arguments to fetter the same foe. The fray with the Donatists gave St. Augustine occasion for both. Is it not natural, therefore, that any mind having some sense for the genius of St. Augustine would

<sup>13</sup> *Expositio in Tertiam D. Thomae Partem*, quaest. 8, art. 3 (Venetiis: 1590), p. 143: "In hac quaestione explicanda video variare Doctores. Quidam in hac opinione existunt, peccatores charitate vacuos licet fidelium formam retineant, non esse Ecclesiae, aut Christi membra, bene autem possunt dici partes Ecclesiae. In hac sententia fuit Turrecremata . . . et Doctissimus Cano, . . . quam sententiam, ut audio, sequuntur viri docti nostrae tempestatis. Alii vero dicunt peccatores charitate vacuos esse membra Christi in potentia, et secundum quid, quorum sententiae videtur hoc in loco D. Thomas favere. Sunt qui dicant, quod peccatores et mali sunt membra corporis Christi heterogenea, id est, alterius rationis ac spiritus, quam boni. . . ."

<sup>14</sup> Cf. J. Tixeront, *Histoire des dogmes* (4me éd.; Paris: 1912), pp. 387-88; P. Battifol, *Le catholicisme de saint Augustin* (4me éd.; Paris: 1929), pp. 256-66.

expect to be able to conciliate or coordinate into a systematic presentation these seemingly discrepant claims?

Before embarking upon an investigation of this ecclesiological problem, it will be well to bear in mind St. Augustine's concept of the Church and his meaning of sin and sinner. The Church of St. Augustine has a twofold aspect:

1) It is a Church of sacramental rites, of a hierarchical order, and of a social structure. The *Catholica* is portrayed in its historical, geographical, visible form characterized by various manifest traits through which the true assembly of God is recognized and discerned from the false religious congregations. External elements as visible bonds are essential to the concept of the Church. In fact, St. Augustine maintains that no religion, true or false, is possible without external rites and visible observances.

2) It is a Church of the Holy Ghost and of grace; it is a Church of faith, hope, and charity; it is a Church of internal, spiritual life. St. Augustine, the Fathers, and the Scholastics called this aspect of the Church primarily the body of Christ or the mystical body of Christ. This spiritual life of the individual member in the body of Christ or of all the members corporately taken, was as real an entity to St. Augustine as the life of the human body animated by the soul. "The intimate relation between Christ and the Christian Church was a fact of intense reality."<sup>15</sup>

It must be borne in mind that those two views of the Church are but two aspects of a single but complex and elastic idea of one and the same Church. In other words, the extension of the Church considered as an empirical society is identical and coincidental with the Church viewed as the mystical body of Christ. The members that are in the empirical society are also in the mystical body, although their manner of inherence vastly differs. There is no justification for ascribing to St. Augustine a division into a visible and invisible Church as two—at least partially—separate and distinct entities.<sup>16</sup>

We cannot speak of sinners in the Church or the mystical body

<sup>15</sup> W. J. Sparrow Simpson, *St. Augustine's Episcopate* (London: 1944), p. 109.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. H. Reuter, *Augustinische Studien* (Gotha: 1887), pp. 68, 98–100; G. G. Willis, *Saint Augustine and the Donatist Controversy* (London: 1950), pp. 90, 94, 105, 123–25, 174.



of Christ unless we are aware of what St. Augustine means by a sinner or sin. The concept of sin is brought to the foreground in the controversies with the Manicheans, the Donatist, but above all with the Pelagians. For Augustine sin is not an illusion, a bugbear, but a frightening reality; it is not a trivial, commonplace happening, but a monstrous and heinous injury to God every time it takes place. Who could realize the horrors of offending God more than he who sank deeply into the quagmires of sin, and firmly believed that it was only the grace of God which extricated him into the atmosphere of life, peace, and happiness? He who once so freely indulged in sin now teaches that death is to be preferred to sin.<sup>17</sup>

Sin is not a thing but an act.<sup>18</sup> For whatever is a thing is good, since it is created by God. Evil can only proceed from a created free will. The act is conceived as being a defective motion away from God, the Supreme Good. Since the digression from God is in the power of man it is voluntary, and man is thereby responsible for it.<sup>19</sup> The effect of sin is a disorder caused by the perversity of man consisting fundamentally in an aversion from a more excellent being, namely the Creator, and in a conversion toward an inferior being, namely the creature.<sup>20</sup>

Sin is a transgression of the law of God: <sup>21</sup> "A sin, therefore, is some deed, word, or desire against the eternal law." <sup>22</sup> Augustine understands the eternal law to be the divine reason or will commanding the preservation of the divine order and forbidding its disturbance.<sup>23</sup> The eternal law is identified with the "divine

<sup>17</sup> *In Io. Ev. tr.* 51, 10 (PL 35, 1767).

<sup>18</sup> *De perf. just. hom.*, 2, 4 (PL 44, 294; CSEL 42, 5): "Respondemus, peccatum quidem actum dici et esse, non rem."

<sup>19</sup> *De lib. arb.*, II, 20, 54 (PL 32, 1270): "Qui tamen defectus quoniam est voluntarius, in nostra est positus potestate."

<sup>20</sup> *De div. quaest. ad Simpl.*, I, 18 (PL 40, 122): "Est autem peccatum hominis inordinatio atque perversitas; id est, a praestantiore Conditore aversio, et ad condita inferiora conversio."

<sup>21</sup> *De cons. Evang.*, II, 4, 13 (PL 34, 1077; CSEL 43, ed. F. Weirich, 94): "Peccatum est legis transgressio." Cf. B. H. Vanderberghe, *Saint Augustin et le sens du péché* (Bruxelles: 1954).

<sup>22</sup> *Contra Faust. Manich.*, XXII, 27 (PL 42, 418; CSEL 25, 621).

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, "Lex vero aeterna est, ratio divina vel voluntas Dei, ordinem naturalem conservari jubens, perturbari vetans."

wisdom,"<sup>24</sup> the "highest reason" or intellect,<sup>25</sup> "the will of God,"<sup>26</sup> nay with God Himself.<sup>27</sup> The temporal laws by which men are ruled are variations of this one eternal law.<sup>28</sup> The physical as well as the moral order is governed by the eternal law.<sup>29</sup> There is nothing in the universe that is not under the rule and scope of the eternal law.<sup>30</sup>

Sin resides in the will of man,<sup>31</sup> which rejects the order instituted by God, and places itself in opposition to the eternal law.<sup>32</sup> Sin thus, in practice, is the negation of the eternal law.<sup>33</sup> It is committed either by doing what is forbidden or by omitting what is commanded. Since charity resides in the will and regulates our relations to God and creatures, sin can be said to be committed where charity is absent when it should be present, or where charity is present but in a degree that is not adequate.<sup>34</sup> Self-love, which culminates in the contempt of God, is the origin of sin.<sup>35</sup>

However not all sins are of equal gravity and like consequences.

<sup>24</sup> *De div. quaest. LXXXIII*, 79, 1 (PL 40, 90).

<sup>25</sup> *De lib. arb.*, I, 6, 15 (PL 32, 1229).

<sup>26</sup> *Enar. in Ps. 36, sermo* 3, 5 (PL 36, 386).

<sup>27</sup> *De vera rel.*, 31 (PL 34, 147): "Deus summa ista lex est secundum quam ratio iudicat, sed quam iudicare non licet."

<sup>28</sup> *De lib. arb.*, I, 6, 15 (PL 32, 1229).

<sup>29</sup> Cf. A. Schubert, *Augustins Lex-aeterna-Lehre nach Inhalt und Quellen* (Münster: 1924); B. Roland-Gosselin, *La morale de Saint Augustin* (Paris: 1925); *id.*, "Les fondements de la morale de Saint Augustin," *Revue de philosophie*, XXX (1930), 519-38; C. Boyer, "De fundamento moralitatis secundum S. Augustinum," *Acta Hebdomadae Augustinianae-Thomisticae* (Taurini: 1931), pp. 97-109; B. Świtalski, *Neoplatonism and the Ethics of St. Augustine* (New York: 1946), pp. 42-46; A. H. Chroust, "St. Augustine's Philosophical Theory of Law," *Notre Dame Lawyer*, XXV (1950), 285-315. See also: V. Giorgianni, *Il concetto del diritto e dello stato in S. Agostino* (Padova: 1951), pp. 55-99.

<sup>30</sup> *De div. quaest.* 83, 27 (PL 40, 18); *De civ. Dei*, XIX, 12, 3 (PL 41, 640; ed. Dombart-Kalb, II, 375 f.).

<sup>31</sup> *De duab. anim.*, 10, 12 (PL 42, 103; CSEL 25, 1, 68).

<sup>32</sup> *De lib. arb.*, II, 16, 35 (PL 32, 1240); *Sermo* 21, 3 (PL 38, 144).

<sup>33</sup> B. Świtalski, *Neoplatonism and the Ethics of St. Augustine* (New York: 1946), p. 51.

<sup>34</sup> *De perf. just. hom.*, 6, 15 (PL 44, 298; CSEL 42, 13): "Peccatum est autem, cum vel non est charitas quae esse debet, vel minor est quam debet. . . ."

<sup>35</sup> *De civ. Dei*, XIV, 13, 1 (PL 41, 421; ed. Dombart-Kalb, II, 32); *De Trin.*, XII, 9, 14 (PL 42, 1005 f.).

Augustine expresses his disagreement with the doctrine of the Stoics that all sins are equal,<sup>36</sup> and lists in his catalogue of heresies this same doctrine held by Jovinian as heretical.<sup>37</sup> Likewise in response to a letter of Nectarius who adopted the teaching of the Stoic philosophers that one sin does not differ from another,<sup>38</sup> Augustine shows how absurd such a doctrine is by examples.<sup>39</sup>

Indeed by every and any sin we recede, in a certain sense, from God and thereby become unlike Him, whereas by living a life of virtue we approach God and become assimilated to Him.<sup>40</sup> But Augustine conceives of certain sins as separating the one who commits them from God,<sup>41</sup> salvation, and life eternal.<sup>42</sup> For, "sin is the death of the soul";<sup>43</sup> nay "it is the sole death of the immortal soul,"<sup>44</sup> so that men "are dead in soul from many sins."<sup>45</sup> These effects are wrought in the soul of man by such sins as are considered grievous. Augustine is not in possession of a steadfast terminology to designate them. He calls them serious or more serious sins: *graviora peccata*,<sup>46</sup> *magna peccata*,<sup>47</sup> *scelera*,<sup>48</sup> *facinora*,<sup>49</sup> *flagitum*, *sacrilegia*,<sup>50</sup> *crimina*,<sup>51</sup> *lethalia et grandia*,<sup>52</sup> *crimina damnabilia*.<sup>53</sup> These sins separate one from the daily

<sup>36</sup> *Contra mend.*, 15, 31 (PL 40, 539; CSEL 41, ed. J. Zycha, 511).

<sup>37</sup> *De haer.*, 82 (PL 42, 45).

<sup>38</sup> *Ep.* 103, 3 (PL 33, 387; CSEL 34, 580).

<sup>39</sup> *Ep.* 104, 4, 13 (PL 33, 393-94; CSEL 34, 591).

<sup>40</sup> *Ep.* 187, 5, 17 (PL 33, 838; CSEL 57, 4, 95).

<sup>41</sup> *De civ. Dei*, X, 22 (PL 41, 300; ed. Dombart-Kalb, I, 436): "Non enim nisi peccatis homines separantur a Deo. . . ."

<sup>42</sup> *De pecc. mer. et remis.*, I, 24, 34 (PL 44, 129; CSEL 60 ed. C. Urba and J. Zycha, 34).

<sup>43</sup> *In Io. Ev. tr.* 49, 3 (PL 35, 1748).

<sup>44</sup> *De duab. animabus contra Manich.*, 2, 2 (PL 42, 95; CSEL 25, 1, 53).

<sup>45</sup> *De Trin.*, IV, 7, 11 (PL 42, 695): "Multis peccatis in anima mortui."

<sup>46</sup> *Sermo* 83, 10 (PL 38, 512).

<sup>47</sup> *Contra mend.*, 15, 31 (PL 40, 539; CSEL 41, 511).

<sup>48</sup> *De symb. ad catech.*, 7, 15 (PL 40, 636); *Ench.*, 71 (PL 40, 265).

<sup>49</sup> *Ench.*, 75 (PL 40, 267); *De spir. et litt.*, 36, 65 (44, 244; CSEL 60, 226-27).

<sup>50</sup> *Contra mend.*, 14, 30 (PL 40, 539; CSEL 41, 511).

<sup>51</sup> *Contra duas ep. Pel.*, I, 14, 28 (PL 44, 563; CSEL 60, 447).

<sup>52</sup> *In Io. Ev. tr.* 12, 14 (PL 35, 1491-92): "Liberatus ab illis lethalibus et grandibus peccatis, qualia sunt facinora, homicidia, furta, adulteria."

<sup>53</sup> *De perf. just. hom.*, 9, 20 (PL 44, 302; CSEL 42, 20): "Jam perfectus est, sed qui ad ipsam perfectionem irreprehensibiliter currit, carens criminibus damnabilibus, atque ipsa peccata venialia non negligens mundare. . . ."

Eucharistic bread.<sup>54</sup> Whoever does not repent such sins but remains in them unto death will perish.<sup>55</sup>

To these sins belong not only the three sins regarded as capital sins by the early Church, viz., idolatry, homicide, and fornication but also those of which the Scriptures say, "that they who do such things shall not obtain the kingdom of God." (Gal. 5:21). St. Augustine frequently alludes to two passages in which such sins are enumerated: viz., to I Cor. 6:9 f. which excludes thieves, the covetous, drunkards, railers, extortioners, and to Galatians 5:19 f. which excludes the doers of "the works of the flesh," that is, fornication, uncleanness, immodesty, luxury, idolatry, witchcrafts, enmities, contentions, emulations, wraths, quarrels, dissensions, sects, envies, murders, drunkenness, revelings, and such like.<sup>56</sup> Under the suggestions of Satan men will try to rationalize and make light of these sins, just as Satan did with regard to our first parents in Paradise, but such an excuse will not render inculpable sins which God views as grievous.<sup>57</sup>

In dealing with the relation of the sinner to the mystical body of Christ, it is this category of sin and sinner that we must bear in mind. By mortal sin man deviates from the path leading to God,<sup>58</sup> and turns himself away from God, his ultimate end.<sup>59</sup> By seeking happiness in creatures rather than in God the sinner violates the divinely established order.<sup>60</sup> In consequence a sinner hardened in this condition to the end will suffer the eternal loss of God and the eternal pains of hell.<sup>61</sup> If this sin separates us from

<sup>54</sup> *Sermo* 56, 12 (PL 38, 382); *Sermo* 59, 7 (PL 38, 401); *Sermo* 132, 4 (PL 38, 736); *Sermo* 351, 4 (PL 39, 1538); *Ench.*, 65 (PL 40, 262).

<sup>55</sup> *Enar. in Ps.* 88, *sermo* 2, 3 (PL 37, 1132).

<sup>56</sup> *Spec. de Scrip. sac.* (PL 34, 994; CSEL 12, 199-200); *Sermo* 351, 7 (PL 39, 1542); *De fid. et oper.*, 19, 34 (PL 40, 220; CSEL 41, 79-80); *Ench.*, 67 (PL 40, 264); *Sermo* 224, 1 (PL 38, 1094); cf. K. Adam, *Die kirchliche Sündenvergebung nach dem hl. Augustin* (Paderborn: 1917), pp. 27 ff.

<sup>57</sup> *Sermo* 224, 1-2 (PL 38, 1093-94).

<sup>58</sup> *De perf. just. hom.*, 11, 27 (PL 44, 305; CSEL 42, 26).

<sup>59</sup> *Retract.*, II, 15, 2 f. (PL 32, 636; CSEL 36, 148-49); *De bono conj.*, 9, 9; 13, 15; 14, 16 (PL 40, 380, 383-85; CSEL 41, 199-201, 207, 209); *Quaest. in Hept.*, III, 20, 2 (PL 34, 681; CSEL 28, III, 248).

<sup>60</sup> *Conf.*, III, 8, 15 (PL 32, 689; ed. M. Skutella, 49).

<sup>61</sup> *Sermo* 224, 1, 1 (PL 38, 1094); cf. A. Lahaut, *L'éternité des peines de l'enfer dans St. Augustin* (Paris: 1912); J. F. De Groot, *Conspectus historiae dogmatum* (Romae: 1931), II, 108 ff.; J. Tixeront, *Histoire des dogmes dans l'antiquité chrétienne* (Paris: 1924), II, 431-34.



God, if it deprives us of the present life of the soul, if it robs us of eternal bliss hereafter, does it also sever us from the Church, the mystical body of Christ, here below as it no doubt will in celestial life? This is the problem which the subsequent chapters will attempt to solve.

In opposition to the death-bringing category of sins there are those transgressions which are common to all the faithful. Nor is St. Augustine in possession of a technical term to designate these sins, but merely uses descriptive adjectives to indicate their nature, such as small, lesser, very little, venial, daily: *parva*,<sup>62</sup> *minora*,<sup>63</sup> *minima*,<sup>64</sup> *venialia*,<sup>65</sup> *quotidiana*,<sup>66</sup> *levia*,<sup>67</sup> *minuta*.<sup>68</sup> These sins are said to creep into the soul because of human frailty—hence they are called sins of weakness<sup>69</sup>—and are remediable through fasting, almsgiving, and prayer.<sup>70</sup>

Venial sins do not separate us from God in this life. They do not extinguish the life of the soul, nor do they deprive us of life everlasting.<sup>71</sup> They are punishable and remissible by the temporal pains of purgatory.<sup>72</sup> In fact man cannot be entirely free from

<sup>62</sup> *Contra mend.*, 14, 30 (PL 40, 539; CSEL 41, 511): "parvis quibusdam peccatis"; *ibid.*, 15, 31 (PL 40, 539; CSEL 41, 511): "alia magna (peccata), alia parva."

<sup>63</sup> *Sermo* 9, 11, 17 (PL 28, 88): "Noli illa (peccata) contemnere, quia minora sunt; sed time, quia plura sunt."

<sup>64</sup> *Ench.*, 71 (PL 40, 265).

<sup>65</sup> *De spir. et lit.*, 28, 48 (PL 44, 230; CSEL 60, 203); *De perf. just. hom.*, 9, 20 (PL 44, 302; CSEL 42, 20).

<sup>66</sup> *Sermo* 9, 11, 17 (PL 38, 88).

<sup>67</sup> *Sermo* 278, 12 (PL 38, 1274); *Ench.*, 78 (PL 40, 269); *In Io. Ep. tr.* 1, 6 (PL 35, 1982).

<sup>68</sup> *Sermo* 9, 20 (PL 38, 91); *Sermo* 278, 12 (PL 38, 1274); *Enar. in Ps.* 129, 5 (PL 37, 1699 f.).

<sup>69</sup> *De civ. Dei*, XI, 12 (PL 41, 328; ed. Dombart-Kalb, I, 479); *Op. imp. contra Jul.*, IV, 135 (PL 45, 1430).

<sup>70</sup> *Sermo* 9, 11, 17 (PL 28, 88). Cf. A. M. La Bonnardière, "Les commentaires simultanés de Mat. 6:12 et de I Jo. 1:8 dans l'oeuvre de saint Augustin," *Rev. des Études Augustiniennes*, I (1955), 129-49.

<sup>71</sup> *De spir. et lit.*, 28, 48 (PL 44, 230; CSEL 60, 203): "Sicut enim non impediunt a vita aeterna iustum quaedam peccata venialia, sine quibus haec vita non ducitur. . . ."

<sup>72</sup> *De civ. Dei*, XXI, 24, 2 (PL 41, 737; ed. Dombart-Kalb, II, 531); *Ench.*, 110 (PL 40, 283); *De cura pro mortuis gerenda* (PL 40, 591-610; CSEL 41, 623 ff.); *De gestis Pel.*, 3, 11 (PL 44, 326; CSEL 42, 62-63); *Contra lit. Petil.*, II, 23, 54 (PL 43, 278 f.; CSEL 52, 54); cf. E. Portalié, "Augustin," *Dict. de théol. cath.*, I, 2447-49; De Groot, *op. cit.*, II, 108;

venial sins as long as he leads this mortal life. Venial sins are, therefore, compatible with the condition of justice and membership in the mystical body of Christ. Hence the just with their venial sins will not come into consideration in the following chapters in which the inherence of sinners in the Church, the body of Christ, is treated.

We shall consider St. Augustine's doctrine on sinners in the Church under the following headings: (Chap. 1) The Relation of Sinners to the Juridical Church; (Chap. 2) The Exclusion of Sinners from the Body of Christ and the Inclusion of Sinners in the Body of Christ; (Chap. 3) The Exclusion of Sinners from the Celestial Body of Christ or from the Celestial Church; (Chap. 4) The Relation of Predestination to the Just and Sinners Existing in the Church.

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Tixeront, *op. cit.*, II, 431-34; J. Mausbach, *Die Ethik des hl. Augustinus* (2 Aufl.; Freiburg im Br.: 1929), I, 239.

## CHAPTER I

### SINNERS AND THE JURIDICAL CHURCH

WHEN the Church is considered under the aspect of a society, sinners are defended strenuously as being in it and consequently in a way constituting a part of it. This becomes apparent from the often repeated arguments and the direct and peremptory phraseology employed in the whole controversy with the Donatists. For it was with them that the whole problem of the existence of grievous sin and mortally God-offending sinners in the Church was vehemently disputed.<sup>1</sup>

The Donatists, fellow countrymen of St. Augustine, separated themselves from the Catholic Church under the pretext that "on account of the crimes (*crimina*) of Caecilianus, the Church of Christ perished. . . . It remained in the African faction of Donatus, but in other parts of the world became extinct, as it were, through contagion of communion."<sup>2</sup> The schism originated in Africa, in the year 311, during the persecution of Diocletian who did not aim at suppressing the Church by the compulsory offering of sacrifice, as was done in the previous persecution by Decius, but by the confiscation of its sacred writings. Those who apostatized during the persecution now became *traditores*; in the previous persecution they were *libellatici* or *sacrificati*.

After the persecution subsided many charges of treachery were brought against the clergy and laity. A party of fanatical Christians in the Church of Carthage disowned Caecilianus, as the lawfully consecrated Bishop of Carthage, on the ground that he

<sup>1</sup> Cf. P. Monceaux, *Histoire littéraire de l'Afrique chrétienne* (Paris: 1900-23), VII (1923), *S. Augustin et le donatisme*; Battifol, *op. cit.*, pp. 125-348; Tixeront, *op. cit.*, II, 384 ff.; G. G. Willis, *St. Augustine and the Donatist Heresy* (London: 1950), pp. 36 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *De haer.*, 69 (PL 42, 43); see also *Ep.* 93, 10, 37 (PL 33, 339; CSEL 34, II, 481-82); *Ep.* 105, 1, 2 (PL 33, 396; CSEL 34, II, 596).

received his episcopal power from Felix, Bishop of Aptunga, and others<sup>3</sup> who were supposed to be *traditores* in the persecution. In place of Caecilianus, a dissident faction of Numidian bishops, assembled in synod at Carthage, chose and consecrated Maiorinus, a Carthaginian Reader,<sup>4</sup> for the bishopric of Carthage. Donatus, who later succeeded Maiorinus as the dissident Bishop of Carthage, contributed most, by his oratorical powers, to the establishment and growth of the schism, so that he has given his name to the faction. The seventy bishops informed all the African churches of the proceedings and asked them to break off communion with the Catholic Bishop Caecilianus.<sup>5</sup> They "thus set up a schismatic church at Carthage, inaugurating the division of African Christianity which was only finally to be healed when at the beginning of the seventh century Christianity itself in Africa succumbed to the Arab invasion."<sup>6</sup>

Just about the time that St. Augustine was entering on the stage of Church life, the Donatists came close to mastering all Africa.<sup>7</sup> He pursued them with remarkable energy and became their most formidable adversary. He vindicates the innocence of Felix, the consecrator of Caecilianus, from being a *traditor*. An inquiry held in 314 concerning his conduct showed that the charges against him rested on false evidence.<sup>8</sup> Again, in the same year, the matter was brought up at the instigation of the Maiorinists, at the Council of Arles, where both Caecilianus<sup>9</sup> and Felix<sup>10</sup> were pronounced innocent. But even if the purported *crimen traditionis* were true in the case of the Catholic consecrators and of Caecilianus himself, Augustine denies the conclusion drawn

<sup>3</sup> Optatus, *Contra Parmen. Donat.*, I, 18 (CSEL 26, 20-21).

<sup>4</sup> Optatus, *Contra Parmen. Donat.*, I, 15 (CSEL 26, 17).

<sup>5</sup> Optatus, *Contra Parmen. Donat.*, I, 19, 20 (CSEL 26, 20-22); *De unit. Eccl.*, 25, 73 (PL 43, 443); *Contra Crescon.*, III, 3, 3 (PL 43, 497; CSEL 52, 412); IV, 7, 9 (PL 43, 553-54; CSEL 52, 508f.); *Ep.* 43, 5, 14 (PL 33, 166; CSEL 34, II, 96).

<sup>6</sup> G. G. Willis, *St. Augustine and the Donatist Controversy* (London: 1950), p. 6.

<sup>7</sup> W. F. C. Frend, *The Donatist Church* (Oxford: 1952), p. 210.

<sup>8</sup> *Ep.* 88, 4 (PL 33, 304).

<sup>9</sup> C. J. Hefele, *History of the Christian Councils* (Edinburgh: 1872), I, 180 ff.

<sup>10</sup> L. Duchesne, *Early History of the Church* (London: 1922), II, 115-18.



by the Donatists from such supposed facts that the whole Church of Christ would have been vitiated by the contagion of this sin, and would have ceased to exist as the true Church.

On the other hand, the Bishop of Hippo reminds his schismatic countrymen of the fact that the founding bishops of the Donatist schism were not free of the guilt with which they charged the legitimate Bishop of Carthage and his consecrators.<sup>11</sup> An official inquiry ordered by Constantine in 320 proved them to be guilty of the *traditio*.<sup>12</sup> Consequently, according to their own principles, the theological foundation of their Church was undermined.

The imputation of the personal sins of the consecrators, and of the Bishop of Carthage, to the whole Church was the hinge of the whole controversy. Historically, it was in itself an individual case; doctrinally, it involved a far-reaching principle. Every and any sin comparable to the *crimen traditionis*—and all sins separating man from the kingdom of God are such—would be irreconcilable with membership in the Church, the mystical body of Christ. The controversy dealt primarily with the problem of membership in the Church, but at bottom the very nature of the Church was involved in the proceedings and bitter disputes of the Donatist faction and St. Augustine.

The concept of sin is deeply involved in the controversy with the Donatists as well as the Pelagians, and its effect on the members of the mystical body of Christ. Yet, what an enormous difference there is between sin and sin in each controversy, even though the nature of sin is not explicitly defined. The sin entailed in the dispute with the Pelagians was such that human nature, being as it is, could not avoid. Such a sin, therefore, could coexist with justice and charity in the soul of a living member of the mystical body of Christ.<sup>13</sup> The sin spoken of in the controversy with

<sup>11</sup> Optatus, *Contra Parmen. Donat.*, I, 13, 14 (CSEL 26, 15-17); Augustine, *Contra Crescon.*, III, 26, 29 (PL 43, 510; CSEL 52, 435); III, 27, 30-31 (PL 43, 510-12; CSEL 52, 435-38); *De unico bapt. contra Petil.*, 17, 31 (PL 43, 612); *Ep.* 43, 2, 3 (PL 33, 160-61; CSEL 34, II, 86-87); *Contra lit. Petil.*, I, 21, 23 (PL 43, 256; CSEL 52, 18).

<sup>12</sup> *Gesta apud Zenophilum Consulare* (PL 43, 793 f.).

<sup>13</sup> *De pecc. mer.*, II, 13, 18 (PL 44, 162; CSEL 60, 92); *Contra duas ep. Pel.*, III, 5, 5 (PL 44, 599; CSEL 60, 503-4); *De perf. iust. hom.*, 15, 35

the Donatists was one that could not be reconciled with the state of justice; he who is guilty of it is devoid of the life of grace, of the possession of charity, and of the indwelling of the Holy Ghost. Augustine's recourse to the sins enumerated by St. Paul as excluding from the kingdom of God is but one tangible evidence that he was keenly aware of the vast difference in the effects caused by "venial" and "lethal" sins.

The concept of the Church also differs according as a sinner, devoid of supernatural life, is conceived as being incompatible with the holiness of the Church, or not. According to the theology of the Donatists, the holiness of the Church brooks no admixture of sinners in its fold. The sinner as bad leaven contaminates the whole mass of the faithful.<sup>14</sup> If sinners are not excluded from the fold of the Church—as they supposedly have not been in the Catholic Church—it ceases to be the true Church of Christ. According to St. Augustine, the inherence of the sinner in the Church does not vitiate its holiness, because the holiness of the Church is the holiness of Christ the head, who cannot be contaminated by the sin of His members.

It lies, I believe, on the surface of the matter that, in the Donatist controversy whether sinners belong to the Church or not, the aspect of the Church which comes to the foreground is that of the Church as a juridical society.<sup>15</sup> The forte of Augustine's polemics was the introduction of the data and documents concerning the history of the Donatist schism; these were known to contemporary North Africa and were used as the premises for his proofs.<sup>16</sup> These facts account for much of the theological devel-

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(PL 44, 310; CSEL 42, 36). Cf. J. Carney, *The Doctrine of St. Augustine on Sanctity* (Washington, 1945), pp. 43-45.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. P. Battifol, *op. cit.*, pp. 260-61.

<sup>15</sup> F. Hünemann, *Die Busslehre des hl. Augustinus* (Forschungen zur christlichen Literatur und Dogmengeschichte, XII, 1 [Paderborn: 1914]), p. 5: "Augustin geht nicht so weit wie die Donatisten, welche den Sünder auch von der äusseren Kirchengemeinschaft getrennt wissen wollten."

<sup>16</sup> P. Monceaux, *Histoire littéraire de l'Afrique chrétienne* (Paris: 1901-23), VII, 197: "L'originalité principale de son système polémique était dans l'introduction d'un élément nouveau, qui à lui seul aurait renouvelé toute la controverse: les données et les preuves tirées de l'histoire contemporaine." *Ibid.*, pp. 204-5: "Dans toutes les controverses, pour être compris de tous, il prenait comme base les faits, surtout les plus évidents,

opment which concerns the external, visible Church and its evidences.

From the external Church Augustine is led, by the nature of the controversy as well as by the nature of the Church, to consider the internal Church. This consideration envisages the Church as the mystical body of Christ and studies the relation of sinners to it in the light of scriptural and traditional evidence. And thus by force of historical circumstances and by the nature of the case the same controversy considers sinners within the Church in their two possible aspects to the Church, namely, as related either to the visible and social Church or to the mystical body.

In this controversy alone, Augustine became the greatest apologist of the patristic era, and the model for all future apologists. His lucidity of exposition, comprehensiveness of material, thoroughness of treatment, his readiness to avail himself of the scriptural and patristic arsenal, his keen insight into the weaknesses of his heretical and schismatic adversaries are characteristic of his brilliant polemic powers. His powerful love and singular zeal for the unity of the Church, the body of Christ, are his incentive and reward.

#### SCRIPTURAL TESTIMONIES

Sacred Scripture furnishes St. Augustine with his most potent arguments against the Donatists to show that sinners remain a part of the Church. Accordingly, he asserts that "there come to mind from the Scriptures those likenesses, divine presages and most certain examples, by which it has been proved and foretold that the wicked would be mixed in the Church with the good until the end of the world and to the time of judgment."<sup>17</sup> The allusion is to texts from both the Old and the New Testament.

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ou même les plus brutaux, ceux qu'attestaient des documents irrécusables ou les réalités contemporaines. . . . Il jugeait indispensable de mettre sous les yeux du public le texte même des documents allégués, les pièces d'archives ou autres qui établissaient la réalité des faits: les dossiers relatifs aux origines du schisme, aux persécutions, au Maximianisme, aux négociations tentées avec les schismatiques, aux grands procès, aux Conciles des deux partis à la conférence de Carthage. . . ."

<sup>17</sup> *De fide et oper.*, 5, 7 (PL 40, 201; CSEL 41, ed. J. Zycha, 42).

In the Old Testament are found some striking images which he adopts as arguments for the contemporaneous existence of the good and the evil in the same Church. The ark of Noe, which was an image of the future Church, contained clean and unclean animals;<sup>18</sup> from that same ark a raven was sent forth, and also a dove. In these animals of two different classes and in these two types of birds St. Augustine sees an indication of the existence of two diverse classes of men, the good and the bad, in the Church. Another type of the Church is represented by Rebecca,<sup>19</sup> who carried two dissenting sons in her womb, one of whom merited to be loved, the other to be rejected. The Church is also now in a state of travail, carrying within her such as will be loved and such as will be despised when the time will come to be born to the celestial Church and to separate the wicked from the good. From the Cantic of Canticles<sup>20</sup> there is the simile of the lily and the thorns. The lily is typical of that portion of the Church which consists of the good; the thorns typify the wicked. The latter are called daughters because they belong to the people of God, that is, to the Church, and are called thorns on account of their sinful unworthiness.

In the New Testament the arguments are taken especially from the contents of the parables and figures used by Jesus Christ. Many of these are prophetic of the coexistence of the bad and the good in the Church until the end of its temporal existence. The purpose of the predictions in the parables was to warn and comfort us, so that the existence of wicked men in the true Church of Christ might not be a stumbling block to the good and to those that seek the truth. The figures most frequently appealed to by St. Augustine, under which this truth is portrayed, are the following:

a) *Wheat and chaff*.<sup>21</sup> The grain is significative of the good;

<sup>18</sup> Gen. 8:6-9; cf. St. Augustine, *Ep.* 108, 7, 10 (PL 33, 417; CSEL 34, II, 633-34).

<sup>19</sup> Gen. 25:22-23.

<sup>20</sup> Cant. 2:2; cf. St. Augustine, *Ep.* 93, 9, 28 (PL 33, 335; CSEL 34, II, 472-73).

<sup>21</sup> Matt. 3:12; cf. St. Augustine, *Contra litt. Petil.*, II, 78, 174 (PL 43, 312; CSEL 52, 108); *Contra Crescon.*, III, 35, 39 (PL 43, 517; CSEL 52, 447); *De bapt. contra Donat.*, I, 17, 26 (PL 43, 123; CSEL 51, 170); VII, 99 (PL 43, 241; CSEL 51, ed. M. Petschenig, 370-71).



there is an analogy between sinners and straw. The Church is the field on which both of these grow. A part of the chaff is carried off the field by gusts of wind; the rest remains on the field until the end, when it is gleaned from the field by servants. St. Augustine's interpretation is this: part of the wicked persevere in the unity of the Church until the end of their lives; such are reputed members of the Church as long as they remain in its unity. There is one difference, however, between these two fields to which our attention is called; namely, in the earthly field any kind of conversion from chaff into grain is impossible, whereas in the field of the Church, during its temporal existence, that which was wheat may turn into chaff, and that which was chaff may become wheat.

b) *The wheat and the cockle*.<sup>22</sup> This parable is similar in content to the former one. The cockle, that is, wicked men, is permitted to grow until the harvest, namely, until the time of God's judgment. Then only shall the separation take place; then only shall the Church be constituted of the good alone. "Other is the condition of the field and other the peace of the barn."<sup>23</sup> And, as has been noted regarding the previous comparison, so here there is this consolation that in the Church's fields the conversion from cockle into wheat is possible, a thing not feasible in the type.<sup>24</sup> Therefore, just as it is forbidden to eradicate the tares from the field before harvest time, so also it is not permitted to cast the sinner out of the Church, because he has more favorable conditions for conversion if he remain in the unity of the Church's sacraments. For the Holy Ghost, who remits sins in the sacrament of penance, is confined to the Church as the soul of the mystical body of Christ and His operations within it are an intimate and habitual role. Hence to the Church alone is confided the remission of sins.

<sup>22</sup> Matt. 13:24 ff.; cf. St. Augustine, *De bapt. contra Donat.*, IV, 9, 13 (PL 43, 163; CSEL 51, 237).

<sup>23</sup> *Sermo* 47, 5, 6 (PL 38, 298).

<sup>24</sup> *Quaest. in Mt.*, 12, 4 (PL 35, 1271): *Sermo* (Caillau et Saint Yves, 2, 5, 2) G. Morin, *Sancti Augustini sermones post Maurinos reperti* (Romae: 1930), p. 250: "Hic in agro fit aut de zizaniis triticum, aut de tritico zizania. . . ."

c) *The fish-net and the double draught of fishes.*<sup>25</sup> St. Augustine compares the present state of the Church in this world and its condition in the world to come to two fishing episodes described in detail in the Gospels. In the first, all kinds of fish were caught. In fact, the load was so great that the strings of the net gave way, so that a part of the prey was able to free itself from the net, whilst all the rest, good fish and bad, were drawn to the shore. Here Augustine sees an image of the present condition of the Church.<sup>26</sup> That portion which frees itself from the draw-net is representative of heretics and schismatics who separate themselves from the unity of the Church; the good and the bad fish that remain in the one net are representative of the good and the bad in the one Church, where they shall remain until the separation takes place on the shores of eternity.<sup>27</sup> In the second fishing, which took place after the resurrection, only good and large fishes were caught by the apostles. They were told to cast their net to the right, signifying thereby a draught only of good fishes. Similarly, after the resurrection of all men only the good will form the Church.<sup>28</sup> These biblical narratives are not to be separated from the parable of the fishing-net, to which they are very similar in subject and object.<sup>29</sup>

d) *The sheep and the goats.*<sup>30</sup> There are good and bad spiritual pastors administering to the flock of faithful in the Church; but also mixed among the flock of sheep are goats.<sup>31</sup> Sheep typify the good, whereas goats symbolize the sinners in the Church. Just as goats graze on common pastures and are led by the same

<sup>25</sup> Luke 5:1-10; John 21:1-12; cf., for example, *Ep.* 93, 9, 34 (PL 33, 338; CSEL 34, II, 480).

<sup>26</sup> *In Io. Ev. tr.* 122, 7 (PL 35, 1962). Cf. Marie Comeau, *Saint Augustin exégète du quatrième Évangile* (Paris: 1930), p. 154.

<sup>27</sup> *Sermo* 252, 4, 4 (PL 38, 1174): "Omnes mali (haeretici et schismatici) exeunt. Non quidem exeunt, nisi mali: remanent autem et boni et mali. Nam unde perducitur ad litus cum piscibus et bonis et malis, de qua in parabola locutus est Dominus?"

<sup>28</sup> *In Io. Ev. tr.* 122, 7 (PL 35, 1962).

<sup>29</sup> Matt. 13:47-50; cf. *De consensu evang.*, IV, 9, 10 (CSEL 43, I, 410).

<sup>30</sup> Matt. 25:32; cf. *Sermo* 47, 5, 6 (PL 38, 298).

<sup>31</sup> *Ep.* 208, 3 (PL 33, 951; CSEL 57, ed. A. Goldbacher, IV, 344): "Sicut autem sunt pastores boni et mali, sic etiam in ipsis gregibus sunt et boni et mali."

pastors as the sheep, so the wicked in the Church enjoy the same ministry as the good and pertain to the same unity. In due time, however, the goats will be separated from the flock; that is, the sinners from the Church of Christ. The goats will be cast to the left to be damned, whereas the sheep will find their place to the right to form the Church in eternity.<sup>32</sup>

e) *The two cities*. St. Augustine portrays mankind as being divided into two societies, two communions, two groups—the *civitas terrena* and the *civitas Dei*. As to the origin of these terms, *civitas Dei* occurs in the Scriptures,<sup>33</sup> but *civitas terrena* does not. The latter, as it literally stands, seems to be St. Augustine's own expression induced for the purpose of contrasting the Christian supernatural society with the natural society of the state, of which the former is naturally a part. In using such terms Augustine had an example in St. Paul who also on Christian topics expresses himself in terms taken from the social conditions of the Roman state. The Apostle refers to the "slaves of Christ," "the freemen of Christ," "Christ, the new Master," etc.<sup>34</sup> Augustine likewise names the Christian society a *civitas* from the social surroundings of his time and considers it against the background of the Roman empire.<sup>35</sup>

Inasmuch as there is a contrast between the two cities, the divergent ideas, couched under the images of two cities, can be traced to the Gospels and to the Epistles of St. Paul.<sup>36</sup> The opposition is brought into bold relief on a universal social basis and is embodied in the two opposing cities by Tichonius, a countryman of St. Augustine. It is usually asserted that this Donatist or Afro-Catholic, for whom Augustine expresses not a little regard, influenced the mind of the African Bishop on this topic and that consequently Augustine was indebted to Tichonius for

<sup>32</sup> *Sermo* 47, 5, 6 (PL 38, 298): "Quid hic faciunt hirci in grege Dei? In eisdem pascuis, in eisdem fontibus, et hirci tamen sinistrae destinati dextris miscentur et prius tolerantur qui separabuntur; et hic exercetur ovium patientia ad similitudinem patientiae Dei."

<sup>33</sup> Ps. 86:3; cf. Heb. 12:33.

<sup>34</sup> Cf. A. Deissmann, *Licht aus dem Osten* (Tübingen: 1908), pp. 273 f.

<sup>35</sup> W. Ziegenfuss, *Augustinus: Christliche Transzendenz in Gesellschaft und Geschichte* (Berlin: 1948), p. 120.

<sup>36</sup> Cf. E. Barker's Introduction to Healey's translation of *De Civitate Dei* (Everyman's Library; London: 1945), I, p. xiv.

the social philosophy of the two cities.<sup>37</sup> However the statements of Tichonius on the subject contain one aspect of both cities under the phrases *civitas Dei* and *civitas diaboli* whereas Augustine's treatment is more comprehensive, containing a social philosophy and an ecclesiological theology.

Augustine meditated on the ideas of the two cities after his conversion. He gave expression to them in his treatise *On Catechizing the Unlearned*, written in the year 400. He developed them in the *City of God*, which he began writing in 413 and which he did not finish until 426, but a few years before his death.<sup>38</sup> This great and ever living work which the hard working Bishop called an arduous achievement astounds us with its uncanny sweep of knowledge; it embraces the past accomplishments of the human mind and presents a timeless and universal analysis of history in the light of the teaching of Christ, so that Augustine's *City of God* becomes a monumental theology of history.

It is difficult for us today to imagine what impact was exerted on the mind of the Graeco-Roman world by the word "city."<sup>39</sup> A "city" is a union of rational creatures who seek and tend to a common goal in an orderly fashion and are thereby united.<sup>40</sup> A

<sup>37</sup> So, for example, J. Hahn, *Tychonius-Studien. Ein Beitrag zur Kirchen und Dogmengeschichte des vierten Jahrhunderts* (Leipzig: 1900), p. 115; H. Scholz, *Glaube und Unglaube in der Weltgeschichte* (Leipzig: 1911), p. 78; A. Pincherle, *Sant'Agostino d'Ippona, Vescovo e Teologo* (Bari: 1930), pp. 228-29; C. Dawson, "St. Augustine and his Age," chap. II, "The City of God," in *A Monument to St. Augustine* (London: 1945), p. 58; G. G. Willis, *Saint Augustine and the Donatist Controversy* (London: 1950), pp. 139-40; B. Geyer, *Die patristische und scholastische Philosophie, Überwegs Grundriss der Geschichte der Philosophie*, zweiter Teil (Berlin: 1928), p. 114. Cf. P. Monceaux, *Histoire littéraire de l'Afrique chrétienne*, V (Paris: 1920), pp. 202-4.

<sup>38</sup> For a gist of this work, cf. H. Eibl, *Augustin und die Patristik* (München: 1924), pp. 347 f.; R. J. Deferrari and E. Keeler, "St. Augustine's City of God: Its Plan and Development," *American Journal of Philology*, L (1929), 109-37; J. Rickaby, *St. Augustine's City: A View of Its Contents* (New York: 1925); V. J. Bourke, *Augustine's Quest of Wisdom* (Milwaukee: 1945), pp. 248-84.

<sup>39</sup> G. Bardy, "La formation du concept de 'Cité de Dieu' dans l'oeuvre de saint Augustin," *L'année théologique Augustinienne*, XII (1952), 5 ff.

<sup>40</sup> C. V. von Horn, *Die Staatslehre Augustins nach De civitate Dei* (Breslau: 1934), p. 14: "... Inbegriff derer, die die Eigenschaft der Zugehörigkeit zu einem irgendwie gearteten diesseitigen oder transzendenten Verband besitzen." W. Ziegenfuss, *op. cit.*, p. 123: "Eine ver-



city has a purpose, a goal, an end to which it reaches out. Moreover, it is characterized by order, otherwise men could not be portrayed under the image of a city. Finally, the value of the city is estimated according to the end it seeks. Since all men, by their very intellectual nature, seek a goal, the city is limitless in its comprehension and boundless in time; it exists from the beginning to the end of mankind, and it embraces all men.

Since there are two ultimate ends, there are two types of social unions. All men must belong to the one or the other. Men either seek themselves and temporal goods as their ultimate goal, or they seek God and transcendental goods. There are the worldly, the unjust who love pride and temporal domination, and there are those who humbly seek the glory of God and lead pious lives.<sup>41</sup> These two types of men build the two "cities" of St. Augustine. "Two cities have been formed by two loves: the earthly by the love of self, even to the contempt of God; the heavenly by the love of God, even to the contempt of self."<sup>42</sup> The two cities embrace all men for "they have been running their course mingling one with the other through all the changes of times from the beginning of the human race, and shall so move on together until the end of the world, when they are destined to be separated at the last judgment."<sup>43</sup>

The *civitas Dei* is not a purely Christian state, which did exist in those days, but is a communion of those who are citizens in the kingdom of God. For God reigns in their minds and hearts, in their desires and actions. Their life is in accordance with the divine rule even in their purely material and temporal existence. They are subject to the justice of God and are united to Christ. In the City of God, Christ, unlike the emperor in the Roman *civitas terrena*, is not the Lord and Master, but everyone may become a Christ, a member of Christ by belonging to this communion.<sup>44</sup> The communion with Christ constitutes not merely

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nümmfte Menge, die durch die Hingabe an ein gemeinsames Zielgut zur Einheit verbunden ist."

<sup>41</sup> *De cat. rud.*, 19, 31 (PL 40, 333).

<sup>42</sup> *De civ. Dei*, XIV, 28 (PL 41, 436; ed. Dombart-Kalb, II, 56); tr. by M. Dods, in the Modern Library (New York: 1950), p. 477.

<sup>43</sup> *De cat. rud.*, 21, 37 (PL 41, 337).

<sup>44</sup> Cf. O. Schilling, *Die Staats- und Gesellschaftslehre des hl. Augustinus* (Freiburg: 1910), p. 39.

"an ideal society"<sup>45</sup> united by "intentional bonds,"<sup>46</sup> but forms also a spiritual reality composed of men who are united by spiritual ties.

The earthly city—*civitas terrena*—is opposed to the city of God. It is not an earthly city on account of some specifically civil or temporal functions which it performs, but is so named from its tendency to, and appetency of, the "fruition" of temporal goods, instead of the "fruition" of God as its ultimate end. It finds the purpose of its life realized within the created order and not realizable in the creator. The perversion consists in this that the created is preferred to the creator. Even when it does seek God it does so not as its highest good and end but as a means and an expedient to a terrestrial end.<sup>47</sup> Men having terrestrial goods as their supreme end are united by it and by their aspirations into a terrestrial city.

The *civitas terrena* is not, strictly speaking, presented as a state, although it approximates to the concept of a state more than the *civitas Dei*.<sup>48</sup> The preponderance of opinion stands on the side of those who are of the opinion that the *civitas terrena* is not to be simply identified with the civil state, in particular with the Roman state within which the Church was at the time St. Augustine was writing.<sup>49</sup> There can be no doubt that many of the characteristics of the *civitas terrena* are those that are taken from the state<sup>50</sup> and that Augustine has before his eyes the la-

<sup>45</sup> O. Schilling, "Die Staatslehre des hl. Augustinus—nach 'De civitate Dei,'" *Aurelius Augustinus*. "Die Festschrift der Görres-Gesellschaft zum 1500 Todestage des hl. Augustinus" (Köln: 1930), p. 303: "ideelle Gemeinschaft."

<sup>46</sup> W. Ziegenfuss, *op. cit.*, p. 120: "einem intenzionalen Verband."

<sup>47</sup> *De civ. Dei*, V, 14 (PL 41, 159); ed. Dombart-Kalb, I, 220.

<sup>48</sup> W. Ziegenfuss, *op. cit.*, p. 120.

<sup>49</sup> O. Schilling, *Die Staats- und Soziallehre des hl. Augustinus* (Freiburg: 1910), pp. 36 and 39; *id.*, "Die Staatslehre des hl. Augustinus nach 'De civitate Dei,'" *Aurelius Augustinus*, etc., pp. 303-11; M. Straszewski, *Filozofja Św. Augustyna na Tle Epoki* (2 ed.; Lwów: 1928), pp. 36 f.; C. V. von Horn, *Die Staatslehre Augustins nach "De civitate Dei"* (Breslau: 1934), p. 32; G. Bardy, "Définition de la Cité de Dieu," *L'année théologique Augustinienne*, XII (1952), 123. However, K. Holl, *Augustins innere Entwicklung* (Berlin: 1922), p. 100, says that it is "unverständlich wie man bestreiten kann, dass Augustin von den Gleichungen *civitas terrena* = Römerstaat und *civitas Dei* = Kirche ausgeht."

<sup>50</sup> H. Fuchs, *Augustin und der antike Friedensgedanke* (Berlin: 1926), p. 86.

mentable moral conditions prevailing in the Roman Empire at the time of its crumbling and dissolution. Through the medium of the earthly city he is attacking the pagan or semi-pagan state.<sup>51</sup>

Although there is a general opposition between the *civitas Dei* and the *civitas terrena*, the latter is not homogeneous but a vast conglomeration of various categories of men who have one thing in common, viz., that they do not seek God as their ultimate end but concentrate their efforts in the pursuance of some created object as their final goal. The striving after worldly power and transitory goods admits of various degrees of malice. The class of men that is under consideration determines the specific wickedness of that portion of the *civitas terrena* and the extent of its opposition to the city of God.

In the *civitas terrena* one will find that category of men who do not believe there is a God, or if they admit His existence, they do not believe He plays any role in the lives of men.<sup>52</sup> "Such is the city, that is the society of the godless who live not according to God, but according to man, and who, in their worship of a false deity and contempt of a true Divinity, follow the doctrines of men and demons. . . ." <sup>53</sup>

It may happen that one may recognize and honor God or the deities in order that one may obtain divine help in attaining victory and peace, but this only for the purpose of exercising rule, not out of solicitous love but out of cupidity for domination.<sup>54</sup> Notwithstanding the recourse to a Supreme Being, the order is perverted: the final purpose is not the unchangeable and eternal good, but the earthly, changeable, and transitory. "The good use the world in order that they may enjoy God: the wicked on the contrary, want to use God in order that they may enjoy the world." <sup>55</sup>

The earthly city is not only inimical to the heavenly city but is also rampant with strife among the many categories of men

<sup>51</sup> N. N. Baynes, *The Political Ideas of St. Augustine's "De Civitate Dei"* (London: 1936), pp. 11, 12.

<sup>52</sup> *De civ. Dei*, XV, 7, 1 (PL 41, 444; ed. Dombart-Kalb, II, 67 f.).

<sup>53</sup> *De civ. Dei*, XIV, 9, 6 (PL 41, 416; ed. Dombart-Kalb, II, 25).

<sup>54</sup> *De civ. Dei*, XV, 7, 1 (PL 41, 444; ed. Dombart-Kalb, II, 68-69).

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*

forming it. Where unrestrained striving after earthly goods is the dominant urge over all other considerations, there will not be a united front, but men will be divided among themselves according to the category of goods which they seek. Division of interests causes division of men, and this in turn brings about oppositions of men within the same city. And thus the wicked will be opposed to the wicked.<sup>56</sup> The goods that men seek in the earthly city are the occasion of turmoils, struggles, envies, wars.<sup>57</sup> Pursuance of temporal goods alone does not promote a regard for justice. Nor can there be any prospects of true happiness for such men.<sup>58</sup> They will find neither inner peace nor external peace.

It is not only a matter of seeking created and temporal goods as if they were the highest and eternal goods, but also a matter of moral actions which are opposed to the proper conduct of life. In applying all the powers of their being in the pursuance of the created and in the unrestricted service of self they sin against God and neighbor.

Men can belong to the earthly city and seek temporal goods but in such a way as not to obstruct the sway of justice, and therefore the rule of God even in their purely material and temporal existence. Such men, when banded in a state possessing an ethical character and founded on moral principles, are a certain reflection of God's perfection, even if they do not endeavor to seek Him in the appointed manner, and are a manifestation of His providence. The older Roman state "which was administered better by the more ancient Romans,"<sup>59</sup> served as a pattern for the Christian social and juridical organization.<sup>60</sup>

Such was not the case with the more recent Roman state. It was called a *res publica*, but it was not in the proper sense a

<sup>56</sup> *De civ. Dei*, XV, 5 (PL 41, 441-42); ed. Dombart-Kalb, II, 65): "Pugnant inter se mali et mali: item pugnant inter se boni et mali."

<sup>57</sup> *De civ. Dei*, XV, 4 (PL 41, 440; ed. Dombart-Kalb, II, 63): "Civitas ista adversus se ipsam plerumque dividitur litigando, bellando, atque pugnando, et aut mortiferas, aut certe mortales victorias requirendo."

<sup>58</sup> W. Ziegenfuss, *op. cit.*, p. 126: "Es fehlt der Anhaltspunkt für ein Verhalten im Sinn der Gerechtigkeit, und es besteht vor allem nicht die mindeste Aussicht, zum Frieden zu gelangen."

<sup>59</sup> *De civ. Dei*, II, 21, 4 (PL 41, 68; ed. Dombart-Kalb, I, 83).

<sup>60</sup> *De civ. Dei*, V, 21 (PL 41, 167-68; ed. Dombart-Kalb, I, 231-33).



*res publica*, a state, because that which makes a state a state was wanting, viz., justice.<sup>61</sup> St. Augustine quotes the definition of Cicero<sup>62</sup> who deems justice an essential quality of the state. Recounting its history the Bishop shows that the Roman polity "was never a republic, because there was no true justice in it."<sup>63</sup> Augustine adds, however, that "according to more probable definitions, it was a republic in its own way."<sup>64</sup> Consequently some interpreters of Augustine's political ideas understand him as saying a polity is not a state if justice is wanting,<sup>65</sup> quoting his words: "Set aside justice and what are kingdoms but great robberies. What is banditry but a little kingdom."<sup>66</sup> Others maintain that he abandons justice as an element essentially necessary to the definition of a state.<sup>67</sup>

When we compare the Roman state with the city of God there is a paradox. The former in social and juridical structure was in appearance and in some characteristics a state. Yet it was without the essential trait which is justice. The kingdom founded by Christ—the city of God—has not the social and juridical structure of a state, nevertheless it possesses true justice.<sup>68</sup> How

<sup>61</sup> V. Stegemann, *Augustins Gottesstaat* (Tübingen: 1928), pp. 36, 37.

<sup>62</sup> *De civ. Dei*, II, 21, 1 (PL 41, 66–67; ed. Dombart-Kalb, I, 80), quoting Cicero: (Rempublicam) "sine iustitia nullo pacto esse posse"; "sine iustitia rempublicam regi non posse." Cf. Cicero, *De republica*, II, 43 (Loeb Classical Library ed. [New York: 1928], p. 182). From St. Augustine's text it is evident that a passage of uncertain length was lost from Cicero's work.

<sup>63</sup> *De civ. Dei*, II, 21, 4 (PL 41, 67; ed. Dombart-Kalb, I, 83).

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>65</sup> E.g., W. Ziegenfuss, *op. cit.*, p. 122; A. J. Carlyle, "St. Augustine and the City of God," in *The Social and Political Ideas of Some Great Medieval Thinkers*, ed. F. J. C. Hearnshaw (London: 1923), p. 51, doubts it: "If he did, I cannot but feel that it was a deplorable error for a great Christian teacher."

<sup>66</sup> *De civ. Dei*, IV, 4 (PL 41, 115; ed. Dombart-Kalb, I, 150).

<sup>67</sup> M. F. X. Millar, "St. Augustine and Cicero's Definition of the State," *Thought*, IV (1930), 254–66; C. Dawson, "St. Augustine and His Age," chap. II, "The City of God," *A Monument to St. Augustine* (London: 1945), p. 62: "The consideration of history leads Augustine to reject the political idealism of the philosophers and to dispute Cicero's thesis that the state rests essentially on justice . . . he eliminates all moral elements from his definition of the state. . . ." Cf. also E. Gilson, *Les métamorphoses de la Cité de Dieu* (Louvain: 1952), pp. 40, 41.

<sup>68</sup> *De civ. Dei*, II, 21, 4 (PL 41, 69; ed. Dombart-Kalb, I, 83): "Vera autem iustitia non est, nisi in ea republica, cujus conditor rectorque Christus est; si et ipsam rempublicam placet dicere, quoniam eam rem populi esse negare

different is the glory men obtain in both cities. In the earthly city, in the Roman state, men seek human glory: "There is no other end of their labors and duties than the safety of the earthly city, and a kingdom on earth, not in heaven, not in eternal life, but in the midst of the dying and the succession of the dead."<sup>69</sup> In the city of God there is love of truth and justice from which grows a communion with Christ. And when to its members "great glory accrues in the Church of Christ on account of their pious deeds, words, and life they do not rest in it as if it were by virtue of their own power, but refer it to the glory of God by whose grace they have become such."<sup>70</sup>

Natural life is a prerequisite for the earthly city. In the birth of man society finds its cell. "The union of man and wife is, inasmuch as it concerns the race of mortals, a certain cell of society."<sup>71</sup> The existence of the earthly city and of the state is dependent on the continuation of the human race. The natural institution for procreation is the matrimonial union of husband and wife.<sup>72</sup> The family and the state are indispensable for the earthly city. Without marriage, there is no life; without the state there is no order; without order there is no peace.

The city of God presupposes these natural conditions for its own existence. There are certain natural elements in the earthly city which serve as the foundation for the city of God. The latter grafts its own life on the natural life received in the union of husband and wife.<sup>73</sup> It sanctifies the very matrimonial bond. The orderly existence of the state founded on well-ordered concord between those who rule and those who obey<sup>74</sup> is a prerequisite

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non possumus. Si autem hoc nomen, quod alibi aliterque vulgatum est, ab usu nostrae locutionis est forte remotius: in ea certe civitate est vera iustitia."

<sup>69</sup> *De civ. Dei*, V, 14 (PL 41, 159; ed. Dombart-Kalb, I, 220).

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>71</sup> *De civ. Dei*, XV, 16, 5 (PL 41, 459; ed. Dombart-Kalb, II, 93); cf. O. Schilling, *art. cit.* in *Aurelius Augustinus*, p. 311.

<sup>72</sup> A. Reuter, *Sancti Aurelii Augustini doctrina de bonis matrimonii* (Romae: 1942), pp. 78 ff.

<sup>73</sup> *De civ. Dei*, XV, 13, 1 (PL 41, 459; ed. Dombart-Kalb, II, 93): "Sed terrena civitas generatione tantummodo, coelestis autem etiam regeneratione opus habet."

<sup>74</sup> *De civ. Dei*, XIX, 13, 1 (PL 41, 640; ed. Dombart-Kalb, II, 377); cf. A. Zumkeller, "Die Soziallehren des hl. Augustinus," *Die Kirche in der Welt*,

for the welfare and growth of the city of God. The state furnishes the city of God with a pattern for its own existence. Although a tension exists between the earthly city and the city of God, there is no contradiction, no negation.

Nor is there any objective dualism between the city of God and the earthly city. If it were so, society would be rent into two subjectively different worlds. Such was the teaching of the Manicheans who made good and bad opposing powers and objective realities. The two cities are formed of free men. Men become parts of them, or make their transition from one to the other by choice of their free wills. The dual cities are representative of diverse streams of life to which men cannot be indifferent onlookers but upon which they must embark. By his rational nature, which seeks growth and development, man must choose to find his perfection in the earthly or celestial city. Hence the restlessness of heart when man lives in the earthly city but under the shadow of the city of God which he can choose if he wants.

The act of the will which determines the course of man and makes him a citizen either of the earthly city or the celestial city is love. In his theological and exegetical works which were destined for the Christians, Augustine was wont to express this concept predominantly by the term "charity." In his apologetic and philosophical treatise, the *City of God*, he uses the secular word "love" because the work was intended for a non-Christian political society of the day. The philosophy and theology of Augustine's conception of love are the same whether it is applied to the Church, to the social conditions of the state, or to created objects. It merely differs in manner of expression.<sup>75</sup>

Intentional and spiritual assimilation is accomplished by love. Not the one loving assimilates the object that he loves to himself, but the object loved assimilates the subject loving to it. This

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IV (1951), 436 ff.; F. Cayré, "Les droits de l'homme dans la philosophie de Saint Augustin," *L'année théologique Augustinienne*, XII (1952), 26 f.; E. Kilzer, "The Social Thought of St. Augustine," *The American Benedictine Review*, III (1952), 293-305.

<sup>75</sup> Cf. S. Cuesta, "La concepción agustiniana del mundo a través del amor," *Augustinus Magister* (Paris: 1954), I, 347-56; *id.*, *El equilibrio pasional en la doctrina estoica y en la de San Agustín* (Madrid: 1945).

psychological law underlies the division of the two societies. "To determine the nature of a people, see what things it loves."<sup>76</sup> The earthly city loves a good, but the good is created, temporal, material, unstable, impermanent, and deficient. Such a good is the ultimate object, unsubordinated to any other or higher good. The city of God also loves a good, but it is the Highest Good, the true spiritual God. The created goods that it may enjoy are made subordinate to this ultimate Good.

The right order of reason postulates that the possession or attainment of that object be sought which elevates man to a higher level of existence and not one that debases him to a lower grade of being. If man loves the supernal, the spiritual, the divine, he becomes like to them and becomes a citizen of the city of God. This is true of the natural order. How much more appositeness there is in the reasoning of St. Augustine on love when his words are applied to the supernatural order and to the theology of the mystical body. But in his *City of God* he merely alludes to these doctrines and presupposes them but does not make them an object of his apologetics and of his philosophy of history, both of which were intended for devotees of the Roman state. If man loves creatures for their own sake, or even God, but for the sake of creatures, he is debasing himself, perverting the order of right reason, and becomes a citizen of the earthly city.

When treating of the Church in the first part of this work, it has been pointed out that St. Augustine's concept of the Church is formed of several elements. Being complex it can be viewed under one aspect or another, each referring to the same Church. Moreover, it is also evident that he also easily shifts, sometimes suddenly and in the same sentence, from one aspect to another, while speaking of the same Church. The same can be said of those concepts which embrace mankind under the terrestrial and celestial cities. The concept of each city is a complex one containing several aspects. Each of these aspects reflects a greater or lesser degree of union either with the earthly city or the city of God. In view of this the particular aspect of the earthly city will have

<sup>76</sup> *De civ. Dei*, XIX, 24 (PL 41, 655; ed. Dombart-Kalb, II, 400); cf. E. Gilson, *Introduction à l'étude de saint Augustin* (3me éd.; Paris: 1949), p. 228.



its corresponding aspect in the city of God. There will be a juxtaposition between the particular aspect of the earthly city and the corresponding aspect of the city of God.

If an attempt is made at a synthesis of this interplay of aspects between the two cities we can distinguish the following aspects of the terrestrial city and their counterparts in the city of God:<sup>77</sup>

1) The earthly city is viewed under the aspect of a society comprising men who are wicked. These men strive after temporal power and goods. They seek no one but themselves. Such men will have neither external nor internal peace, but will be engaged in malice and injustice, strife and struggle.<sup>78</sup> The counterpart in the city of God to this view of the earthly city is that view of the Church whereby she is considered an alien to this world. She is a pilgrim plodding her way through this life to her eternal fatherland.<sup>79</sup>

2) The earthly city is presented as a political society with the natural blessings that a well organized polity brings to its citizens. Justice must be a characteristic element of such a society. "Justice is that virtue which attributes to each his due."<sup>80</sup> Another requisite of a social organization is order. "Order is the distribution which allots things equal and unequal, each to its own place."<sup>81</sup> In the pursuance of a common end by many individuals each individual must assume his place and perform his part. Among the individuals there must be harmony and coordination. Toward this end authority is indispensable. There must be those who command and those who obey.<sup>82</sup> Order begets peace:<sup>83</sup> "Peace of

<sup>77</sup> Ziegenfuss, *op. cit.*, pp. 130, 131, 145, 146; see another division by C. V. von Horn, *Die Staatslehre Augustins nach "De civitate Dei"* (Breslau: 1934), p. 24.

<sup>78</sup> *De civ. Dei*, XV, 5 (PL 441; ed. Dombart-Kalb, II, 64, 65).

<sup>79</sup> *De civ. Dei*, XIV, 9, 6 (PL 41, 416; ed. Dombart-Kalb, II, 25): "Civitas porro, id est societas, impiorum non secundum Deum, sed secundum hominem viventium. . . ."

"Unde jam apparet utcumque, quales esse debeant in hac peregrinatione cives civitatis Dei, viventes secundum spiritum, non secundum carnem, hoc est, secundum Deum, non secundum hominem. . . ."

<sup>80</sup> *De civ. Dei*, XIX, 21, 1 (PL 41, 649; ed. Dombart-Kalb, II, 390): "Justitia ea virtus est, quae sua cuique distribuit."

<sup>81</sup> *De civ. Dei*, XIX, 13 (PL 41, 640; ed. Dombart-Kalb, II, 377); tr. *Basic Works of St. Augustine* (New York: 1948), II, 488.

<sup>82</sup> A. Zumkeller, "Die Soziallehren des hl. Augustinus," *Die Kirche in der*

all things is a well disposed order.”<sup>84</sup> “Peace,” says St. Augustine, “is so great a blessing that even in this earthly and mortal life there is nothing more welcome to hear, nothing more eagerly desired, nothing better can possibly be attained.”<sup>85</sup> A sublime passage from the *City of God* summing up his philosophy on peace follows:

The peace, then, of the body lies in the ordered equilibrium of all its parts; the peace of the irrational soul, in the balanced adjustment of its appetites; the peace of the reasoning soul, in the harmonious correspondence of conduct and conviction; the peace of body and soul taken together, in the well-ordered life and health of the living whole. Peace between a mortal man and his Maker consists in ordered obedience, guided by faith, under God’s eternal law; peace between man and man consists in regulated fellowship. The peace of home lies in the ordered harmony of authority and obedience between the members of a family living together. The peace of the political community is an ordered harmony of authority and obedience between citizens. The peace of the heavenly City lies in a perfectly ordered and harmonious communion of those who find their joy in God and in one another in God. Peace, in its final sense, is the calm that comes of order. Order is an arrangement of the like and unlike things whereby each of them is disposed in its proper place.<sup>86</sup>

Corresponding to this aspect of the earthly city is that aspect of the heavenly city which is the Church as such. Formed of citizens belonging to a political society the Church, too, is organized externally along social and juridical lines. She is so constituted that her members find order, harmony, and peace in its fold. She likewise is divided into those who possess the authority of com-

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*Welt*, IV (1951), 433-42; *id.*, “Der klösterliche Gehorsam beim Augustinus,” *Augustinus Magister* (Paris: 1954), I, 271.

<sup>83</sup> Cf. S. Bross, “Idea Pokoju u Św. Augustyna i jej Wpływ na Średniowiecze,” in *Św. Augustyn* (Poznań: 1930), p. 12; H. X. Arquillière, “Observations sur l’Augustinisme politique,” *Revue de philosophie*, I (1930), 545; F. Wieselth, *Die Wandlung des Friedenbegriffes von Augustinus zu Thomas von Aquin* (München: 1949).

<sup>84</sup> *De civ. Dei*, XIX, 13 (PL 41, 640; ed. Dombart-Kalb, II, 377).

<sup>85</sup> *De civ. Dei*, XIX, 11 (PL 41, 637; ed. Dombart-Kalb, II, 372).

<sup>86</sup> *De civ. Dei*, XIX, 13, 1 (PL 41, 640; ed. Dombart-Kalb, II, 376); tr. by G. G. Walsh and D. J. Honan, *The Fathers of the Church*, vol. 24 (New York: 1954), pp. 217-18.

manding and those who have the obligation of obeying, as has been pointed out in the first part of this work where the Church's hierarchical constitution has been treated. It is here that the greatest resemblance exists between the state, a form of the *civitas terrena*, and the social, juridical, and hierarchical Church.

3) A political society that could put itself in the pursuit of the highest good, would have to subordinate itself to justice. In such a pattern, ideal conditions would prevail for the state and the Church. Augustine does not explicitly treat of such an interrelation of the Church and state in the pursuance of the same highest good, and of the subordination of the material and temporal to the spiritual and eternal, because the circumstances of the time did not justify it. But who does not perceive that this was his ideal state? The highest good for Augustine is the attainment of God, the sole perfectly beatifying object. This object lies within the direct scope of the city of God. Not only the individual, but also the state must subordinate its aspirations, legislation, and action to this end.<sup>87</sup> Diplomats and politicians who disregard obligations to God and the natural law will adopt Spinoza's political philosophy, that the preservation of the state is the highest good.<sup>88</sup>

Here also is security for the welfare and renown of a commonwealth; for no state is perfectly established and preserved otherwise than on the foundations and by the bond of faith and of firm concord, when the highest and truest good, namely God, is loved by all, and men love each other in Him without dissimulation because they love one another for His sake.<sup>89</sup>

The counterpart of this aspect of the earthly city is the Church under the aspect of the mystical body of Christ. The Church does not exist for the sake of her temporal and external organization but for the sake of the invisible life which she harbors, and the spiritual fruits which she produces. Her mission is "to bring

<sup>87</sup> G. G. Willis, *Saint Augustine and the Donatist Controversy* (London: 1950), p. 143: "For St. Augustine the State is always and necessarily subordinate to the City of God."

<sup>88</sup> Spinoza, *Theologisch-Politischer Traktat*, ed. C. Gebhardt (4 Aufl.; Leipzig: 1922), p. 278.

<sup>89</sup> *Ep.* 137, 5, 17 (PL 33, 524; CSEL 44, III, 122).

men into a living union with God.”<sup>90</sup> The Church under the aspect of the mystical body of Christ is the perfect form of the city of God within the bounds of temporal existence.<sup>91</sup>

4) The highest plane of existence of the city of God belongs not to this life and finds no counterpart in the earthly city. Such is the heavenly city of God, the celestial and eternal mystical body, formed of the blessed in heaven. The purpose of the external Church is to form the internal Church, the temporal mystical body; the final end of the earthly mystical body is the heavenly mystical body. In the communion of the blessed in heaven the Church finds its ultimate and perfect realization.<sup>92</sup> “Peace of God’s city, a most orderly coherence and fruition of God.”<sup>93</sup> Evil spirits and the damned, separated from God, do not form a city because there is neither order nor peace in their midst.

Such is St. Augustine’s concept of history which is “a history of love and a history of sin”;<sup>94</sup> it is a history which is embodied in the destiny of the two cities. Tracing these in his laborious undertaking Augustine has merited the distinction of being the most remarkable thinker of antiquity—the greatest philosopher of history among the ancients.<sup>95</sup> The impact of St. Augustine’s thought contained under the images of the two cities has proved to be tremendous upon succeeding generations.<sup>96</sup> His work *The City of God* is as revealing today, when nations seem to be nearing

<sup>90</sup> F. Hofmann, *Der Kirchenbegriff des hl. Augustinus in seinen Grundlagen und in seiner Entwicklung* (München: 1933), p. 135.

<sup>91</sup> W. Ziegenfuss, *Augustinus: Christliche Transzendenz in Gesellschaft und Geschichte* (Berlin: 1948), p. 131: “Vollkommene Darstellung der civitas Dei in den Schranken der Existenz.”

<sup>92</sup> Straszewski, *Filozofja Św. Augustyna* (2 ed.; Lwów: 1922), p. 245.

<sup>93</sup> *De civ. Dei*, XIX, 13, 1 (PL 41, 640; ed. Dombart-Kalb, II, 377).

<sup>94</sup> A. Martinez, “Historia y vida según San Agustín,” *Actas del primer Congreso nacional de filosofía* (Mendoza, Argentina: 1948), III, 1986. See also: P. Brezzi, “Il carattere ed il significato della storia nel pensiero di S. Agostino,” *Rev. des Etudes Augustiniennes*, I (1955), 149–69; E. Stake-meier, *Civitas Dei. Die Geschichtstheologie des hl. Augustinus als Apologie der Kirche* (Paderborn: 1955).

<sup>95</sup> O. Herding, “Augustin” in *Grosse Geschichtsdenker* (Tübingen und Stuttgart: 1949), pp. 57–77.

<sup>96</sup> A. Robertson, *Regnum Dei: Eight Lectures on the Kingdom of God in the History of Christian Thought* (London: 1901), pp. 225 ff.; J. N. Figgis, *Political Aspects of St. Augustine’s ‘City of God’* (London: 1921), pp. 81–117.



the verge of some catastrophe, as it was challenging at the crumbling of the Roman Empire. In fact, this work "is the only one among the writings of the Fathers which the secular historian never altogether neglects, and throughout the nineteenth century it was generally regarded as justifying the right of St. Augustine to be treated as the founder of the philosophy of history."<sup>97</sup>

#### SINNERS IN THE JURIDICAL CHURCH

The question of the existence of sinners in the Church is determined for St. Augustine by the authority of the Scriptures, in which the doctrine is forcefully and unequivocally taught by Jesus Christ. It is also a matter of practical tradition accepted by the universal Church that sinners are within her fold. But St. Augustine abounds in pronouncements of his own, in which he asserts the coexistence of the wicked with the good in the Church. These statements are often connected with an explanation of the manner in which these sinners adhere to the Church, or at least tend to qualify that adherence. It will suffice to cite only a few of the expressions with which he asserts the fact of the inherence of sinners in the Church. He maintains that "in the Catholic Church itself there are evil living men,"<sup>98</sup> that such "are wicked Christians, the more injurious as (they are) internal enemies,"<sup>99</sup> and that they are believers who are called but not chosen.<sup>100</sup>

These assertions lead us to the particular aspect of the Church which the great Doctor has in mind when he elaborates his teaching on the place of sinners in the Church. The very terms or

<sup>97</sup> C. Dawson, "St. Augustine and His Age: The City of God," *A Monument to St. Augustine* (London: 1945), p. 43. Cf. also O. Herding, "Augustin" in *Grosse Geschichtsdenker* (Tübingen und Stuttgart: 1949), pp. 57-77; E. Gilson, *Les métamorphoses de la Cité de Dieu* (Louvain: 1952), pp. 69 ff.; G. Ruotolo, *La filosofia della storia e la città di Dio* (2 ed.; Roma: 1950); G. Cataldo, *La filosofia della storia nel De Civitate Dei di S. Agostino* (Bari: 1950); G. Amari, *Il concetto di storia in sant' Agostino* (Roma: 1951); H. I. Marrou, *L'ambivalence du temps de l'histoire chez saint Augustin* (Montreal: 1950); A. W. Ziegler, "Die Grenzen geschichtlicher Erkenntnis. Beiträge zur Augustinischen Geschichtstheologie," *Augustinus Magister* (Paris: 1954), II, 981-89. For the meaning of historical progress in St. Augustine, cf. T. Mommsen, "St. Augustine and the Christian Idea of Progress," *Journal of the History of Ideas*, XII (1951), 346-74.

<sup>98</sup> *De cat. rud.*, 37, 55 (PL 40, 347).

<sup>99</sup> *De fide rerum quae non videntur*, 8, 11 (PL 40, 180).

<sup>100</sup> *Sermo* 223, 1 (PL 38, 1092).

expressions employed by him when speaking of sinners and their relation to the Church bring out with perfect clarity the aspect under which he views the Church in such instances. He maintains sinners to be in *gremio Ecclesiae*,<sup>101</sup> to be contained in the same assemblies (*iisdem conventiculis*),<sup>102</sup> to be mingled with the good in *ipsa intus Ecclesiae*,<sup>103</sup> to be in one and the same *congregatione*.<sup>104</sup> These and similar expressions leave no doubt that it is the unity of the ecclesiastical, social communion<sup>105</sup> or of the Catholic, visible communion<sup>106</sup> that is meant.

In the use of these and similar expressions, whenever St. Augustine defends the membership of sinners in the Church, it can almost instinctively be felt how he avoids statements and recoils from language which would bring them into relationship with the body of Christ. It is patent that the mind of St. Augustine consistently has a sense of a definite distinction between the two separate concepts, or better, aspects of the nature of the Church. It is the Church, viewed as a sacramental institution and a visible organization, that embraces sinners together with the just. However, this does not mean that sinners are so attached to the external Church as to be excluded altogether from any participation in the body of Christ. For the present, it is maintained that the idea of a sinner belonging to the Church evokes primarily and rightly in the mind of the Bishop of Hippo the social and visible aspect of the Church.

#### THE MANNER OF THEIR INHERENCE

If a further inquiry is made to ascertain what it is precisely that makes sinners members of the visible Church, the answer may easily be had from the clear statement made by St. Augustine himself that sinners "are seen united to the Church through the communion of the sacraments and of the unity of the Church."<sup>107</sup> There are, therefore, two factors accounting for membership in

<sup>101</sup> *Enar. 3 in Ps. 103* (PL 37, 1362).

<sup>102</sup> *Enar. in Ps. 6, 10* (PL 36, 95).

<sup>103</sup> *Enar. in Ps. 138, 8* (PL 37, 1693).

<sup>104</sup> *Contra Parmen.*, 3, 3, 19 (PL 43, 97; CSEL 51, ed. M. Petschenig, 122).

<sup>105</sup> *Enar. in Ps. 54, 8* (PL 36, 633).

<sup>106</sup> *Sermo 5, 1* (PL 38, 53).

<sup>107</sup> *Ep. 149, 3* (PL 33, 631; CSEL 44, ed. A. Goldbacher, III, 350).

the Church conceived as a visible organization: first, the voluntary adherence to Catholic unity and faith, and thereby schismatics and heretics are excluded from the Church; secondly, an actual participation in the sacraments of the Church, for to be a member of a society and to have no communion with it—not to be bound with it in some way—is contradictory.

Communion with the Church, then, is affected through a participation in what St. Augustine calls the sacraments. Although the term "sacrament" is to be understood in a more generic or broader sense<sup>108</sup> than the technical term which is applied strictly to certain rites in modern usage, it is to be specifically understood of these also.<sup>109</sup> In fact, the true meaning of a sacrament is narrowed to the sense of Scholastic and modern Catholic theologians more in the writings of St. Augustine than in the works of his predecessors.<sup>110</sup> The Augustinian sacrament encompasses those rites by which a person ostensibly enters into the society of the Church, that is, baptism and all other external rites by which the social and religious intercommunion of membership is manifested.<sup>111</sup>

<sup>108</sup> Cf. J. de Ghellinck, *Pour l'histoire du mot "sacramentum"* (Paris: 1924), p. 16, where he says the word "sacrament" in St. Augustine's works "revêt une incroyable diversité de sens." C. Couturier, "Sacramentum et Mystérieux dans l'oeuvre de saint Augustin," in *Etudes Augustiniennes* (Paris: 1953), pp. 163 ff.

<sup>109</sup> P. Pourrat, *La théologie sacramentaire* (4 éd.; Paris: 1910), p. 16.

<sup>110</sup> H. M. Féret, "Sacramentum-Res dans la langue théologique de saint Augustin," *Rev. des sciences philosophiques et théologiques*, XXII (1940), 226: "Plus souvent que chez ses prédécesseurs le terme *sacramentum* exprime chez lui une action mystérieuse, ou un rite culturel mystérieux; le symbolisme formant de plus en plus l'élément essentiel de ce mystère en action." M. Pontet, *L'exégèse de s. Augustin prédicateur* (Paris: 1945), p. 266: "Bref, la réalité, non seulement du sacramental actuel (eau bénite, cendres, récitation du Pater), mais du sacrement catholique, nettement défini par les conciles de Lateran et de Trente, prend de plus en plus corps à travers les sens dispersés que *sacramentum* revêt dans sa prose. Vraiment l'expression se concentre, lorsqu'il parle du 'sacrement de la source,' le baptême, du 'sacrement de l'autel,' du 'sacrement de la table du Seigneur,' l'Eucharistie, lorsqu'il définit aux chrétiens leur Église comme le lieu où ils accomplissent les 'choses divines' où ils reçoivent les sacrements."

<sup>111</sup> *Enar. 2 (sermo 3) in Ps. 30, 3* (PL 36, 249): "Confusio enim quaedam putatur, cum omnes christiani dicuntur, et qui bene vivunt, et qui male vivunt, omnes uno caractere signantur, omnes ad unum altare accedunt, omnes eodem baptismo abluuntur, omnes eandem orationem dominicam proferunt, omnes iisdem mysteriis celebrandis intersunt."

The hierarchical nature of the Church is manifested by the rites of order. The great sacrament of unity and Church life is the Holy Eucharist. It is in relation to this sacrament that the position of sinners in regard to the sacramental life of the Church is manifested. Augustine says that sinners approach Christ's altar<sup>112</sup>—which signifies the reception of the Eucharistic sacrament—and that they receive the body of Christ and call it a sacrament. The participation of the good, however, is quite different from that of the wicked.<sup>113</sup> It may be said, therefore, that participation in the sacrament of the Eucharist is a sign of external adherence to the Church as a society, but not always of that real internal inherence proper to the living members of the body of Christ.<sup>114</sup>

The Bishop of Hippo, too, is aware of the fact that "a certain confusion" is created in the minds of men when those who live rightly and those who live wickedly are called by the same name of Christians. Is not a Christian one that is reborn in Christ, a holy member, striving after perfection, and destined to life eternal? The difference is not so much in their participation of the life of the Church, as in the manner of that participation, that is, in their internal state. For the good and the wicked are washed by the same sacrament, approach the same altar, recite the same Lord's prayer, make the same sign of the cross, participate in the celebration of the same mysteries.<sup>115</sup>

Manifestly there is a vast difference between the inherence of sinners and the just in the Church. The presence of a sinner in

<sup>112</sup> *Ep.* 87, 3 (PL 33, 298; CSEL 34, ed. A. Goldbacher, II, 399): "Si tam multi iniqui in uno populo Dei, eos qui secum versabantur non fecerunt tales, quales ipsi erant, si multitudo illa falsorum fratrum Apostolum Paulum, in una cum eis Ecclesia constitutum, non fecit sua quaerentem, non quae Jesu Christi; manifestum est non hoc effici hominem, quod est malus quisquam, cum quo ad altare Christi acceditur, etiamsi non sit incognitus, si tantum non approbetur, et a bona conscientia displicendo separetur."

<sup>113</sup> *Sermo* 354, 2 (PL 39, 1563): "Corporis ejus sacramentum multi accipiunt; sed non omnes qui accipiunt sacramentum, habituri sunt apud eum etiam locum promissum membris ejus. Pene quidem sacramentum omnes corpus ejus dicunt, quia omnes in pascuis ejus simul pascunt: sed venturus est qui dividat, et alios ponat ad dextram, alios ad sinistram."

<sup>114</sup> F. Hünemann, *Die Busslehre des hl. Augustinus* (Paderborn: 1914),

p. 5.

<sup>115</sup> *Enar.* 2 (*sermo* 3) in *Ps.* 30, 3 (PL 36, 249).



the Church is described by the Bishop as an external one, evidenced only by the participation of its external and visible rites, while the interior man does not become a recipient of its spiritual blessings. The wicked are in the Church according to body and not according to spirit.<sup>116</sup> Their internal life cannot be reached by the power of the sacraments.<sup>117</sup> They are intermingled among the true, spiritual members of the Church, to whom, however, by lack of disposition they do not belong, and by whom they are only tolerated.<sup>118</sup> They seem to be side by side with the others, the good members, but in reality they are far away from them.<sup>119</sup> Such inherence in the Church is called by St. Augustine a corporal, external, apparent communion or union with the good.

While there is a sacramental communion, a social religious union between the good and the wicked, the good are in many respects distant from those who seem close to them and apparently one with them. For the good hold themselves separate from the wicked by their will,<sup>120</sup> by a difference of life,<sup>121</sup> by the dissent of heart,<sup>122</sup> by a holy desire and affection of the heart,<sup>123</sup> by the heart itself.<sup>124</sup> In a word, this separation is characterized

<sup>116</sup> *De bapt. contra Donat.*, I, 17, 26 (PL 43, 123; CSEL 51, 169-70).

<sup>117</sup> *In Io. Ev. tr.* 57, 4 (PL 35, 1791): "Sed portantur (peccatores) in crinibus, id est, in sacramentis visibilibus tolerantur: nequaquam interiora sensus attingunt."

<sup>118</sup> *Annot. in Job.*, 38 (PL 34, 873; CSEL 28, ed. J. Zycha, II, 603); *Enar. in Ps.* 99, 12 (PL 37, 1278).

<sup>119</sup> *Enar. in Ps.* 25, 2 (PL 36, 189): "Aliquando quem irridebas adorantem lapides, convertitur, et adorat Deum, fortasse religiosius quam tu, qui eum paulo antea irridebas. Sunt ergo proximi nostri latentes in his hominibus, qui nondum sunt in Ecclesia: et sunt longe a nobis latentes in Ecclesia."

<sup>120</sup> *De cat. rud.*, 19, 31 (PL 40, 333): "Duae itaque civitates, una iniquorum, altera sanctorum, ab initio . . . nunc permixta corporibus sed voluntatibus separatae, in die vero iudicii etiam corpore separandae."

<sup>121</sup> *Ep.* 108, 3, 10 (PL 33, 410; CSEL 34, ed. A. Goldbacher, II, 622): "Nec tamen ab eis (peccatoribus) corporali segregatione sed vitae dissimilitudine fuisse disjunctum."

<sup>122</sup> *Enar. in Ps.* 24, 21 (PL 36, 187): "Innocentes et recti corde non praesentia corporali miscentur tantum, sicut mali, sed consensione cordis in ipsa innocentia et rectitudine adhaerent mihi. . . ."

<sup>123</sup> *Enar. in Ps.* 64, 2 (PL 36, 774): "Etsi adhuc corpore permixti sunt, desiderio tamen sancto discernuntur; et propter permutationem corporalem nondum exierunt; propter affectum cordis exire coeperunt."

<sup>124</sup> *De quat. vir. char.* (PL 47, 1128): "Tolerat bonus mala et donec in fine etiam corpore separantur, intus manens, corde non corpore separantur." Cf. *Sermo* 88, 22, 25 (PL 38, 553).

as a spiritual separation,<sup>125</sup> in contradistinction to a corporal separation.<sup>126</sup> Those who are one by social, juridical, sacramental bonds, are disparate, dissociated, divided by the sword of sin.

The relation between the good and the bad in the Church which has just been described in its character of corporal unity and spiritual separation, is well summarized in what St. Augustine says of Judas and the latter's relation to the other apostles. He and they were one body, and yet they were not one body.

One of you, in number not merit; in appearance, not in virtue; in corporal union, not in spiritual bonds; one by a union of flesh, not a oneness of heart: therefore not one associate who is of us, but one who is to go out from us . . . ; according to one consideration he is of us, according to another he is not of us; according to the communion of sacraments, he is of us; according to his own sins, he is not of us.<sup>127</sup>

The nature of a purely corporal union, i.e., one which involves a spiritual separation, must be interpreted in the light of St. Augustine's whole system of supernatural life and his more intimate conception of the Church as the body of Christ. Corporal union bespeaks, of itself, and in the light of the texts in which it is found, an opposition to an internal, spiritual union. This internal life is a life by faith, hope, and charity. It is the internal life of justice and grace, a life far superior to the natural life of the body, for it is a participation of the divine life which is infused into the soul by the Holy Ghost. All the individuals gifted with this life form in the Church of Christ a corporate body, having a corporate life and the Holy Ghost as its soul.<sup>128</sup>

In summation, between the good and the wicked existing in the one and the same Church there is a separation of heart and

<sup>125</sup> *Sermo* 88, 18 (PL 38, 549): "Veniet ventilator, qui dividet malos a bonis. Erit etiam corporalis separatio, quam modo spiritualis praecedit. A malis corde semper disjungimini; ad tempus caute corpore copulamini."

<sup>126</sup> *De bapt. contra Donat.*, I, 17, 26 (PL 43, 123; CSEL 51, 169-70).

<sup>127</sup> *In Io. Ev. tr.* 61, 2 (PL 35, 1799).

<sup>128</sup> C. Romeis, *Das Heil des Christen ausserhalb der wahren Kirche nach der Lehre des hl. Augustin* (Paderborn: 1908), p. 29: "Er [Augustin] unterscheidet sehr wohl zwischen der äusseren Eingliederung in den Organismus der Kirche und dem inneren Lebensprinzip, das den Christen zu einem lebendigen, tätigen und fügsamen Gliede macht."

mind, a division of desires and affections, a disparity of deeds. This separation does not merely pertain to the moral or ethical order, embracing interior sentiments and exterior practice, but involves a theological element, viz., a supernatural life in the good which is wanting in the wicked. Moral behavior, ethical practice correspond to the inner state of the soul; a just man is good because his soul is animated by charity which renders his deeds salutary; a sinner is unjust because his soul is wanting in charity, without which we cannot be pleasing to God. Hence, sinful comportment indicates that the soul is actually not in vital union with God and Christ. Sin effects a dissolution of such a union. For this reason there is a spiritual separation between the sinner and Christ, just as there is between the said sinner and the just members.

## CHAPTER 2

### SINNERS AND THE MYSTICAL BODY OF CHRIST

**I**N WHAT has already been said of the relation of sinners to the Church, the latter has been viewed as a social organization, while the sinners have been considered as members constituting a portion of the Church, for they are united to it externally by certain visible bonds. At present a study will be made of the relation of sinners to the Church specifically as the mystical body of Christ. For the sake of clarity the study will be divided into two separate sections: in the first (the present one) the exclusion of sinners from the mystical body will be considered; in the second (the following section) the problem of their inclusion in it will be considered.

#### I. EXCLUSION

It has already been remarked as something strangely incongruous that this genial Father of the Church should have propounded against the same heretical and schismatical faction seemingly contradictory teaching. He defended the inherence of sinners in the Church; but then also he excluded them just as emphatically. Let us be mindful that the doctrine of St. Augustine was brought to external expression by the erroneous teaching of various schismatical or heretical factions. Even against the same Donatist faction there were several works written over a longer period of years, and touching upon one or another problem or objection at a time. Later other problems arose and were disputed. As a result certain doctrines have been disproportionately accentuated and brought to the foreground more than others. In consequence, too, the manifestation and development of his doctrine begin and progress piecemeal; when one part of a doctrine is misrepre-



sented or assailed, Augustine asserts and exposes whatever orthodoxy exacts, without giving to the entire doctrine its full and circumspect expression, or without systematically unfolding it in its totality.<sup>1</sup>

This is particularly applicable to the present instance. There appears to be a contradiction in Augustine's doctrine on the members of the Church<sup>2</sup> but it is only an apparent contradiction.<sup>3</sup> The inclusion and the exclusion of sinners are propounded against two different tenets of the Donatists. Different viewpoints are coherently developed without entailing any contradiction. Nor is there any trace on the part of the Donatists of accusing their adversary of any inconsistency or fallacy in his procedure, though a remonstrance on their part would certainly have followed in the wake of such a flagrant contradiction as the one here suggested.

There were two different Donatist tenets which gave rise to his statements on the inclusion of sinners in the Church on the one hand and on the exclusion of sinners from the Church on the other.

1) The occasion for dealing with, and enlarging upon, the external and social aspect of the Church was, as has already been noted, the accusation that the Catholic Church was a church of *traditores* infected wholly by the contagion of a *traditor* bishop. This Catholic bishop, allegedly a sinner, was permitted to remain in the unity of the Catholic Church, and even to consecrate other bishops, and to administer the sacraments, whereas, according to the Donatists, not even his corporal presence should have been suffered in the Church. The Church must be holy; it is tainted even if one of her members is a sinner. One becomes a sinner

<sup>1</sup> *De civ. Dei*, XVI, 2 (PL 41, 477; ed. Dombart-Kalb, II, 122): "Multa quippe ad fidem catholicam pertinentia, dum haereticorum calida inquietudine exagitantur, ut adversus eos defendi possint, et considerantur diligentius, et intelliguntur clarius, et instantius praedicantur: et ab adversario mota quaestio, discendi existit occasio." Cf. *De civ. Dei*, XVIII, 51, 1 (PL 41, 613; ed. Dombart-Kalb, II, 335); *Confes.*, VII, 19 (PL 32, 746; ed. M. Skutella, 148).

<sup>2</sup> A. Harnack, *Dogmengeschichte*, III, 152-54 reproaches St. Augustine with contradicting himself.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. A. Michel, "Les différents points de vue de S. Augustin sur la question des 'membres de l'Église,'" *Les questions ecclésiastiques*, V (1912), 392.

not only by committing sin, but also by communicating with a sinner.<sup>4</sup> This historical event was inflamed into a doctrinal dispute involving all, or at least public and manifest sinners. Hence the universal character of the arguments advanced by the Bishop of Hippo to include all sinners in the external constitution of the Church.

2) For other reasons, in the same controversy with the Donatists, the attention of St. Augustine was drawn to the internal and spiritual nature of the Church. It was their erroneous teaching on baptism and the minister of baptism (which subjects, however, were closely connected with their tenets on the constitution of the Church) that gave rise to a whole series of assertions bearing on the Church as the body of Christ. The schismatic faction maintained that baptism was valid only then when it was administered by a true member of the Church. Such a member was a holy and just man, but not the sinner. He himself had to possess life. The Donatist's cardinal principle in the strife was: one could not give what he did not have.<sup>5</sup> In other words, one could not receive life in baptism unless the minister possessed it.<sup>6</sup> This statement presupposes the inherence in the one true and life-giving Church, the body of Christ. Being a sinner—which is the same for them as not being a member of the Church, one loses the right to administer the sacrament of baptism.<sup>7</sup>

Outside of the true Church, the sacrament was invalid. First, therefore, just as they excluded the sinner from the Church, they excluded him also from the valid administration of the sacrament; secondly, since the Church of which St. Augustine was a part became contaminated by the contagion of sin and ceased to be the Church of Christ, no member of that Church could validly administer the sacrament of regeneration. In conformity with this view they baptized or rather rebaptized all those who had been recipients of the sacrament in the Catholic communion or else-

<sup>4</sup> *Gesta col. Carth.*, 258 (PL 11, 1408-13).

<sup>5</sup> Optatus, *De schismate Donatistarum*, V, 6 (PL 11, 1056-57): "Qui non habet quod det, quomodo dat."

<sup>6</sup> *De bapt. contra Donat.*, V, 18, 24 (PL 43, 189; CSEL 51, 283): "Non posse ab eo vivificari alterum, qui ipse non vivit."

<sup>7</sup> *Contra ep. Parm.*, II, 13, 30 (PL 43, 72; CSEL 51, 81): "Recedens ab Ecclesia baptismum quidem non amittit jus dandi tamen amittit."

where, and afterwards had gone over to their faction. They made no distinction between a valid and efficacious administration of the sacrament. A bad tree bore bad fruit.<sup>8</sup> It is evident that this particular teaching on baptism and the minister of baptism was not an independent item in their theology, but was a sequel of their doctrine on the members and the constitution of the Church.<sup>9</sup>

Ultimately, therefore, the question of the administration of baptism resolves itself into an ecclesiological question; viz., who is a member of the Church. But why is it that St. Augustine assails them in this matter from a different standpoint relative to the Church? For in the Donatist issue concerning the minister of a sacrament Augustine takes into consideration that notion of the Church which presents her as the body of Christ. The Donatists' requirement of sanctity in the member administering baptism is precisely what makes the Bishop of Hippo bring the Church's sanctity into consideration. The sanctity of the Church, however, resolves itself ultimately into Christ, whose body the Church is, and into the Holy Ghost, who is the soul of the mystical body.

It seems that the Donatists implied that the state of justification consequent upon baptism was to some degree a certain emanation or transition of a spiritual entity from the minister of the sacrament to the recipient of it. In the beginning of the controversy the Donatists excluded all sinners from the Church, but when they were pressed with the retort that in their midst there were many sinners<sup>10</sup> they found subterfuge in the distinction that only notorious and not latent sinners are excluded from the Church.<sup>11</sup> Unknown sinners remain a part of the Church and their presence does not defile the good.<sup>12</sup>

In any case, St. Augustine's mode of procedure against them can be digested in this wise. As a matter of fact there are many

<sup>8</sup> *Contra lit. Petil.*, II, 3, n. 6: nn. 8, 10, 12, 14 (PL 43, 260-61; CSEL 52, 25-27); *Contra ep. Parmen.*, II, 14, 32 (PL 43, 73; CSEL 51, 83).

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Tixeront, *op. cit.*, pp. 224-25; Battifol, *op. cit.*, pp. 260-61.

<sup>10</sup> *Contra ep. Parm.*, III, 3, 18 (PL 43, 96; CSEL 51, 122).

<sup>11</sup> *Gesta col. Carth.*, 258 (PL 11, 1408); *Contra ep. Parm.*, I, 3, 4-6 (PL 43, 36-38; CSEL 51, 23-25).

<sup>12</sup> *Gesta col. Carth.*, 258 (PL 11, 1410).

sinners, known or unknown, in your schismatical assembly as well as in the true Church; these sinners, devoid of holiness, certainly do not participate in the sanctity of Christ; having no supernatural life, they do not form the body of Christ; they are not in the Church according to the internal and spiritual life which is her property and characteristic. Hence, St. Augustine argues against them, when these sinners baptize according to your Donatist tenet, they baptize outside of the Church. *Proinde et ipsi extra Ecclesiam baptizant*.<sup>13</sup> The pernicious consequence of such a tenet would be that many would be thus baptized invalidly without their knowing it.

Such is St. Augustine's mode of reasoning, although we do not always feel it. The continual stressing on the exclusion of the sinner from that internal, spiritual, pure, and holy Church makes us lose track of this reasoning. The incautious reader judges this exclusion to be the whole argument and an unqualified statement; yet it is not the conclusion of a syllogism but a premise taken over from the Donatists but which, St. Augustine also admits, shows that their doctrine on the character of the minister dispensing a sacrament is incompatible with it. The problem for the Bishop of Hippo was to preserve the sanctity of the Church and to answer a question, indeed difficult for the times, of the validity of the sacraments administered by public sinners and even heretics.<sup>14</sup>

With this general preparation for the purpose of obtaining a better understanding of what follows, we are now ready to examine the arguments and images under which the Saint excludes sinners from the Church in its aspect as the body of Christ. It will be observed that his scriptural proofs are not as direct as those he adduced in defending the coexistence of sinners with the just in the juridical Church. The proofs for the exclusion of sinners from a living union with Christ and the members in the mystical body of Christ are theological conclusions from certain scriptural images. Inasmuch as Augustine was the interpreter

<sup>13</sup> *Contra Cresc.*, II, 21, 26 (PL 43, 482; CSEL 52, ed. M. Petschenig, 385).

<sup>14</sup> Michel, *art. cit.*, p. 396.



of Scripture in his inclusion of sinners as members of the Church, he is now the theologian in his exclusion of sinners from the life of the mystical body.

### From Anti-Donatist Works

a) *The Dove*.<sup>15</sup> According to St. Augustine the characteristics of the dove are simplicity,<sup>16</sup> goodness,<sup>17</sup> love,<sup>18</sup> peace.<sup>19</sup> These qualities, associated strongly with the attributes of the Holy Ghost, make this bird symbolic of the Holy Spirit. St. Cyprian<sup>20</sup> and St. Augustine<sup>21</sup> identify the scriptural dove with the Holy Ghost. Furthermore, that same dove, according to the text of the Canticle of Canticles,<sup>22</sup> is representative of the Church and symbolic of its unity.<sup>23</sup> The image of the dove is used, therefore, to designate either the Holy Ghost or the Church as the mystical body of Christ because the Holy Ghost and the mystical body are inseparable. Not to be "in the body of the dove" (*in corpore columbae*) is not to be a member of the Holy Ghost, and not to be a member of the Holy Ghost is not to be a member of the mystical body.<sup>24</sup>

The person of the Holy Ghost is reminiscent of unity and holiness by His very procession from the Father and the Son, uniting them in the bond of love. So, too, the dove is symbolic of the unity and holiness of the Church and of its members.<sup>25</sup> Whoever disrupts the bond of unity and disturbs the peace in the Church is outside of the Church and cannot belong to the dove.

<sup>15</sup> Cant. 6:8; John 1:33. Cf. Marie Comeau, *Saint Augustin exégète du quatrième Évangile* (2 éd.; Paris: 1930), pp. 156 ff.

<sup>16</sup> *In Io. Ev. tr.* 5, 11 (PL 35, 1419).

<sup>17</sup> *In Io. Ev. tr.* 6, 3 (PL 35, 1426); *In Io. Ep. tr.* 7, 11 (PL 35, 2035).

<sup>18</sup> *In Io. Ev. tr.* 6, 2 (PL 35, 1425).

<sup>19</sup> *In Io. Ev. tr.* 6, 4 (PL 35, 1427).

<sup>20</sup> *De cath. eccl. unit.*, 9 (CSEL 3, 217).

<sup>21</sup> *In Io. Ev. tr.* 5, 10 (PL 35, 1419): "Spiritus sanctus in specie columbae descendit."

<sup>22</sup> Cant. 6:8: "Una est columba mea, una est matri suae."

<sup>23</sup> *In Io. Ev. tr.* 6, 3 (PL 35, 1426-27); *ibid.*, 6, 6 (1428); *ibid.*, 5, 11 (1419); *ibid.*, 5, 16 (1422).

<sup>24</sup> *In Io. Ev. tr.* 5, 11 (PL 35, 1419).

<sup>25</sup> *De bapt. contra Donat.*, III, 17, 22 (PL 43, 149; CSEL 51, ed. M. Petschenig, 213): "Manifestum est quod illa unitas etiam una columba perfecta sit dicta."

Likewise whoever does not lead a pious life cannot count himself among the members of the dove.<sup>26</sup>

It must be noted that in the exegesis of the passages dealing with the dove, St. Augustine associates this image with the Church as the mystical body of Christ. He expressly distinguished between the Church which he terms "a society and communion of the Dove," and the Church which he designates as "a participation of the sacraments."<sup>27</sup> In both instances there is a communion of the members of the one Church, but there is a vast difference in the nature of the communion. Augustine excludes sinners from an internal union and a living communion with the dove, i.e., the Holy Ghost or the mystical body of Christ, but he does not exclude them from an external union, from an empirical and sacramental union in the juridical Church.

The exclusion of sinners from a participation in the unity of the dove and a communion of her simplicity and fervor becomes more pronounced when he puts them in the same class with heretics. "Neither the heretic nor the sinner is found in the body of the one dove, inviolate, holy, chaste, not having stain or wrinkle."<sup>28</sup> The Bishop points to the foundation of these assertions in the fact that the dove is represented in Sacred Scripture as standing in inseparable relation to the Holy Ghost.<sup>29</sup>

According to the tenets of the Donatists, only those have the power to administer validly the sacrament of baptism, and by implication all other sacraments, who belong to the real and undefiled Church of Christ. Such a Church is at the same time the

<sup>26</sup> *De bapt. contra Donat.*, IV, 3, 4 (PL 43, 156; CSEL 51, ed. M. Petschenig, 225): "Quod si in ista Ecclesia non sunt, ad cujus membra non pertinent, non sunt in Ecclesia de qua dicitur, 'Una columba mea, una est matri suae' (Cant. 6:8): ipsa est sine macula et ruga. Aut asserat qui potest, hujus columbae membra esse qui saeculo verbis non factis renuntiant."

<sup>27</sup> *De bapt. contra Donat.*, VII, 47, 93 (PL 43, 239; CSEL 51, ed. M. Petschenig, 367): "Communicationem, credo, eam dicit, quae pertinet ad columbae societatem: nam in participationem sacramentorum procul dubio communicabant eis, neminem judicantes, nec a jure communionis aliquem, si diversum sentiret, amoventes."

<sup>28</sup> *De bapt. contra Donat.*, V, 13, 15 (PL 43, 157; CSEL 51, 275): "In corpore autem unice columbae, incorruptae, sanctae, pudicae, non habentis maculam aut rugam, nec ille [haereticus] nec ille [peccator] invenitur."

<sup>29</sup> *De bapt. contra Donat.*, V, 11, 13 (PL 43, 184; CSEL 51, ed. M. Petschenig, 274); and V, 13, 15 (PL 43, 185; CSEL 51, 276).

pure and holy mystical body of Christ, which they admit by the very force of their arguments. St. Augustine interprets these same notions by saying that these members are those that are united as living members to the dove. Only such, both he and they maintain, can be holy members and transmit life, as it were, to others from that fountain of grace to which they adhere. Life can come only from the living. The principle here in play is: *Nemo dat quod non habet*. The Donatists seemed to admit and defend a certain external justification and sanctity, implied in this that one was already holy by the fact that he belonged to their supposedly incorrupt portion of the Church. St. Augustine, however, enters into the deep roots of holiness and examines the very elements by which a person is rendered holy. Only by holiness can one claim to belong to the dove.

St. Augustine's argument containing the Biblical image of the dove runs thus: You Donatists claim that the Church is holy; I also admit and teach this with you, for the Church is portrayed in Sacred Scripture as the dove of purity and holiness. But neither the sinners that are in your schismatical faction nor the sinners that are in our Church belong to this dove of sanctity and simplicity. Sinners cannot be supernaturally living members of it. So if you maintain that only those possessed of sanctity, only the living members of the dove can baptize validly, it follows that all sinners belonging to your schism as well as those belonging to us could not baptize validly. To use your own words, they would baptize outside of the Church.

He concedes, then, that the sinner does not belong to the Church, but he means that Church which is the dove. On this he insists throughout the whole argumentation, denying to sinners a rightful place in the body of Christ.<sup>30</sup> He solves the Donatist difficulty on the administration of baptism in an altogether different manner: Whether a sinner or a holy person baptizes, it is Christ that baptizes, so that in every case the intended effect of baptism is obtained by the recipient of the sacrament whether the sinful person or the just one baptizes; for it is not either one that baptizes by his own power, but it is Christ that baptizes, and

<sup>30</sup> *Contra Cresc.*, II, 21, 26 (PL 43, 482; CSEL 53, ed. M. Petschenig, 385).

for this reason in every case the intended effect of baptism is produced. The doctrine is "that the power of the Lord's baptism is not transmitted from the Lord to any man, but the ministry certainly is transmitted: the power of the Lord (passes) into no one, the ministry into the good and evil. Let the dove fear not the ministry of the evil, let it behold the power of the Lord."<sup>31</sup>

b) *The Spouse*.<sup>32</sup> Another frequent simile occurring in these anti-Donatist writings is that of the spouse without spot and without wrinkle. It is a scriptural metaphor which was raised as an objection against St. Augustine by the Donatists in favor of their theory of a Church unblemished by the existence of sinners. This same figure came into the dispute with the Pelagians, but with them it was not a question of mortal sin but of such sanctity and purity as excluded even the possibility of venial sins in the members of the Church. St. Augustine's solution of the scriptural difficulty lies in pointing out a twofold condition of the Church: here on earth it cannot be without those imperfections which constitute venial transgressions of its members; there in heaven the mystical body of Christ will be in its full glory and perfection without a spot or a wrinkle. In the controversies with the Donatists the said image denotes the exclusion of veritable grievous transgressors.

What is the more exact description of sinners in reference to the spouse? All of those in the Church who are wicked "seem to be within" (*videntur esse intus*), but in reality they cannot belong to that spouse which is without spot and wrinkle.<sup>33</sup> They are said to seem to be within. What can this mean? Sinners are visibly connected with the Church considered in its empirical character. Since the visible Church is also the body of Christ, it would be natural to conclude that they are also the members of the body of Christ. In reality sinners attain and participate in the external life of the Church but fail to reach down to its inner life of faith, hope, and charity. Hence, since sinners really do not attain the end for which the external constitution of the Church exists and

<sup>31</sup> *In Io. Ev. tr.* 5, 11 (PL 35, 1419).

<sup>32</sup> Eph. 5:27.

<sup>33</sup> *De bapt. contra Donat.*, V, 24, 35 (PL 43, 195; CSEL 51, ed. M. Petschenig, 291).



of which it is demonstrative, they are said only to seem to be in the Church.<sup>34</sup>

The image in question, then, pertains to the Church in its internal and spiritual character. The holiness of the spouse does not come from the members but from a union with Christ and through sanctification proceeding from the Spirit of Christ; the Holy Spirit animates the body of Christ. The members of the spouse are just members, whereas those that are not members of the spouse are said to be unjust.<sup>35</sup> Members, therefore, who are in the Church in such a manner as to be intimately and spiritually affiliated with the spouse, that is, those who are united to Christ by grace and charity, are "truly" in the Church, in opposition to sinners who only "seem to be within." "Nor on account of the wicked who seem to be within, are the good to be forsaken who are really within."<sup>36</sup>

c) *The Temple of God*.<sup>37</sup> St. Augustine, following the lead of St. Paul, makes frequent allusion to the faithful as becoming the temples of God and of the Holy Ghost. Under this figure the Church is considered not so much in its aggregate whole as in each individual member. Each just soul is a temple which the Holy Spirit inhabits, diffusing within it the riches of His spiritual gifts, especially charity. Sinners who are intent upon remaining in their sin are not and cannot become the temples of the Holy Ghost.<sup>38</sup> Those who are temples have the kingdom of God within themselves. Here again it is evident that the member is being considered in that relation because of which he is or is not connected internally with the body of Christ.

d) *The House of God*.<sup>39</sup> So far as the image of the temple presents the relation of the individual to the Church precisely as it

<sup>34</sup> *De bapt. contra Donat.*, IV, 3, 4 (PL 43, 155; CSEL 51, ed. M. Petschenig, 224).

<sup>35</sup> *De bapt. contra Donat.*, VII, 10, 19 (PL 43, 229; CSEL 51, ed. M. Petschenig, 350).

<sup>36</sup> *Contra Cresc.*, II, 33, 42 (PL 43, 492; CSEL 42, ed. M. Petschenig, 402).

<sup>37</sup> Rom. 5:5; 8:9-11; I Cor. 3:16 f.; 6:19; II Cor. 6:16; II Tit. 1:14; Gal. 4:6.

<sup>38</sup> *De bapt. contra Donat.*, IV, 4, 6 (PL 43, 157; CSEL 51, ed. M. Petschenig, 227): "Nam nec avarus intus baptizatus fit templum Dei, si ab avaritia non recesserit. Qui enim fiunt templum Dei, possident utique regnum Dei."

<sup>39</sup> Luke 6:47; Matt. 7:47, 16; I Tim. 2:15.

is the body of Christ, the figure of the house is complementary to it, portraying primarily the relation of each individual to the whole Church generally considered, be it as the empirical society or as the body of Christ. St. Augustine gives us in this image three types of men in their relations to the Church, describing the three possible ways in which men may dwell in the Church of God.

First, there are those who not only are in the house of God but who at the same time enter into the very structure of the house, making of themselves, as it were, the spiritual and living material of which the house is constructed; that is, there are such members who are not only corporally in the Church, but who by a spiritual union with Christ form His mystical body here on earth. They *are* the Church, they *are* the mystical body of Christ.

Secondly, there are those who are in the Church, but who do not constitute the very structure of the mystical body. To this class belong all those who have already been considered as adhering only corporally to the social organization, or those who participate externally in the communion of the sacraments. Such are the sinners who, whilst spiritually separated from the mystical body of Christ, remain however in the unity of the Church. To use St. Augustine's words: "They [sinners] are in the house through the communion of sacraments in such a manner as to be outside of the house by the diversity of their deeds."<sup>40</sup>

Thirdly and finally, there are those who once were inside of this house of God but have left it, and now are outside of its walls. Such are those that have separated themselves from the Catholic Church; they are the heretics and schismatics.

The passage containing this synthesis as to the manner in which sinners are present in the Church is so illustrative of St. Augustine's mind on the entire subject that the whole text may be usefully quoted as a summary and a recapitulation of much that has been treated thus far. It serves as key to understanding better and interpreting more securely the many other images under which he portrays the Church and the manner of coexistence of saints and sinners in the Church. It was frequently adduced by

<sup>40</sup> *De bapt. contra Donat.*, VII, 52, 100 (PL 43, 242; CSEL 51, ed. M. Petschenig, 371): "Qui sic sunt in domo per communionem sacramentorum, ut extra domum sint per diversitatem morum."

the ecclesiologists of the sixteenth century to solve their problem concerning sinners in the Church.<sup>41</sup> The passage runs thus:

As to the first type:

I believe that I speak not rashly [when I say] that some are in the house of God in such a manner that they themselves are the same house of God, which is said to be built upon the rock—which is called the one dove—which [is] the beautiful spouse without spot or wrinkle, the enclosed garden, a fountain sealed up, a well of living water, a paradise with the fruits of the orchard: which house also received the keys, and the power of binding and loosing. . . . This house is also called the wheat bringing thirty, sixty, and a hundred [fold] fruit with patience. This house is in golden and silver vessels, and in precious stones and in [indestructible ?] woods. To this house is said, 'Supporting one another in charity. Careful to keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace'; and 'For the temple of God is holy, which you are.' This [house] indeed is in the good faithful and in the holy servants of God dispersed everywhere and bound by spiritual unity in the same communion of the sacraments, whether they know themselves by face, or whether they do not know themselves.<sup>42</sup>

The second type:

<sup>41</sup> E.g., Th. Stapleton, *Principiorum Fidei Doctrinalium Demonstratio Methodica* (Parisiis: 1582), contr. 1, lib. 1, cap. 8, pp. 10-12.

<sup>42</sup> *De bapt. contra Donat.*, VII, 51, 99 (PL 43, 241; CSEL 51, ed. M. Petschenig, 371): "Puto me non temere dicere, alios ita esse in domo Dei, ut ipsi etiam sint eadem domus Dei, quae dicitur aedificari supra petram (Mt. 16:18), quae unica columba appellatur (Cant. 6:8), quae sponsa pulchra sine macula et ruga (Eph. 5:27), et hortus conclusus, fons signatus, puteus aquae vivae, paradisus cum fructu pomorum (Cant. 4:12, 13): quae domus etiam claves accepit, ac potestatem ligandi et solvendi (Mt. 16:19). . . . Haec domus etiam triticum dicitur, sive tricennum, sive sexagenum, sive centum fructum afferens cum tolerantia (Mt. 13:23, et Lc. 8:15). Haec domus est in vasis aureis et argenteis (II Tim. 2:20), et lapidibus pretiosis, et lignis imputribilibus. Huic domui dicitur, 'Sufferentes invicem in dilectione, studentes servare unitatem spiritus in vinculo pacis' (Eph. 4:2-3); et 'Templum enim Dei sanctum est, quod estis vos' (I Cor. 3:17). Haec quippe in bonis fidelibus est, et sanctis Dei servis ubique dispersis et spirituali unitate devinctis in eadem communione sacramentorum, sive se facie noverint, sive non noverint." Our attention should be particularly directed towards all the images under which St. Augustine presents the Church as the body of Christ. He has crowded them all into this passage. Moreover, in this passage he leaves no room for doubt as to what kind of members belong to the Church in such a manner as to constitute the body of Christ.

I say that others are in the house in such a manner as not to belong to the structure of the house, nor to the society of fruitful and peaceful justice; but as chaff is said to be in the wheat: for we cannot deny that they also are in the house, the Apostle saying. 'In a great house there are not only vessels of gold and of silver, but also of wood and of earth; and some indeed unto honor, but some unto dishonor.'<sup>43</sup>

### The third type:

From this innumerable number, not only the crowd within, pressing the heart of a few holy ones in comparison with such a multitude, but also heresies and schisms, having disrupted the nets, exist among them, of whom now it is rather to be said 'they went out from us, but they were not of us.' The already corporally segregated are more separated than those who live carnally or animal-like within, and are spiritually separated.<sup>44</sup>

e) *The Devil's Part in the Church*. St. Augustine in his apologies against the Donatists makes use also of such expressions as brand the wicked with being members of the devil. In other works this recurs still oftener. "The wicked are the children of the devil,"<sup>45</sup> he writes. And so "whence are they in the unity of Christ, who are of the devil's portion?"<sup>46</sup> Yet, when he speaks of membership in the body of the devil, it must not be presumed that the image presented is a parallel to that of the body of Christ. For

<sup>43</sup> *Loc. cit.*: "Alios autem ita dico esse in domo, ut non pertineant ad compagem domus, nec ad societatem fructiferae pacificaeque justitiae; sed sicut esse palea dicitur in frumentis: nam et istos esse in domo, negare non possumus, dicente Apostolo, 'In magna autem domo non solum aurea vasa sunt vel argentea, sed et lignea et fictilia; et alia quidem sunt in honorem, alia vero in contumeliam'" (II Tim. 2:20). Concerning this text of St. Paul, cf. *Retract.*, II, 18 (PL 32, 638; CSEL 36, ed. Knöll, 152-53).

<sup>44</sup> *Loc. cit.*: "Ex hoc numero innumerabili, non solum turba intus premens cor paucorum in tantae multitudinis comparatione sanctorum, sed etiam disruptis retibus haereses et schismata existunt in eis, qui jam magis ex domo quam in domo esse dicendi sunt, de quibus dicitur, 'Ex nobis exierunt, sed non erant ex nobis.' (I Jo. 2:19). Separatiores enim sunt jam etiam corporaliter segregati, quam illi qui interius carnaliter et animaliter vivunt, et spiritualiter separati sunt."

<sup>45</sup> *De bapt. contra Donat.*, VI, 29, 56 (PL 43, 216; CSEL 51, ed. M. Petschenig, 327).

<sup>46</sup> *De bapt. contra Donat.*, IV, 9, 13 (PL 43, 162; CSEL 51, ed. M. Petschenig, 237).



whilst this latter body has the spiritual life emanating from its head, and the members forming that body are united into one body by real spiritual bonds, there is no indication of any likeness by vivification and bonds of union in the body of the devil.

The wicked are said to constitute the devil's body in the sense that they follow his example, share in his iniquity, are the result of his insidious temptations, and will share the same end. Wherefore, it is not contradictory to be in the body of Christ as a putrid member worthy of amputation, and to be classed as a member of Satan. In fact, such members are said to be in the unity of the Church, but in such a manner that those who constitute the body of Christ are described as weeping and sighing amidst these sinners awaiting the hour of liberation.<sup>47</sup>

#### The Value and the Meaning of the Foregoing Statements

A series of statements and Biblical images was gathered from St. Augustine relative to the position of sinners in the Church. If we could unhesitatingly accept the interpretation which lies on the surface of these assertions, the matter regarding the membership of sinners would be already decided. The outcome would be that we should be obliged to assume a sort of twofold Church, the one differing from the other by reason of a wider or more restricted comprehension of members. For if one Church is composed of certain members who are possessed of certain qualities, and if the other Church is able to encompass a wider circle of membership, embracing many more who are apparently not eligible for the first Church, it seems that two, at least in part, separate Churches are portrayed.

The one Church, which is the body of Christ, would be composed only of such as are good and united to Christ by the bonds of internal life. The other Church, of a visible and social character, would contain—besides, of course, the good who form the body of Christ—a vast multitude of men who are characterized as wicked and who seem to be denied any part with Christ. The one Church indeed constitutes the inner circle of the other Church, and so far they are the same; yet the whole bulk of the

<sup>47</sup> *De bapt. contra Donat.*, IV, 10, 16 (PL 43, 162; CSEL 51, ed. M. Petschenig, 239-40).

second Church would not pertain to the first, so that they would not coincide with each other. If so, would this position not imply two, if not altogether separate, then at least distinct Churches, measured by the extent and kind of members they comprise?

In the light of the images and the often repeated assertions of the great Church Father one is apt to form the judgment in favor of the existence of such a double-natured or twofold Church. The *prima facie* impression of a superficial study or facile reading in the works of St. Augustine would be that of the existence of a visible and invisible Church by reason of external or internal membership in the Church. It is no wonder, therefore, that precisely these affirmations of St. Augustine on the exclusion of sinners from the Church as the body of Christ have given rise to opinions which would allow sinners a place in the Church as a visible society, but would yet deny that they belong to the body of Christ.

Notwithstanding their frequency, determinateness, and peremptoriness, these statements implying two distinct Churches are contradicted by other assertions of the prolific St. Augustine. His whole position discountenances any interpretation of a twofold Church. In such a case the Church, the body of Christ, and the Church of the sacraments could no longer be identical and coincident. The Church which he so passionately defends against schism would no longer be one. The Church which he constantly holds out for heretics and schismatics to discern from counterfeit churches and to recognize as the true Church of Christ would no longer be visible.

The proper way of interpreting these many images and assertions of St. Augustine has been already pointed out by way of anticipation in the words on the exclusion of sinners from the body of Christ. In his disputes with the Donatists St. Augustine makes the whole question of the relation of sinner to Church, the body of Christ, hinge about one axis, namely, that of sanctity. But sanctity is union with Christ, the head of the mystical body, by incorporation in the sacrament of baptism, and by faith, hope, and charity.<sup>48</sup> The sinner, however, is not united to Christ by all

<sup>48</sup> Cf. E. J. Carney, *The Doctrine of St. Augustine on Sanctity* (Washington, D.C.: 1945), pp. 72 ff. and 89 ff.

of these internal bonds. The body of Christ is corporately vivified by the Holy Ghost as its soul. But the sinner who is personally devoid of the Holy Ghost on account of his sin does not participate in the corporate possession of the Holy Ghost animating the whole mystical body.<sup>49</sup>

In regard to spiritual life and internal union with Christ and the Church the sinner is in the same category as the heretic; the latter as well as the former is deficient in genuine faith, hope, and charity. Indeed, a sinner is in possession of faith which the heretic challenges, but both live contrary to it; both are deceived by a hope that is vain; both are devoid of spiritual, internal charity.<sup>50</sup> Yet on account of corporal unity with the Church the sinner is in a more fortunate position than the heretic;<sup>51</sup> for he who is within can be more easily converted than he who is outside of the true fold of Christ. Hence the condition of the sinner who becomes a schismatic or a heretic deteriorates, because he severs the last bond by which he was united to the source of spiritual life and salvation.<sup>52</sup>

This interpretation is further corroborated when a study is made of those whom St. Augustine considers as being without life or whom he simply calls dead. The notion of death taken from the order of nature he applies also to the spiritual or supernatural sphere. Man possessing grace, charity, or the justice of God is said to have life which is the life of God or the life of

<sup>49</sup> *De bapt. contra Donat.*, VI, 3, 5 (PL 43, 199; CSEL 51, ed. M. Petschenig, 301): "... illa autem columba unica, pudica et casta, sponsa sine macula et ruga, hortus conclusus, fons signatus, paradiscus cum fructu pomorum, et caetera quae de illa similiter dicta sunt: quod non intelligitur nisi in bonis et sanctis et iustis, id est, non tantum secundum operationes munerum Dei bonis malisque communes, sed etiam secundum intimam et supereminentem charitatem Spiritum sanctum habentibus. . . ."

<sup>50</sup> *De bapt. contra Donat.*, IV, 20, 27 (PL 42, 172; CSEL 51, ed. M. Petschenig, 254): "Quamvis contra fidem non uterque [*malus catholicus et haereticus*] disputet et tamen contra fidem uterque vivat, et spe vana uterque fallatur, et a charitate spirituali uterque dissentiat, et ob hoc uterque ab illius unice columbae corpore alienus sit."

<sup>51</sup> *De bapt. contra Donat.*, IV, 10, 14 (PL 43, 163; CSEL 51, ed. M. Petschenig, 239): "Interiores mali facilius possunt boni fieri."

<sup>52</sup> *De bapt. contra Donat.*, VI, 5, 7 (PL 43, 200; CSEL 51, ed. M. Petschenig, 302): "Quapropter omnes mali spiritualiter a bonis seijuncti sunt: si autem etiam corporaliter aperta dissensione separentur, pejores fiunt."

Christ; if he does not possess these he is said to be dead.<sup>53</sup> And thus there are in the Church living and dead members, but only the living form the body of Christ,<sup>54</sup> and it is only they who, as part of a living organism, grow with the body of Christ and contribute to its increase.<sup>55</sup>

The description of the spiritual body of Christ formed of living members corresponds to a description that could be given also of its analogue, the human body and its members. St. Augustine applies even to a dead member in the human body the designation "member," yet he does not seem to allow to the spiritually dead a place in the living and spiritual body of Christ. The heretical teaching on the quality of holiness necessary in the minister of the sacrament accounts for this particular emphasis on the supernatural vitality of the mystical body of Christ and of its genuine members. Sinners have not sanctity and life; hence they cannot, in accordance with the premises laid down by the heretics, impart it to others in the sacrament of baptism.

That the aforementioned membership in the mystical body of Christ is a question of a living or dead member, but nevertheless a member of that body, is further illustrated by a longer passage which is annexed in conclusion to his mode of argumentation pursued in anti-Donatist works relevant to the matter at hand:

Wherefore he <sup>56</sup> himself warns us most abundantly that many dead in their misdeeds and sins, although they do not belong to the society of Christ and to members of that one innocent and simple dove (which if she alone baptized, they, of course, would not

<sup>53</sup> *De bapt. contra Donat.*, VI, 8, 12 (PL 43, 203; CSEL 51, ed. M. Petschenig, 307): "et mortui, quia carent vita justitiae."

<sup>54</sup> *Contra Cresc.*, III, 35, 39 (PL 43, 517; CSEL 51, ed. M. Petschenig, 446): "In hac communione si fuerunt quos nescio traditores, cum eos demonstraveris, et carne et corde mortuos detestabor: nequaquam tamen a vivis in ejusdem Ecclesiae sancta unitate manentibus propter mortuos alienabor."

<sup>55</sup> *Contra litt. Petil.*, II, 108, 247 (PL 43, 345; CSEL 51, ed. M. Petschenig, 159): "Nec ideo putandi sunt esse in Christi corpore, quod est Ecclesia, quia sacramentorum ejus participes corporaliter fiunt. Illa enim et in talibus sancta sunt, et eis indigne tractantibus et sumentibus ad majus judicium valebunt. Ipsi autem non sunt in illa Ecclesiae compage, quae in membris Christi per connexum et contactum crescit in incrementum Dei."

<sup>56</sup> Namely, St. Cyprian, whose *Epist.* 72 (to Quintus) St. Augustine is examining in the quoted passage.



baptize), are seen nevertheless within to be baptized and to baptize. And [he admonishes us] that in them although dead the baptism lives of Him who does not die and over whom death does not rule. Since, therefore, there are the dead within—nor are they hidden (for Cyprian would not have said much about these)—who either do not belong to this living dove, or do not belong to it as yet; and since there are the dead outside who more manifestly do not belong to her or not yet; it is true ‘that one cannot be vivified by him who himself does not live’; it is manifest that those who are baptized by such within the Church, if they approach with a true conversion of the heart, will be vivified by Him whose sacrament it is. If, however, they renounce the world by words and not deeds (the kind of men that Cyprian attests are within the Church), they are not vivified unless they convert; but they possess the true baptism even if they do not convert. Wherefore it is similarly manifest that also the outside dead, although ‘they neither live, nor vivify,’ have nevertheless the living sacrament, which will benefit them unto life then, when they are converted to peace.<sup>57</sup>

#### The Same Teaching According to Other Works

Although the exclusion of sinners from the body of Christ manifests itself most imposingly in the anti-Donatist works just examined, still it cannot be said that the same teaching is confined exclusively to them. Clothed in the same images and steeped in the same expressions as well as in various other forms, it appears throughout many other writings of St. Augustine. It would be an illusion, therefore, to suppose it to be the result of a one-sided apologetic exaggeration evoked in the heat of discussion. And yet, on the other hand, it would be just as inexact to consider the other statements and figures, under which this doctrine is presented in the other works of St. Augustine, as independent and uninfluenced by the Donatist strife. Indeed, in many of his sermons and exegetical works he has the Donatists directly before his mind, whilst he cautions and instructs the faithful against the errors of those with whom they are in daily contact.

In fact, it is characteristic of St. Augustine’s works that doctrines which were defended against heretics in special polemical

<sup>57</sup> *De bapt. contra Donat.*, V, 18, 24 (PL 43, 189; CSEL 51, ed. M Petschenig, 283).

treatises—as against the Arians, the Manicheans, the Donatists, the Pelagians—will appear in his uncontroversial works destined for the instruction of his people. His *Commentaries on the Psalms*, his *Sermons*, his *Epistles*, his *Tracts on St. John's Gospel* are interspersed with passages containing the same allusions and expositions against heretical and schismatical errors. This is indicative of the fact that error was not confined to leaders but penetrated to the people. This also shows that his expositions refuting them were of a practical nature and perview to the masses of the faithful.

In these other works of St. Augustine, less dependent for their origin and existence on heresies, the same spiritual separation among the members of the one Church is propounded. On the one hand, St. Augustine segregates those into a separate class whom he designates as “the sons of the kingdom of heaven, the offspring of the resurrection in eternity, the body of Christ, the members of Christ, the temple of God” from those whom he calls “foreign sons, waters of contradiction, the wicked sword.”<sup>58</sup> The coexistence of such incongruous elements in one Church causes, as it were, two distinct bodies or two moral persons to be formed within the same Church. The good are presented as constituting one distinct body, namely, that of Christ,<sup>59</sup> which is, as it were, surrounded by, or in the midst of, the wicked. The body of Christ under the pressure of the sinful portion of the Church is said to suffer, weep, and sigh until the time of its delivery. The nature of this division becomes more patent when we realize that within the Church a conversion is possible from the company of the wicked into the body of Christ; or, vice versa, a member of the body of Christ may slip from the good portion into the evil one.<sup>60</sup>

<sup>58</sup> *Enar. in Ps.* 143, 18 (PL 37, 1867).

<sup>59</sup> *Sermo* 137, 2 (PL 38, 755): “Jam in coelo est (Christus), et hic laborat, quamdiu hic laborat Ecclesia. Hic Christus esurit, hic sitit, nudus est, hospes est, infirmatur, in carcere est. Quidquid enim hic patitur corpus ejus, se dicit pati: et in fine segregans ipsum corpus suum ad dextram, et reliquos a quibus modo calcatur ad sinistram.”

<sup>60</sup> *Enar. in Ps.* 139, 7 (PL 37, 1807): “Sed tamen non propter ista isti cavendi sunt [peccatores], sed ne insidiando tibi adducant te ad se; id est, a corpore Christi separant te, et faciant de corpore suo. Sicut enim bonorum caput Christus est, sic illorum caput diabolus.”

If Christ is the head, Christ is the head of some body. The body of this head is the holy Church, among whose members we are, if we love our head. Let us hear therefore the voices of the body of Christ, that is our voices if we are in the body of Christ; for whoever should not be there, will be in those among whom that body weeps. Wherefore either you are in that body, so that you weep among the wicked; or you are not in that body, and you are in those among whom the body weeps, . . . either you are a member of Christ, or an enemy of the body of Christ. Nor are those enemies and adversaries of the body of Christ understood in one way, nor do they act in one way. It is the werewolf who reigns in them, and who uses them as his vessels. Moreover, many are freed from him and pass into the body of Christ; and who are, and how many shall be, He knows who redeemed those not knowing it by His blood. Many indeed shall remain in their malice, not belonging to the body of Christ; and they are known to Him, to whom nothing is unknown.<sup>61</sup>

With regard to the inward nature of this separation of members of the one Church and its fundamental causes nothing new can be added to what has already been indicated above. The same principles of explanation recur throughout. The Doctor of Grace is coherent and steadfast in his explanation of the internal elements of sanctification and unity. The sinner is not a real and living member of the body of Christ because he has not the indwelling Holy Ghost. One cannot possess the Holy Ghost who is in state of mortal sin.<sup>62</sup> Nor can one who is not in the state of grace belong to the communion of saints.<sup>63</sup>

Already in his works against the Manicheans the young Augustine laid down a basic principle for the formation of internal spiritual life: the all-important ingredients of supernatural life are faith, hope, and charity. He who believes otherwise than the body of Christ, hopes and loves otherwise, must also necessarily live otherwise.<sup>64</sup> Above all, St. Augustine lays stress on charity

<sup>61</sup> *Enar. in Ps.* 139, 2 (PL 37, 1803).

<sup>62</sup> *In Io. Ep. tr.* 6, 11 (PL 35, 2026).

<sup>63</sup> *Sermo* 149, 3 (PL 38, 801): "Hoc ergo quod praeceptum est Judaeis, significat quod ad Ecclesiam, id est, ad corpus Christi, ad gratiam societatemque sanctorum non pertinent illi, qui aut negligentes auditores sunt, aut malos mores habent, aut in utroque vitio reprehenduntur."

<sup>64</sup> *Contra Faust.*, XX, 23 (PL 42, 386; CSEL 25, I, 566): "Maneantque ad formandam vitam fidelium tria haec: fides, spes, charitas; unde fieri potest,

as the unitive bond of member with God, and of member with member. One cannot participate in a union of charity if he himself has not the charity diffused by the Holy Ghost, whereby the recipient of it is united to Christ and to the saints. Since, however, all these denote an inward state of the soul, such a sinner not participating in the union with Christ is not always recognizable or distinguishable from the living members except in external circumstances and causes.<sup>65</sup>

### Figures of Comparison

Let us now pass over to the images under which St. Augustine presents the mystical body of Christ or its opposite and the relation of their respective members to them. The sources out of which the material will be drawn are other than anti-Donatist works. Some figures of comparison used against the Donatists, however, do recur and become a part of Augustine's theological fund. So, by means of these figures one feels keenly the detachment of a sinful member from the body of Christ, or his attachment to some body which stands in opposition to the body of Christ. Membership in such an opposing body seems to be incompatible with any further continuation in the body of Christ.

a) *Exclusion from the members of the dove.* In his most renowned exegetical work on the Gospel of St. John, composed in the year 416, there are illusions to and expositions on the sanctity of the dove and its members similar to those that were already studied from the work *De Baptismo contra Donatistas*, coming from the year 400. The tone and contents of these passages remind us of the Donatist struggles, and, no doubt, Augustine after so many years is still in the wake of the fray, wielding the same arguments. The Donatist church did not coalesce with the Catholic Church of Africa but saw its eclipse as the result of the victorious assaults of the Bishop of Hippo against them

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ut pares cum aliquo mores habeat, qui haec tria cum illo paria non habet? Qui enim aliud credit, aliud sperat, aliud amat, necesse est, ut aliter vivat." Cf. E. J. Carney, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

<sup>65</sup> *Enar. in Ps. 149, 2* (PL 37, 1949): "Cum ergo essent illi qui se a compage Christi charitatis et societate sanctae Ecclesiae separaverunt, mali intus apud se, non noverat nisi Deus. Venit tentatio; separavit illos, et patefecit hominibus quod noverat Deus."



(A.D. 399–410).<sup>66</sup> In the Numidian province it survived the ravages of time and history until the seventh century, when it succumbed, like all Christianity in North Africa, to the incursions of the Arab invaders.<sup>67</sup>

The dove is the body of Christ. The evil portion in the Church, amidst whom the dove grieves and must recoil, are simply excluded from partnership with her.<sup>68</sup> Under the image of the dove the Church is brought in relation to the Holy Ghost more directly than under other figures. Sinners do not belong to the dove because they have not the Holy Ghost. If the dove is symbolic of the Church in her innocence and purity, according to the Donatist faction, because the sinner is outside of the membership of the pure dove, he is consequently outside of the Church.<sup>69</sup>

The conclusion at which St. Augustine arrives in this instance is one which can by no means be his own. The Donatists set the premises. Theirs is the premise concerning the absolute purity of the Church; St. Augustine, their antagonist, draws the conclusion. Yet how far this conclusion is from his teaching on the presence and inherence of sinners in the Church must follow from this that he cannot concede in its entirety one of their premises: viz., that sinners are not in the Church. He admits that they have not supernatural life and consequently are not living members of the body of Christ and of the dove.

b) *The members of Christ and the members of a prostitute.*<sup>70</sup> It was the erroneous opinion of some that even those who lived in impurity before baptism and remained in that same state after the reception of the sacrament of baptism,—and hence with life and intention unchanged—could be numbered among the mem-

<sup>66</sup> W. H. C. Frend, *The Donatist Church* (Oxford: 1952), pp. 244–74.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 312–13.

<sup>68</sup> *In Io. Ev. tr.* 6, 17 (PL 35, 1433): “Quid ergo mali, qui non pertinent ad columbam; Ait tibi columba: Et mali inter quos gemo, qui non pertinent ad membra mea, et necesse est ut inter illos gemam nonne habent quod te habere gloriaris?”

<sup>69</sup> *In Io. Ev. tr.* 6, 12 (PL 35, 1430–31): “Quaero utrum ad hujus columbae membra pertineant avari, raptores, subdoli, ebriosi, flagitiosi: membra sunt columbae hujus? . . . Non enim malus ille columba est, aut ad membra columbae pertinet: nec hic potest dici in Catholica, nec apud illos, si illi dicunt, columbam esse Ecclesiam suam.”

<sup>70</sup> I Cor. 6:15.

bers of Christ.<sup>71</sup> This St. Augustine categorically denies. Accordingly, he admonishes and exhorts the *competentes* standing before the threshold of baptism in these words: "So therefore become ye the members of Christ, that you may not take them and make them the members of a prostitute."<sup>72</sup>

No doubt, this admonition is primarily directed against sins of adultery and fornication, and in general against all sins of the flesh. For it is against such sins according to the letter that they are applied by St. Paul. Yet St. Augustine gives these sins a wider scope, according to the scriptural text in which it is said: *Perdidisti omnem qui fornicatur abs te*.<sup>73</sup> Among the sins of fornication, therefore, may be included all those sins that St. Paul names as excluding those that commit them from the kingdom of heaven.<sup>74</sup> They also exclude him who is guilty of them from a living participation in Christ's body, the Church, for "the Church is even now the kingdom of Christ, the kingdom of heaven."<sup>75</sup>

While the sacrament of baptism is necessary for regeneration, the life of grace cannot gain entrance into the soul of the recipient unless the adult receiving the sacrament has the disposition necessary for the fruitful reception of it. A person who through sin is a *membrum meretricis* cannot even begin to be a member of Christ as long as he remains in undisturbed possession of, and complacent attachment to, his sins. Nor can the other means of sanctification in the Church be of any use to him. Although such

<sup>71</sup> *De fid. et opere*, I, 1 (PL 40, 197; CSEL 41, ed. J. Zycha, 35): The error of some in this: "Verbi gratia, si quisdam meretrici adhaeret, non ei prius praecipitur ut ab ea discedat, et tunc veniat ad baptismum, sed etiam cum ea manens mansurumque se confidens, seu etiam profitens, admittatur et baptizetur, nec impediatur fieri membrum Christi, etiamsi membrum meretricis esse perstiterit (I Cor. 6:15)."

<sup>72</sup> *Sermo* 216, 5, 5 (PL 38, 1097).

<sup>73</sup> Ps. 72:27; so in *Retract.*, I, 19, 6 (PL 32, 616; CSEL 36, 92): Vulg. "omnes" and "fornicantur."

<sup>74</sup> *De civ. Dei*, XXI, 25, 4 (PL 41, 742; ed. Dombart-Kalb, II, 538): "Per vitae iniquitatem, ipsam justitiam, quod eis Christus est, deserunt, sive fornicando, sive alias immunditias flagitiorum, quas nec apostolus exprimere voluit, in suo corpore perpetrando, sive turpitudine luxuriae diffluendo, sive aliquid aliud eorum agendo de quibus ait, 'Quoniam qui talia agunt, regnum Dei non possidebunt.'" Cf. E. Kinder, *Reich Gottes und Kirche bei Augustin* (Berlin: 1954), p. 11.

<sup>75</sup> *De civ. Dei*, XX, 9, 1 (PL 41, 673; ed. Dombart-Kalb, II, 429).

an unchanged member is in the unity of the Church and even receives the Eucharist, which is a symbol of unity in the body of Christ, nevertheless such pertinence to the Church and such reception of the Eucharist in the Church is futile so far as spiritual welfare is concerned. For neither the Church nor the Eucharist serves the one so attached to his former sinful life toward that for which they advance those who are really incorporated in the body of Christ. Such rather have need of penance and reconciliation with the Church; then they are rehabilitated in the newness of life in the body of Christ.<sup>76</sup>

Here, more perhaps than in other figures and comparisons, the nature of sin in its effects comes into its proper light. Sin causes a change in allegiance. One cannot choose sin and be God's. Sin draws the delinquent to the creature or, as will be seen in the following comparison, to the evil spirit, towards which the creature turns, whilst it despoils him of God and of the veritable union with Christ.<sup>77</sup> When a sinner, however, is said to become a member of a prostitute, it is not in the same sense in which a sinner is a member of Christ. In the former it is membership by imitation; in the latter it is membership by real internal, spiritual bonds.

c) *The members of Christ and the members of the devil.* Tichonius, an African countryman of St. Augustine and a semi-Donatist, formed a set of rules to serve as a guide for a better interpretation of the Scriptures.<sup>78</sup> The seventh rule deals with the division of

<sup>76</sup> *De civ. Dei*, XXI, 25, 4 (PL 41, 742; ed. Dombart-Kalb, II, 538): "Nec isti ergo dicendi manducare corpus Christi; quoniam nec in membris computandi sunt Christi. Ut enim alia taceam, non possunt simul esse membra Christi, et membra meretricis. . . . Non itaque manent in Christo, qui non sunt membra ejus. . . . Non sunt membra Christi, qui se faciunt membra meretricis, nisi malum illud poenitendo esse destiterint, et ad hoc bonum reconciliatione redierint."

<sup>77</sup> This comparison of St. Augustine and the explanation which accompanies it are employed by authors of a much later period; they are used as arguments for denying membership to sinners in the body of Christ; e.g.: "Item quaeritur, an ecclesia habeat putrida membra. Quod constat. Numquid illa sunt membra Christi: Non, secundum illud: tolles membra Christi et facies illa membra meretricis." Manuscript from the British Museum, London, Ms Royal 9 E XII fol. 239, quoted by A. Landgraf, "Sünde und Trennung von der Kirche in der Frühscholastik," *Scholastik*, V (1930), 243.

<sup>78</sup> *De doctr. christ.*, III, 30, 42 (PL 34, 81).

men into the members of Christ and the members of the devil.<sup>79</sup> This last rule is quoted by St. Augustine and favorably accepted by him. The purpose of it is to show how the *communicatio idiomatum* is verified in the body of the devil. In the case of Christ and His body there are attributes which are proper to Christ the head, whilst others are proper to the members forming His mystical body; yet oftentimes that which is, properly speaking, true of the body is predicated of the head. Rule seven of Tichonius makes the same law applicable to the devil and his members. The Bishop of Hippo comments on this rule in the following manner:

The seventh and the last rule of Tichonius is "concerning the devil and his body." He also is the head of the wicked who are in a certain way his body, and who will go with him into the punishment of eternal fire: as Christ is the head of the Church, which is His body, and will be with Him in the kingdom and in eternal glory. Just as, therefore, in the first rule, which he calls "Concerning the Lord and His body," it must be taken care in order to understand, when Scripture speaks about one and the same person what belongs to the head, and what to the body; so in this last rule, sometimes something is said about the devil which can be recognized not in him but in his body, which he has not only in them who most manifestly are outside, but also in them who since they belong to him, nevertheless are mixed for a time in the Church until each one departs from this life, or the chaff is separated from the wheat by the last winnowing-fork.<sup>80</sup>

This idea of the body of the devil and men constituting its members is not confined to this one passage, where the Bishop borrows the image and adds, as it were, his own commentary. The dual comparison occurs in other passages scattered through several works. In many instances, however, the devil's body is

<sup>79</sup> F. C. Burkitt, *The Book of Rules of Tichonius (Texts and Studies*, vol. III, n. 1; Cambridge: 1894), according to which the rule which concerns us presently reads thus: "De Diabolo et Corpore ejus. Diaboli et corporis ejus ratio breviter videri potest, si id quod de Domino et ejus corpore dictum est in hoc quoque observetur. Transitus namque a capite ad corpus eadem ratione dignoscitur, sicut per Isaiam de rege Babylonis. . . ."

<sup>80</sup> *De doctr. christ.*, III, 37, 55 (PL 34, 88). Cf. also *De Gen. ad lit.*, II, 24, 31 (PL 34, 442; CSEL 28, ed. J. Zycha, 356-57).



identified with those multitudes who are engulfed in paganism, or at least who are beyond the confines of the Church. For such through faith are delivered from the power of the devil and from being his members; by baptism and the infusion of internal life they are transplanted into the fold of Christ and gain membership in Christ's body.<sup>81</sup> Also they who depart through apostasy from the Church are classified by St. Augustine as having associated themselves with the body of the devil.<sup>82</sup>

The association, however, with the devil of those who are completely external to the Church, does not directly interest us. But detaching those that are in the Church from Christ, and what is worse, incorporating them into the body of the devil, seems to be unintelligible when we consider that the Church (with all those, of course, who are in the Church) is the body of Christ. An irreconcilable dualism of bodies is set up within one and the same Church. This teaching of St. Augustine becomes still more striking when the circumstance is considered that the doctrine is proposed not with casual reference, as for example in the preceding commentary on the passage of Tichonius, but with study and deliberation.

Yet the presentation of the good and the wicked within the Church under the realistic figures of the body of Christ and the body of the devil is in harmony with the many other images employed for the same purpose. The distinguishing factor is charity: those who possess it form the body of Christ, whereas those who do not possess it belong to the body of the devil. More than that, charity is the unitive virtue of all members into the body of Christ.

Love therefore alone distinguishes between the sons of God and the sons of the devil. Let them all sign themselves with the sign of the cross of Christ; let them all answer, Amen; let them all sing, Alleluia; let them all be baptized, let them enter churches; let them build the walls of the basilicas: the sons of God are not distinguished from the

<sup>81</sup> *Enar. in Ps.* 58, 6 (PL 36, 695): "Erant omnes iniqui vasa diaboli, qui credentes facti sunt vasa Christi." So also: *Enar. in Ps.* 3, 7 (PL 36, 75); *Enar. in Ps.* 78, 16 (PL 36, 938); *In Io. Ev. tr.* 7, 5 (PL 35, 1440); *In Io. Ev. tr.* 52, 6 (PL 35, 1771).

<sup>82</sup> *De Gen. ad lit.*, II, 24, 31 (PL 34, 442; CSEL 28, ed. J. Zycha, 356-57).

sons of Satan—except by charity. Those who have charity are born of God: those who have not, are not born of God.<sup>83</sup>

The two bodies, therefore, to which St. Augustine makes reference are not to be understood as constituted in the same manner. For, the first body, the body of Christ, constitutes a universally recognized scriptural doctrine, which is at the same time deeply imbedded in ecclesiastical tradition; it is an integral part not only of Scripture and tradition, but also of doctrinal and spiritual theology. Moreover, viewed in its spiritual reality as a body, this doctrine supposes the existence of spiritual bonds, which unite the members into a spiritual, integral, and living organism.

The body of the devil is no such reality. It has no such internally uniting bonds. It is not by any meritorious work that Satan has a right to men, as Christ has through His work of redemption. Satan does not impart any life of his own, as Christ does. Membership is obtained in the devil's body because he is the cause of man's fall and because in sinning men follow his example. The union of man with the devil may be called an ethical or moral one.<sup>84</sup>

d) *Temple, house, city.* It has already been stated that the Church was designated as a house and a temple; further, that there were such members in the house and in the temple who at the same time were its constitutive parts. Others again were only present within the house and the temple; that is, they did not enter as constituents into the very structure of the Church. All this in Augustinian language means that one group is merely in the external and visible society of the Church, and in consequence the members adhere to Christ as dead members; the other group is in the Church in such a manner as to be true members of it because they are in a living and spiritual union with Christ, and thus form His body. In this last sense, whereby men are the "temple of God, the body of Christ, the congregation of the faithful,"<sup>85</sup> the terms "house" and "temple" can very conveniently be applied either to individual members forming the body of Christ

<sup>83</sup> *In Io. Ep. tr.* 5, 3, 7 (PL 35, 2016).

<sup>84</sup> Cf. e.g., *Summa theol.*, IIIa, q. 8, aa. 7, 8.

<sup>85</sup> *Enar. in Ps.* 130, 3 (PL 37, 1705).

or to the entire aggregation of the faithful considered as a corporate entity.<sup>86</sup>

These designations, "house" and "temple," are to be identified, at least in substance, with still another term frequently occurring in the works of St. Augustine, namely, "the city of God." In fact, it is the central topic of one of his greatest and ever living works bearing that designation for its title, *De civitate Dei*.<sup>87</sup> The paramount question is, what has St. Augustine in mind when he speaks of the "city of God." Does he mean the Church in its social and hierarchichal form, that is, the visible *Catholica*? Or does he mean the mystical body of Christ and does he thus intimate the invisible Church as it consists of the just and holy, and preferably the predestined? Or does he finally mean by the "city of God" in a general way all that is good and virtuous, including the Church as the inner kernel?

Each of these interpretations of the "city of God" has its followers among the investigators of St. Augustine's works on this particular matter. Reuter<sup>88</sup> (who has influenced a whole series of authors who follow his opinion), Seeberg,<sup>89</sup> Troeltsch,<sup>90</sup> Hermelink,<sup>91</sup> Straszewski,<sup>92</sup> Buonaiuti,<sup>93</sup> Warfield,<sup>94</sup> Ottley,<sup>95</sup> Dawson,<sup>96</sup> Gilson,<sup>97</sup> Bourke,<sup>98</sup> Ziegenfuss,<sup>99</sup> Oepke,<sup>100</sup> Willis,<sup>101</sup>

<sup>86</sup> *Enar. in Ps.* 130, 3 (PL 37, 1233).

<sup>87</sup> This terminology and the underlying concept are of scriptural origin; e.g., Ps. 86:3; Heb. 12:22.

<sup>88</sup> H. Reuter, *Augustinische Studien* (Gotha: 1884), pp. 106-52.

<sup>89</sup> R. Seeberg, *Dogmengeschichte*, II, 480 ff.

<sup>90</sup> E. Troeltsch, *Augustin, die christliche Antike und das Mittelalter* (München and Berlin: 1915), pp. 8 f. in the note.

<sup>91</sup> H. Hermelink, *Die "civitas terrena" bei Augustinus*. Festgabe für Adolph v. Harnacks 70 Geburtstag (Tübingen: 1921), p. 308.

<sup>92</sup> M. Straszewski, *Filozofia św. Augustyna na Tle Epoki* (2 ed.; Lwów: 1922), p. 244.

<sup>93</sup> E. Buonaiuti, *S. Agostino* (Rome: 1923), p. 65: "Per intendere ciò non dobbiamo naturalmente contentarci dell' accezione volgare, secondo la quale Sant' Agostino avrebbe fatto della Chiesa la città di Dio."

<sup>94</sup> B. Warfield, "Augustine," *Hasting's Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*, I, 221.

<sup>95</sup> R. L. Ottley, *Studies in the Confessions of St. Augustine* (London: 1919), p. 106: "In the *De civitate* we seem to find his ultimate view; a mystical conception of the Church half Biblical, half philosophical: the City of God being regarded as the invisible congregation of saints—the *numerus predestinatorum*—the true Church."

<sup>96</sup> C. Dawson, "St. Augustine and His Age," II, The City of God, in

Bardy,<sup>102</sup> Barker,<sup>103</sup> Kamlah,<sup>103a</sup> and Ladner<sup>104</sup> maintain that by the designation "city of God" St. Augustine does not intend to signify the Church as such but only the good who are really united with Christ. Moreover, following up his idea of the good, according to which those only can be good in reality and in full measure who persevere to the very end, many of these authors make the idea of the city of God embrace in final analysis only the predestined. In consequence, they contend that such a concept of the city of God has at least a necessary connection with the visible, hierarchical, and social constitution of the Church.

Another group of investigators, concerned directly with the

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*A Monument to Saint Augustine* (London: 1945), p. 66: The City of God is not "the visible hierarchical Church. It is a transcendent and timeless reality. . . ."

<sup>97</sup> E. Gilson, *Introduction à l'étude de saint Augustin* (3 éd.; Paris: 1949), p. 238: ". . . l'Église n'est pas la Cité de Dieu, car cette cité est la société de tous les élus passés, présents ou futurs; or il y a manifestement eu des justes élus avant la constitution de l'Église du Christ; il y a maintenant, hors de l'Église et peut-être jusque parmi ses persécuteurs, de futurs élus qui se soumettront à sa discipline avant de mourir; enfin et surtout il y a dans l'Église beaucoup d'hommes qui ne seront pas dw nombre des élus." *Id.*, *Les Métamorphoses de la cité de Dieu* (Louvain: 1952), pp. 55-56; "Église et Cité de Dieu chez St. Augustin," *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du Moyen Âge*, XX (1954), 5-23.

<sup>98</sup> V. J. Bourke, *Augustine's Quest of Wisdom* (Milwaukee: 1945), p. 283.

<sup>99</sup> W. Ziegenfuss, *Augustinus: Christliche Transzendenz in Gesellschaft und Geschichte* (Berlin: 1948), pp. 123-24: "Sie (the *civitas terrena* and *civitas Dei*) sind keine abgeschlossenen Gebilde, sondern allgemeine Daseinsweisen des gesellschaftlichen Lebens."

<sup>100</sup> A. Oepke, *Das neue Gottesvolk in Schrifttum, Schauspiel, bildende Kunst und Weltgestaltung* (Gütersloh: 1950), pp. 349-51.

<sup>101</sup> G. G. Willis, *Saint Augustine and the Donatist Controversy* (London: 1950), pp. 124-25. J. Burleigh, *The City of God* (London: 1949), p. 180.

<sup>102</sup> G. Bardy, "Definition de la Cité de Dieu," *L'année théologique Augustinienne*, XII (1952), 124.

<sup>103</sup> E. Barker, *Essays on Government* (Oxford: 1951), pp. 234-70.

<sup>103a</sup> W. Kamlah, "Augustins Ansicht über Kirche und Gottesreich," *Philologus*, XCIII (1938), 248-64; *Christentum und Geschichtlichkeit. Die Entstehung des Christentums* (Stuttgart: 1951), p. 159, makes an equation between *Ecclesia Christi* and *Civitas Dei* (in fact, the latter is but another name for the Church), but in an eschatological sense, so that it means the communion of the predestined—"auch noch immer die Gemeinde der erwählten Heiligen," p. 136.

<sup>104</sup> G. B. Ladner, "St. Augustine's Conception of the Reformation of Man to the Image of God," *Augustinus Magister* (Paris: 1954), II, 876.



*De civitate Dei*, as for instance Scholz,<sup>105</sup> Holl,<sup>106</sup> Figgis,<sup>107</sup> Cayré,<sup>108</sup> Butti,<sup>109</sup> Bross,<sup>110</sup> Lauras,<sup>111</sup> Marshall,<sup>112</sup> Ratzinger<sup>113</sup> (as well as others, e.g., Cunningham<sup>114</sup> and Simpson,<sup>115</sup> McGiffert<sup>116</sup> who treat this topic more generally, basing themselves upon all of St. Augustine's works), are of the opinion that the Augustinian city of God is to be identified with the empirical Catholic Church.<sup>117</sup> Harnack states that Augustine's teaching on "the earthly city" and "the city of God" as applied "to the concrete Church and the concrete state was developed gradually and later from the work" *De civitate Dei*.<sup>118</sup> Turner believes that "St. Augustine's theory of the *civitas Dei* was, in germ, that of the

<sup>105</sup> H. Scholz, *Glaube und Unglaube in der Weltgeschichte. Ein Kommentar zu Augustins "De civitate Dei"* (Leipzig: 1911), pp. 109-19.

<sup>106</sup> K. Holl, "Augustins innere Entwicklung," *Abhandlungen der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Phil.-hist. Klasse* 4 (Berlin: 1922), pp. 39 ff.

<sup>107</sup> J. N. Figgis, *The Political Aspects of St. Augustine's "City of God"* (London: 1921), p. 69.

<sup>108</sup> F. Cayré, "La Cité de Dieu," *Revue Thomiste*, XXXV (1930), 489; *id.*, "Notion de la mystique d'après les grands traités de saint Augustin," *Augustinus Magister* (Paris: 1954), II, 620.

<sup>109</sup> P. C. Butti, *La Mente di S. Agostino nella Città di Dio* (Firenze: 1930), pp. 203 ff.

<sup>110</sup> S. Bross, "Idea Pokoju i Jej Wpływ na Średniowiecze," *Święty Augustyn* (Poznań: 1930), p. 21.

<sup>111</sup> A. Lauras and H. Rondet, "Le thème des deux cités dans l'oeuvre de saint Augustin," *Études Augustiniennes* (Paris: 1953), pp. 154, 156.

<sup>112</sup> R. T. Marshall, *Studies in the Political and Socio-Religious Terminology of the "De Civitate Dei"* (Washington, D.C.: 1952), p. 40.

<sup>113</sup> J. Ratzinger, "Herkunft und Sinn der Civitas-Lehre Augustins," *Augustinus Magister* (Paris: 1954), II, 979; *id.*, *Volk und Haus Gottes in Augustins Lehre von der Kirche* (München: 1954).

<sup>114</sup> W. Cunningham, *S. Augustine* (London: 1886), p. 115.

<sup>115</sup> W. J. Sparrow Simpson, *St. Augustine's Episcopate* (London: 1944), p. 52: "St. Augustine repeatedly declares that the City of God is the Church, and the Church is even now and here the Kingdom of God and the Kingdom of Heaven."

<sup>116</sup> A. C. McGiffert, *A History of Christian Thought* (New York: 1946), II, 110.

<sup>117</sup> For a brief exposition of the thought of some of the authors mentioned, cf. K. Müller, "Kirche und Reich Gottes bei Augustin," *Zeitschrift für die neueste. Wissenschaft und Kunde der älteren Kirche*, XXVII (1928), 202-11.

<sup>118</sup> A. von Harnack, "Einleitung zu seiner Übersetzung von 'Possidius. Augustins Leben.'" *Abhandlungen der preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philos.-histor. Klasse* 1 (Berlin: 1930), p. 12.

medieval papacy, without the name of Rome."<sup>119</sup> That the Catholic Church is the city of God is the popular and traditional notion which has long obtained in the Church as an unquestionable fact.

The concept of the city of God is not to be identified, in every respect, with that underlying the scriptural kingdom of God found in St. Augustine. He distinguishes between the kingdom of God as it is found here on earth, containing in its fold the unjust, and the kingdom of God in heaven, composed only of the blessed.<sup>120</sup> With many writers—Robertson<sup>121</sup> McGiffert,<sup>122</sup> Gilson,<sup>123</sup> Figgis,<sup>124</sup> Simpson,<sup>125</sup> Kinder<sup>125a</sup>—it is to be maintained that the notion "kingdom of God" is identifiable in every respect with the empirical and institutional Church; on the other hand, against Gilson<sup>126</sup> the Augustinian kingdom of God is to be upheld as including the concept proper to the city of God. In other words, the notion proper to the "kingdom of God" denotes the *Catholica*, i.e., the visible Church, but it also connotes the *corpus Christi* and the *civitas Dei*.

Nor is it surprising that there are even some who share both opinions, holding on the one hand (as for instance Salin,<sup>127</sup> against

<sup>119</sup> C. H. Turner in the *Cambridge Medieval History*, I, 173. In like manner A. Oepke, *Das neue Volk* (Gütersloh: 1950), pp. 349–51.

<sup>120</sup> *De Civ. Dei*, XX, 9, 1 (PL 41, 672–73; ed. Dombart-Kalb, II, 428–29).

<sup>121</sup> Cf. Robertson, *Regnum Dei* (London: 1901), pp. 203, 214, 222, et passim. While pointing out the spiritual nature as the preponderant element in the concept of the Augustinian Church, Robertson makes the admission that the African bishop has identified the visible Catholic Church with the kingdom of God.

<sup>122</sup> A. C. McGiffert, *A History of Christian Thought* (New York: 1946), II, 110: "Moreover the visible Church is identical with the kingdom of God and to it are to be applied all the New Testament passages referring to the kingdom. To be sure, as a rule Augustine spoke of the kingdom of God as a future reality to be consummated in another world beyond the grave. But this did not prevent him from identifying it with the Church on earth, the visible Catholic institution." Cf. also *ibid.*, pp. 116–17.

<sup>123</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 238, n. 2.

<sup>124</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 69. Also F. E. Cranz, "De Civitate Dei, XV, 2, and St. Augustine's Idea of the Christian Society," *Speculum*, XXV (1950), 215–25.

<sup>125</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 53: "And the Church is the Kingdom of God and the Kingdom of Heaven."

<sup>125a</sup> *Reich Gottes und Kirche bei Augustin* (Berlin: 1954), p. 71.

<sup>126</sup> *Loc. cit.*

<sup>127</sup> E. Salin, *Civitas Dei* (Tübingen, 1926), p. 242; also pp. 179 f. in note.

Holl) that the Augustinian city of God cannot be identified with the empirical Catholic Church, and claiming, on the other hand (Salin again, in favor of Holl) that this city of God can, and in reality in many instances does, signify the visible Church as such. Bardy states, on the one hand, that "in the strict sense, the Church is not, therefore, the city of God,"<sup>128</sup> and, on the other hand, that Augustine "expresses himself at times as if it were."<sup>129</sup> Pincherle admits that St. Augustine explicitly names the Church as the city of God, but asserts that in reality the city of God is composed only of the angels and the predestined.<sup>130</sup>

The opinion of this third category of authors who say that the city of God can at times be identified with the Catholic Church and at times eludes that identification explains the existence of the two first groups which oppose each other. For upon closer observation it will be observed that, while candid interpreters will defend their own opinion, they at the same time concede the existence of opposing texts, which they cannot so easily explain away and which leave room for the possibility of the other interpretation.<sup>131</sup> This concession is made likewise by Karl Müller in his review of the authors writing precisely on this point, although he is inclined to prefer the interpretation of those who identify the *civitas Dei* with the spiritually good members living in union with Christ.<sup>132</sup>

Finally, there are those who will not allow Augustine's "city

<sup>128</sup> G. Bardy, "Definition de la Cité de Dieu," *L'année théologique Augustinienne*, XII (1952), 124.

<sup>129</sup> *Ibid.*, 128.

<sup>130</sup> A. Pincherle, *Sant' Agostino, Vescovo e Teologo* (Bari, 1930), p. 230: "A volte, indubbiamente, per dichiarazione esplicita di Agostino, essa è la Chiesa." Then on p. 231: "La Città di Dio è dunque, in realtà costituita dagli angeli e dai predestinati; dei quali nessuno sa il numero."

<sup>131</sup> Thus, for example, G. G. Willis, *Saint Augustine and the Donatist Controversy* (London: 1950), p. 142: "It must, however, be borne in mind that the term *civitas superna* is not synonymous with the Church Militant. Sometimes Augustine seems to identify them, but usually the *civitas superna* is the whole Church when it is *in patria* and not the Church *in via*." Ziegenfuss, who was quoted as not identifying the City of God with the Church, states, *op. cit.*, p. 143: "die Kirche . . . die 'civitas Dei' der christlichen Gegenwart." Cf. also E. Gilson, *Les métamorphoses de la Cité de Dieu* (Louvain: 1952), p. 52.

<sup>132</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 211.

of God" to be identified with either the conception of the visible or invisible Church or with the definite number of the predestined. Such is the opinion of Barker,<sup>133</sup> Stohr,<sup>134</sup> and others. In their interpretation the "city of God" is not to be understood as a religious society verified in a particular society, but an ideal conception,<sup>135</sup> a spiritual entity,<sup>136</sup> "a supreme ideal of life."<sup>137</sup> No doubt, an intellectual idea, a moral power,<sup>138</sup> a purposeful end<sup>139</sup> are the elements that bind men into a social or religious organization. Neither Augustine's *civitas Dei* nor his *civitas terrena* can be without such. The value of each is determined by the end which they seek.<sup>140</sup> But Augustine views the "city of God" as an established reality, standing in opposition to the "earthly city," and the question is in what existing society it is verified.

What is to be said of this extensive variety of opinions concerning the meaning of Augustine's "city of God?" It is hardly possible that a topic which is the result of much thinking and strenuous labor should be indefinite and vague. It appears that the weakness of many of the foregoing interpretations lies in the

<sup>133</sup> E. Barker, in his Introduction to J. Healy's translation of *De Civitate Dei* (ed. V. G. Tasker; London: 1945), I, p. xvii, says: "It is an invisible society; it cannot be identified with visible society."

<sup>134</sup> A. Stohr, *Augustinus als Mensch und Denker* (Frankfurt a. M.: 1930), p. 60: "Es darf bemerkt werden, dass es gänzlich verfehlt wäre, Erdenstaat etwa mit irdischem Staat und Gottesstaat einfachhin mit Kirche gleichzusetzen, obwohl der heidnische Römerstaat etwa als Kernstück des Erdenstaates und die Kirche etwa als Kristallisationspunkt des Gottesreiches gelten kann."

<sup>135</sup> E. Barker, *loc. cit.*: "The earthly city, like the heavenly city, is an ideal conception."

<sup>136</sup> J. Burnaby, *Amor Dei*, etc. (London: 1947), p. 316: "His Two Cities are spiritual entities, 'principalities and powers,' not two divisions of humanity." G. Spanedda, *Il mistero della Chiesa . . .* (Sassari: 1944), p. 73.

<sup>137</sup> G. B. Ladner, "St. Augustine's Conception of the Reformation of Man to the Image of God," *Augustinus Magister* (Paris: 1954), II, 877.

<sup>138</sup> V. Stegemann, *Augustins Gottesstaat* (Tübingen: 1928), p. 35: Das "einigende Band" of the *civitas* is "eine (sittliche) Idee."

<sup>139</sup> W. Ziegenfuss, *Augustinus. Christliche Transzendenz in Gesellschaft und Geschichte* (Berlin: 1948), p. 123: "Sie sind zielgerichtet, sie haben also teleologischen Charakter."

<sup>140</sup> F. Hofmann, *Der Kirchenbegriff des hl. Augustinus* (München: 1933), p. 7: "Der Wert einer *civitas* bemisst sich nach dem Wert des Zielgutes, das sie anstrebt."



fact that they do not consider the full comprehension of St. Augustine's concept of the Church. If one is ever aware in reading St. Augustine's *City of God* of the several aspects under which he views the Church, and if one is mindful of the facility with which he shifts from one aspect to another while speaking of one and the same Church, there can hardly be any serious difficulty in identifying all that he says concerning the "city of God" with the Church, the mystical body of Christ. "What is the city of God," asks St. Augustine, "unless the holy Church."<sup>141</sup>

The city of God, like the Church—the mystical body of Christ—is a social reality which lies within the framework of the redemptive work accomplished by Christ because it constitutes "the redeemed family of Christ."<sup>142</sup> The city of God like the mystical body embraces all that are going to be saved and therefore its salvific influence begins with the inception of mankind, and its first member is the just Abel. Sinlessness is precluded from neither: just as the body of Christ is a mingling of saints and sinners, an *Ecclesia permixta*, a *corpus permixtum*<sup>143</sup> to be separated only at the end of time, so too the city of God and the earthly city "are entangled together (*perplexae*) in this world, and intermixed (*permixtae*) until the last judgment effects their separation."<sup>144</sup> And just as in the Church, the mystical body of Christ, only such good as persevere in their holiness to the end will see the purpose of the Church realized in themselves by entering into the formation of the celestial mystical body, so too the city of God will finally be framed of the persevering good, that is of the predestined. And because their number is in God's foreknowledge already certain, these are in verity the only members of the mystical body and of the city of God.

If St. Augustine couched the plan of this lofty work under the image of a city and in terms which differ from his works the reason lies in the scope of this lucubration. He avoids theological terminology in favor of social and political concepts. He accepts

<sup>141</sup> *Enar. in Ps.* 98, 4 (PL 37, 1261): "Quae est civitas Dei nisi sancta Ecclesia."

<sup>142</sup> *De civ. Dei*, I, 35 (PL 41, 46; ed. Dombart-Kalb, I, 51).

<sup>143</sup> *De doctr. christ.*, III, 44, 32' (PL 34, 82); *Contra Faust.*, XIII, 16 (PL 42, 292; CSEL 25, I, 397): "ubique permixti sunt."

<sup>144</sup> *De civ. Dei*, I, 35 (PL 41, 46; ed. Dombart-Kalb, I, 51).

Roman tradition in distinguishing three organic forms of social life (*vita socialis*): the family, the city (*civitas* or *urbs*), the world.<sup>145</sup> What was more apt in a Christian philosophico-apologetic work addressed to the tottering empire of Graeco-Roman culture than to portray the Church in language and concepts of a city? <sup>146</sup> It is the same with the other vital concept common to this theology of the Church and his sociology of the city. In the theology of the mystical body all hinges on charity, here in the philosophy of the two cities on love. It is only a switch in terminology adapting them to the needs of the purpose, for just as charity is the great divider in the mystical body, separating internally the saint from the sinner, so, too, love is the great divider of the two cities, not visibly and externally, but in the heart and soul.

It is evident from what has been previously said that St. Augustine presents the Church at times under the aspect of its external and visible organization, and at times under the aspect of its internal and spiritual constitution as the body of Christ. Either of these aspects of the Christian society founded by Christ may be entertained by the Bishop's mind individually and presented separately; or one aspect may be more pronounced and conspicuous than the other which it does not exclude but even connotes; or both aspects may be equally involved so that neither is preponderant, as when Augustine mentions the word "Church" and immediately adds as an apposite "the body of Christ."

Unholy members are not allowed to participate by equal right and in the same manner in the membership of the Church considered under these two different aspects. Hence, ordinarily sinners are said to belong simply to the Church, to the *Catholica*; or some similar term or phrase is used whereby the social and empirical nature of the Church is placed in relief. On the other hand, the holy, the just, the good, the predestined are named in connection with the body of Christ, which is for St. Augustine what we now call the mystical body of Christ.

<sup>145</sup> *De civ. Dei*, XIX, 7 (PL 41, 633; ed. Dombart-Kalb, I, 366).

<sup>146</sup> R. T. Marshall, *Studies in the Political and Socio-Religious Terminology of the "De Civitate Dei"* (Washington, D.C.: 1952), p. 4: "It (*Ecclesia*) is comparatively rare in *De Civitate Dei*."

An important circumstance, not to be overlooked in this matter, is that St. Augustine often stretches in one sense, and restricts in another, his comprehension of the Church under the aspect of the body of Christ.<sup>147</sup> Thus he extends the Church, the mystical body of Christ, by retrogression, so as to comprehend all the just from the beginning of the world;<sup>148</sup> he narrows it by anticipation, so as to include in the body of Christ only those who through divine prescience and predestination are to be saved. Only in these who attain eternal salvation is the purpose of the Church fulfilled, because these are to remain in the body of Christ for eternity.

Just as the notion of the Church has a certain number of different aspects and thus is to some extent elastic, so the concept of the city of God cannot be restricted to one strictly defined group of people but must be allowed a certain degree of elasticity. The comprehension of the city of God may increase or diminish in like manner as that of the Church. Both concepts cover the same ground; they embrace the same members. With the authors, therefore, enumerated above, it is to be maintained that the Augustinian city of God is the visible, hierarchical, and social Church.<sup>149</sup> Furthermore, still more is it to be insisted with the opposing group that in a greater measure this city of God is that Church which is the body of Christ formed of the faithful possessed of, and united by, charity.<sup>150</sup> Finally, it can be said that the

<sup>147</sup> In this want of a strict and stereotyped definition of the Church St. Augustine does not stand alone; before his time as well as centuries after him Fathers and even later theologians restrict or expand the notion of comprehension of the body of Christ in many respects; cf. S. Tromp, *Corpus Christi quod est Ecclesia* (2 ed.; Romae: 1946), p. 123.

<sup>148</sup> *Sermo* 4, 11-12 (PL 38, 39); *Sermo* 340, 9, 11 (PL 39, 1499-1500); *Enar. in Ps.* 36, 3, 4 (PL 36, 385). Cf. Y. M. J. Congar, "Ecclesia ab Abel," *Abhandlungen über Theologie und Kirche: Festschrift für Karl Adam* (Düsseldorf: 1952), p. 84.

<sup>149</sup> F. Cayré, *art. cit.*, p. 489; "L'Église, de son côté, est une cité, une société véritable, solidement organisée et pour l'unité de laquelle l'évêque d'Hippone a lutté, sa vie entière, contre les donatiste dissidents."

<sup>150</sup> M. del Río, "El Cristo Místico y la Comunión de los Santos según San Agustín," *Religión y Cultura*, XV (1931), 423: "Sentando como principio fundamental que la Iglesia es el cuerpo del Cristo, que su unidad es perfecta y que es fruto de la caridad, llamándola por esta razón *unitatis caritatem*, la caridad de la unidad Agustín señala inmediatamente la unidad de ista Iglesia, que es la Ciudad de Dios."

city of God in verity and full perfection is formed of those who are predestined to form the body of Christ forever.<sup>151</sup> For such are in a perfect sense members of the body of Christ, who, united in charity to Christ, persevere to the end, in opposition to those who for some period of time are really united to Christ by internal, spiritual ties, but who succumbing to death-bringing sins forfeit their life-giving partnership with Him.

No doubt St. Augustine's presentation of the city of God primarily expresses the aspect of the body of Christ before that of the juridical and empirical Church. We can thus fully agree with those authors who point to St. Augustine as stressing this point most often and who in consequence make the avowal that he "principally" means to designate the good, holy, just, and eventually predestined as constituting one city pertaining to God, or as forming the members of one body belonging to Christ.<sup>152</sup> This Church on earth is, as it were, in exile and constitutes but one Church with those who already stand in eternity.<sup>153</sup>

It would be far from his mind if we were to restrict his *civitas Dei* to the above notion to such an extent as to exclude the connotation and at times the actual denotation of the juridical and visible Church. This becomes more certain and clear when we visualize his Church in its several aspects, all of which may be predi-

<sup>151</sup> F. Cayré, *art. cit.*, p. 495: "La cité de Dieu sur terre est essentiellement la preparation des prédestinés à la vie du ciel, cité voyageuse à exil (*civitas peregrina*), qui marche vers d'immortelles destinées et y conduit ceux qui lui restent fidèles." Cf. *De bapt. contra Donat.*, V. 27, 38 (PL 43, 196; CSEL 51, 295): "In illa ineffabili praescientia Dei, multi qui foris videntur intus sunt; et multi qui intus videntur foris sunt."

<sup>152</sup> K. Müller, "Kirche und Reich Gottes bei Augustin," *Zeitschrift für die neut. Wissenschaft und Kunde der älteren Kirche*, XXVII (1928), 211: "Mit dem allem will ich natürlich nicht sagen dass Augustin die Kirche überhaupt nicht auch einmal kurzweg als *civitas Dei* bezeichnen konnte: kurze Ausdrücke dieser Art sind ja da. Aber es bleibt meines Erachtens bei dem, was Reuter gesagt hat, dass Augustin dabei 'prinzipiell' nicht an die verfassungsmässig organisierte, von den Bischöfen regierte Kirche, sondern an die *communio sanctorum* denke, dass er, wie ich lieber sagen möchte, Kirche eben nur um ihres Kernes, der *civitas sanctorum* willen als *civitas Dei* bezeichne."

<sup>153</sup> *De civ. Dei*, X, 7 (PL 41, 284; ed. Dombart-Kalb, I, 412): "Cum ipsi (angelis) enim sumus una civitas Dei, cui dicitur in psalmo, 'Gloriosa dicta sunt de te, civitas Dei' (Ps. 86:3): cujus pars in nobis peregrinatur, pars in illis opitulatur." Cf. also *Enar. in Ps. 90*, I (PL 37, 1159).



cated of the city of God. His Church of the sacraments and his Church as the mystical body of Christ are not two separate entities, but two aspects of the same Church. So also the city of God, whilst presenting the Church primarily as the mystical body of Christ, does not exclude the sacramental, social, and hierarchical Church, or even omit at times to portray it in that light.

His dicta on the city of God as well as on the many other images must be studied in the light of the end or purpose of the Church. The Church for St. Augustine is above all a salvation-bringing institution. He says that we enter the Church, not for any temporal good, but for the eternal good of the soul. The promise of the eternal is already possessed by him who is in the Church in the proper manner, but the aim is the actual possession of the highest Good in which is man's beatitude.<sup>154</sup> Salvation is achieved within the mystical body of Christ. Even those who preceded Christ—the saints of the Old Testament—are said to have belonged to Christ's body because their salvation was gained in view of Christ's future merits. This is an extension of Christ's body to a time when neither Christ nor His Church existed. Hence the nomenclature "Church" or "the body of Christ" extended to the men of this period is to be accepted in a broad sense—in fact, broader than one would dare to use in our times without an explanation.

The Church and the body of Christ properly commenced their existence with the coming of Christ and with their establishment by Him. The Church from now on becomes the intended medium of salvation. Not everyone, however, in the Church visible and sacramental will attain salvation; for the membership of the Church is made up of sinners and holy men. A condition for salvation is belonging to the Church in such a manner as to form at the same time living membership in the mystical body of Christ. Moreover, for attaining salvation it is necessary to persevere in that union with Christ to the very end of life. Only

<sup>154</sup> *In Io. Ev. tr.* V, 3 (PL 35, 2013): "Puto enim, fratres, quia omnis homo sollicitus est pro anima sua, qui non sine causa intrat Ecclesiam, qui non temporalia quaerit in Ecclesia, qui non propterea intrat ut transigat negotia saecularia; sed ideo intrat, ut aliquid sibi aeternum promissum teneat, quo perveniat."

those who persevere will constitute the mystical body of Christ in heaven for all eternity, and theirs will be the eternal fruition of the highest Good. Only in these will the purpose for which the Church was established here on earth be attained. This last class of men is composed of those who in view of God's omniscience are predestined.

Now, St. Augustine, steeped in Platonic thoughts and expressions, at times limits the Church of those in whom the purpose and aims of the Church are perfectly verified. Hence the Church is, in final attainment, a universal aggregation of all those who will constitute the mystical body of Christ for all eternity; in other words, they are the predestined. In reality, however, he does not exclude from the body of Christ those who actually constitute it but who in the future will falter and cease to be part of it. They continue to be the mystical body as long as they adhere to it in spiritual vitality. The same is true of the city of God, for Augustine explicitly states the city of God has in her communion, and bound to her by sacraments some who shall not eternally dwell in the abode of the saints.<sup>155</sup> Of course, for God who foresees the future and already knows what will take place, the separation is already now a reality. And thus, St. Augustine, who is ever cognizant of the infinite degree of God's perfections, sometimes views the Church from the angle of God's infinite knowledge; consequently he asserts that only those are the Church even now whom God foresees to be the Church hereafter.

The external Church of the sacraments, viewed as a social organization, is not distinct to the point of being a separate entity from the Church as the body of Christ. The *Catholica* is the body of Christ. Within the Church there exists an incongruousness between the living members and the dead members of the Church, the mystical body. A dead member is a member of the mystical body by the very token that he is a member of the juridical Church, but he is not a living member. And when St. Augustine, in his polemical theology, excludes sinners from membership in the mystical body, it is precisely from the viewpoint of living members that he denies them a place in it.

<sup>155</sup> *De civ. Dei*, I, 35 (PL 41, 46; ed. Dombart-Kalb, I, 51).

The words "temple," "house," and "city" in substance and in ultimate analysis must therefore be referred to the same notion,<sup>156</sup> namely, to the Church as constituting the body of Christ.<sup>157</sup> In such a notion or aspect of the Church, it is not the juridical, hierarchical, or empirical element which stands out in relief, but the sanctity of the Church and the holiness of each member. The material which enters into the walls of the city and house, into the cells of the body is living material;<sup>158</sup> it has the grace of regeneration and the life of charity, which flow throughout the body and members from the head.<sup>159</sup> Charity unites all the members into one body, one temple, one house, and one city.<sup>160</sup> God abides in each member—but dwells as well in the whole body, temple, house, or city.<sup>161</sup> Of such is the city of God really formed. Who-soever is destitute of charity does not enter as a living unit into the veritable structure of the city or of the temple.

It is manifest that Sion is the city of God; what is the city of God, unless the holy Church? Men mutually loving themselves, and loving their God who dwells in them, form a city for God. Because a city is contained by some law; the very law of them is charity. . . . Who is full of charity, is full of God; and many full of charity make a city for God. This city of God is called Sion; therefore the Church is Sion. In it is the great God. Be in it, and God will not be outside you. When God shall be in you, because you pertain to Sion, belong-

<sup>156</sup> *Enar. in Ps.* 126, 3 (PL 37, 1668): "Quae autem domus Dei, et ipsa civitas. Domus enim Dei, populus Dei; quia domus Dei, templum Dei."

<sup>157</sup> *Enar. in Ps.* 131, 3 (PL 37, 1717): "Cum autem corpus Christi est et templum, et domus, et civitas; et ille qui caput corporis est et habitator domus est, et sanctificator templi est, et rex civitatis est: quomodo Ecclesia omnia illa, sic Christus omnia ista."

<sup>158</sup> *Enar. in Ps.* 121, 4 (PL 37, 1621); *Ep.* 187, 10, 33 (PL 33, 845; CSEL 57, IV, 113).

<sup>159</sup> *Enar. in Ps.* 10, 7 (PL 36, 135): "'Dominus in templo sancto suo.' . . . Templum Dei violat, qui violat unitatem: non enim tenet caput (Col. 2:19), ex quo totum corpus connexum et compactum per omnem tactum subministrationis secundum operationem in mensuram uniuscujusque partis incrementum corporis facit, in aedificationem sui in charitate (*Eph.* 4:16). In hoc templo sancto suo Dominus est; quod constat multis membris suis, sua quaeque officia gerentibus, in unam aedificationem charitate constructis; quod violat, quisquis causa principatus sui a catholica societate disjungitur."

<sup>160</sup> *Ep.* 187, 5, 16 (PL 33, 838; CSEL 57, IV, 94); *ibid.*, 12, 35 (PL 33, 845-46; CSEL 57, IV, 113); *ibid.*, 10, 33 (PL 33, 845; CSEL 57, IV, 113).

<sup>161</sup> *Enar. in Ps.* 126, 3 (PL 37, 1669).

ing to the communion of the people of God; the most high God will be in you . . .<sup>162</sup>

e) *The antithesis of the two cities*. A frequent description and an antithetical parallelism of two cities in the works of St. Augustine throw light upon the nature of the Church and the members constituting it. The one city derives its name from the pagan city of Babylon, and is compared to it; the other is compared to the city of Jerusalem selected by God, from which also it takes its name.<sup>163</sup> This latter city is identical with the city of God, just described, but it is again brought under a separate title and further explained inasmuch as it comes to the foreground in this contrast with the city of Babylon or of the devil.<sup>164</sup>

The portrayal of the two societies and the two citizenships under the name of Jerusalem and Babylon was deep-rooted in African tradition. Tertullian writes: "Your citizenship, your magistracies and the very name of your *curia* are the Church of Christ. . . . We are called away even from dwelling in this Babylon of the Apocalypse, how much more from sharing its pomps? . . . For you are an alien in this world, and a citizen of the city of Jerusalem that is above."<sup>165</sup> It is a central doctrine in Tichonius: "Behold two cities, the city of God and the city of the devil. . . . Of them, one desires to serve the world, the other to fly from this world. One is afflicted, and the other rejoices; one smites, and the other is smitten; one slays, and the other is slain; the one in order to be the more justified thereby, the other to fill up the measure of its iniquities. And each of them strives

<sup>162</sup> *Enar. in Ps.* 98, 4 (PL 37, 1261): "Manifestum est Sion civitatem Dei esse; quae est civitas Dei, nisi sancta Ecclesia? Homines enim amantes se invicem, et amantes Deum suum qui in illis habitat, faciunt civitatem Deo. Quia lege quadam civitas continetur; lex ipsa eorum charitas est; et ipsa charitas Deus est. . . . Qui ergo plenus est charitate, plenus est Deo; et multi pleni charitate, civitatem faciunt Deo. Ista civitas Dei vocatur Sion; ergo Ecclesia est Sion. In illa est magnus Deus. In illa esto, et non erit praeter te Deus. Cum autem fuerit in te Deus, quia tu factus es de Sion, pertinens ad societatem populi Dei; excelsus in te erit Deus. . . ."

<sup>163</sup> Cf. Apoc. 21:9 ff.

<sup>164</sup> *Enar. in Ps.* 61, 6 (PL 36, 733): "Una civitas et una civitas, unus populus et unus populus, rex et rex. Quid est, una civitas et una civitas? Babylonia una; Jerusalem una. Quibuslibet aliis etiam mysticis nominibus appelletur, una tamen civitas et una civitas: illa rege diabolo; ista rege Christo."

<sup>165</sup> *De corona*, 13 (PL 2, 115).



together, the one that it may receive damnation, the other that it may acquire salvation."<sup>166</sup> Augustine refers to Rome as "the second Babylon"<sup>167</sup> as being a supreme example of pride and ambition.<sup>167a</sup>

It is to be observed that St. Augustine shows a great predilection for such antithetical images and comparisons whereby the contrast is made conspicuous between sin and virtue, the bad and the good, the assembly of the Church and the opposing powers. As in the domain of philosophy and theology, so also in these literary religious presentations he has set a pattern for many to imitate in the Church, which he has so copiously endowed by his literary heritage.<sup>168</sup> But even outside the presently existing Church of St. Augustine, when men of the political sciences and international diplomacy speak of the division of the world today, not into nations, but into two powers, they are restating, in their own way, the political philosophy of St. Augustine. Do not men speak of the existing forces of evil and good, and do they not divide the whole world into two camps? This is done today in a more dramatic, global, and decided way than at any time in the history of man.

For St. Augustine, truth and goodness are not ideas unrelated

<sup>166</sup> Beatus, *Comm. in Apocal.* ed. Florez, pp. 506-7.

<sup>167</sup> *De civ. Dei*, XVIII, 2, 2 and 22 (PL 41, 562, 578; ed. Dombart-Kalb, II, 258, 284.

<sup>167a</sup> While St. Augustine was critical of the pagan morals of Rome, there was nevertheless commiseration for her at the time of her fall and ransacking when he tried to raise the souls of men in anguish to the city of their eternal destiny. Cf. J. Fischer, *Die Völkerwanderung im Urteil der zeitgenössischen Schriftsteller Galliens unter Einbeziehung des hl. Augustinus* (Heidelberg-Waibstadt: 1948), pp. 83-87; R. Arbesmann, "The Idea of Rome in the Sermons of St. Augustine," *Augustiniana: sexto decimo exacto saeculo a die natali S. Aurelii Augustini 354-1954* (Louvain: 1954), pp. 89-108.

<sup>168</sup> A good example of such opposing camps or cities is that presented by St. Ignatius Loyola (who knew the writings of St. Augustine) under the "two standards": "Exercitia Spiritualia Sancti Ignatii de Loyola" in *Monumenta Ignatiana* (Madrid: 1919), pp. 314-20; H. Rahner, *Ignatius von Loyola* (Wien: 1955), pp. 36 ff. and 78 f. For other examples of this theme, cf. F. Tournier, "Les deux cités dans la littérature chrétienne," *Études*, CXXIII (1910), 64 f.; F. Lau, *Luthers Lehre von den beiden Reichen* (Berlin: 1953); A. Vykopal, *Jesus Chrystus, Mittelpunkt der Weltanschauung*, I, *Von Orpheus zur Zinne des Tempels* (Löwen-Paderborn: 1953) makes the philosophies of the ancients either further the cause of Christ or of Satan to a point of caricature.

to God and to salvation. Just as truth is founded upon and measured by the everlasting self-subsisting Truth, so goodness is such only then when it is a reflection of and an assimilation to the goodness of the highest Good. Through truth man is to attain Truth, and through goodness he is to reach the Good. In the possession of Truth the intellect of man will find its full satiation and in the acquisition of the highest Good the will of man will find its perfect fruition. In the attainment of God, all Truth and all Goodness, lies the perfect happiness of man. This is his salvation. Happiness and salvation cannot be attained except through Jesus Christ, God made man, and through His institution of sanctification, the Church which is the mystical body of Christ. It is true, however, that Jesus Christ, unlike in St. Paul's Epistles, recedes to the background in St. Augustine's historical presentation of the earthly city and the city of God.<sup>169</sup>

Who are the subjects of these two cities? To Babylon belong all the children of evil and perdition—"all who prefer worldly happiness to God, all who seek their own, not that of Jesus Christ."<sup>170</sup> To the city of Jerusalem belong all those that are good, that is "all who savor of the things that are above, who meditate heavenly things, who live in the world careful not to offend God, who take heed not to sin and if they do sin, are not ashamed to confess—that is, the humble, meek, holy, just, pious."<sup>171</sup> We can briefly describe these two cities, one as being the city of cupidity and the other the city of charity.

The relation of the city of Jerusalem to the Church or the body of Christ is already evident, if it is to be identified with the city of God. Here also a certain degree of elasticity must be allowed, for both cities have their origin with the beginning of mankind, the one from Cain, the other from Abel. But also to the Church as the body of Christ or as the city of God is ascribed a primordial inception beginning with the first just representatives of mankind. Those, who in this manner anticipated the

<sup>169</sup> Cf. G. Krüger, *Augustin, der Mann und sein Werk* (Giessen: 1930), p. 24; W. Ziegenfuss, *Augustinus: Christliche Transzendenz in Gesellschaft und Geschichte* (Berlin: 1948), p. 114.

<sup>170</sup> *Enar. in Ps.* 61, 6 (PL 36, 733). Cf. also *Enar. in Ps.* 26, 18 (PL 36, 208).

<sup>171</sup> *Enar. in Ps.* 61, 6 (PL 36, 733).

body of Christ, St. Augustine compares to an infant's hands preceding the body in the time of birth. Besides, the comprehension of these cities must also be extended to encompass those that have departed from this life. Summarily, Jerusalem is composed of the good still living, of the good deceased, and of the angels: Babylon is formed of all the wicked that ever lived, of the evil departed, and the devils. Therefore, on the one side we have the universality of the good and on the other the totality of the wicked. Although this is the specific coloring of the notion of the city of Jerusalem or of the city of God, this same extension is by no means foreign to the notion of the Church as the body of Christ. Hence, it may be stated that the Augustinian "cities" of the good correspond to the notion of the body of Christ.

Yet it would be false to exclude from the concept of the city of Jerusalem the social and empirical elements of the Church. Because Augustine presents his Church under the historical image of Jerusalem or under the form of the scriptural city of God, or under the reality of the body of Christ, and then has in mind principally the good, it does not follow that the juridical element does not constitute a factor in these concepts. For, just as he calls the *civitas Jerusalem* or *civitas Dei* the body of Christ<sup>172</sup>—and that precisely in its most extensive comprehension, in which all the good and just from the beginning to the end of this world are to be included—so also he designates that same "city of God" as the "Church of God"<sup>173</sup> or the *hominum societas*,<sup>174</sup> whereby the visible and juridical character of the Church precisely comes to the foreground.

The two cities are as yet not in their final separation and permanence. In their earthly existence they are in a state of instability and fluctuation. Only in God's foreknowledge they are what they will be. Those who may be good tomorrow and will form

<sup>172</sup> *Enar. 2 in Ps. 90, 1* (PL 37, 1150): "Dominus noster Jesus Christus, tamquam totus perfectus vir, et caput, et corpus. . . . Corpus hujus capitis Ecclesia est, non quae hoc loco est, sed et quae hoc loco et per totum orbem terrarum: nec illa quae hoc tempore, sed ab ipso Abel usque ad eos qui nascituri sunt usque in finem et credituri in Christum, totus populus sanctorum ad unam civitatem pertinentium; quae civitas corpus est Christi, cui caput Christus."

<sup>173</sup> *De civ. Dei*, XIII, 16 (PL 41, 387; ed. Dombart-Kalb, I, 574).

<sup>174</sup> *De civ. Dei*, XV, 18 (PL 41, 461; ed. Dombart-Kalb, II, 97).

the body of Christ in the divine prevision are at present sinners and unattached to Christ's Church and as such are in the city of Satan. Other sinners can be and are in the city of God. In reality, living without the life of grace as dead members of the mystical body, they are by default the possession of Satan so as to form in consequence his body, his city. However, being actually united to the juridical body of the Church through a communion of the sacraments and a profession of the oneness of faith, they are still in the mystical body of Christ. For "the two cities are commingled" in their earthly sojourn<sup>175</sup> to such an extent that the citizens of the city of Jerusalem administer the things that belong to the citizens of the city of Babylon and vice versa.<sup>176</sup>

If we further inquire into the factors which cause the separation of mankind into two enormous camps or cities—that of Jerusalem and that of Babylon—the result in the final analysis of our investigation will prove to be the same as it was in the case of the city of God; or still better, the same as for the separation of any single member from the body of Christ. This is quite natural if the city of God coincides with the *Corpus Christi*.

Sin is the banner of Babylon. Since each one of us has been born a child of sin, we were first subjects of Babylon, then only through baptism we became citizens of the new Jerusalem.<sup>177</sup> Charity is the standard of Jerusalem. Here is love of God; there is love of the world.<sup>178</sup> But where there is charity, there must also the Holy Ghost be. He is the soul of Jerusalem.<sup>179</sup> Babylon does not possess Him. The Augustinian *cupiditas* and *charitas* are the basic separators and unifiers respectively of individuals and of societies.

In the foregoing, to clarify the fundamental concepts involved in the study, a distinction was made between the Church as a juridical society and the Church as the mystical body of Christ.

<sup>175</sup> *De civ. Dei*, XIX, 26 (PL 41, 656; ed. Dombart-Kalb, II, 402).

<sup>176</sup> *Enar. in Ps.* 6, 8 (PL 36, 735): "Et sunt istae duae civitates permixtae interim, in fine separandae: adversus se invicem confligentes; una pro iniquitate, altera pro iustitia. . . . Et aliquando ipsa commixtio temporalis facit ut quidam pertinentes ad civitatem Babyloniam, administrent res pertinentes ad Jerusalem; et rursum quidam pertinentes ad Jerusalem, administrent res pertinentes ad Babyloniam."

<sup>177</sup> *Enar. in Ps.* 61, 7 (PL 36, 734).

<sup>178</sup> *Enar. in Ps.* 64, 2 (PL 36, 773).

<sup>179</sup> *De catech. rudib.*, 20, 36 (PL 40, 336).



It was stated that both of these are aspects of one complex notion of the Church. Further, for the sake of elucidation, a basic division of sins was introduced, according to which some sins are death-bringing not only to the individual as such but also to that individual considered as a cell in a living organism. Other sins are such that they do not deprive us of the life of grace and of membership in the mystical body of Christ; in fact, they are unavoidable in this life.

Bearing these points of doctrine in mind, the object of this part was to determine the relation to the Church of sinners lapsing into death-bringing transgressions. In the foregoing sections devoted to this problem of St. Augustine's ecclesiology it was established: 1) that sinners are members of the juridical and of the sacramental Church, and 2) that sinners are excluded from the Church as the mystical body of Christ; it was also intimated in what manner and to what extent this exclusion takes place. We shall presently see that Augustine includes them in the body of Christ and we shall concentrate our attention on the precise manner of their inherence in that body.

## II. INCLUSION

The testimonies occurring in the works of St. Augustine for the exclusion of sinners from the Church, the body of Christ, are so numerous and apparent that the *prima facie* view favors the existence of a pure and holy Church devoid of sinners. These blunt statements are one-sided assertions made against a doctrine of an opponent. They are to be tempered more by the consideration of his whole doctrine on the Church than by counterbalancing direct evidence of equal force in the opposite direction. In the light of St. Augustine's whole ecclesiological doctrine, a somewhat different interpretation must be put on the many assertions which seem to exclude sinners from the body of Christ.

The primary source of St. Augustine's doctrine on the body of Christ is to be traced back to St. Paul and to those passages of the Gospels<sup>180</sup> wherein Christ identifies Himself as one with His

<sup>180</sup> E.g., *De Trin.*, 15, 19, 34 (PL 42, 1084); *Enar. in Ps.* 130, 6 (PL 37, 1708); *Enar. in Ps.* 52, 1 (PL 36, 613); cf. J. C. Gruden, *The Mystical Christ* (St. Louis: 1936), pp. 87 ff.

faithful. This doctrine is then principally applied and further evolved in the exposition of the Psalms contained in his exegetical commentary *Enarrationes in Psalmos*. Almost every page in this voluminous work has references to Christ, the head of the Church, and to the faithful forming the members of His body, and thus constituting His mystical body.

To his work *De Doctrina Christiana*, composed in greater part during the year 397,<sup>181</sup> with the primary purpose of setting forth principles guiding the proper understanding of the Sacred Books,<sup>182</sup> St. Augustine added<sup>183</sup> in 426, towards the end of his life, the hermeneutical rules of Tichonius, culled from the latter's *Liber Regularum*.<sup>184</sup> Among the seven rules enumerated and explained in this book Tichonius gives us two rules which per-

<sup>181</sup> This date is assigned by the Maurist Fathers and by de Labriolle, *Histoire de la littérature latine chrétienne* (3 éd.; Paris: 1947), p. 629; whereas Portalié (in the article: "Augustin," in DTC) places the date at 426; it may be supposed, however, that the latter intends by this date to mark rather the final touches or the completion of the work.

<sup>182</sup> *De doct. christ.*, Prol., I (PL 34, 14): "Sunt praecepta quaedam tractandarum Scripturarum, quae studiosis earum video non incommode posse tradi: ut non solum legendo alios qui divinarum Litterarum opera aperuerunt, sed et aliis ipsi pariendo proficiant."

<sup>183</sup> It is highly improbable that the whole treatise was revised in the sense that it has taken on a new, amplified, and recorrected form; St. Augustine in his *Retractationes* implies that he added in his late years only that portion in which the rules are contained. De Labriolle, *op. cit.*, p. 629: "Le texte primitif, abandonné par Augustin en 397, allait jusqu'au chap. III, XXXVII, de l'édition complète, celle de 427. 'Cum imperfectos (libros) comperissem,' explique Augustin (*Retract.* 2, 4, 1) 'perficere malui quam eis sic relictis ad alia retractanda transire. Complevi ergo tertium. . . . Addidi etiam novissimum librum et quatuor libris illus implevi.'" The same author adds: "Essayer de restituer la première édition, comme l'a fait Dom de Bruyne, lequel suppose qu' Augustin remania de fond en comble l'ouvrage en 427 (*Rev. Ben.* 1913, pp. 301 ff.) est une entreprise qui paraît assez chimérique." E. De Bruyne himself later corrected his conjecture concerning the existence of two separate editions of this work; viz., one of 397 and another of 426; "Encore l'Itala de saint Augustin" *Revue d'Histoire ecclésiastique*, XXVIII (1927), p. 783. Cf. H. Pope, *St. Augustine of Hippo* (London: 1949), p. 371, and A. Allgeier, "Der Einfluss des Manichäismus auf die exegetische Fragestellung bei Augustin," in *Aurelius Augustinus* (Köln: 1930), p. 11.

<sup>184</sup> The nature, composition, organization, style of this book are thus briefly portrayed by O. Bardenhewer, *Geschichte der altkirchlichen Literatur* (Freiburg: 1924), III, 427: "Das Buch ist das erste lateinische Kompendium der biblischen Hermeneutik, etwas schwerfällig im Ausdruck, etwas sprunghaft in der Darstellung und nicht frei von sachlichen Schwächen, aber die Frucht ernsten und selbständigen Denkens."

tain to the doctrine of the body of Christ in Sacred Scripture and one pertaining to the body of the devil. The first rule is *De Domino et ejus corpore*; the second, *De Domini corpore bipertito*; and finally the heading of the seventh rule is, *De diabolo et ejus corpore*.<sup>185</sup>

Regarding the solution of the problem revolving about the exclusion or inclusion of sinners in the body of Christ much depends on the genuine meaning, value, and application of these rules. St. Augustine does not assign to these rules the sweeping scope that their author Tichonius so readily attributes to them for clearing Scripture of difficulties and obscurities. Although he finds some points in these rules inadequate and oversubtle,<sup>186</sup> nevertheless, "to so elaborate and useful a work" he ascribes great utility and value, "because they [the rules] help very much to the understanding of the Scriptures."<sup>187</sup> This is why St. Augustine approves these rules of the African semi-Donatist Tichonius and even embodies them in his own work, amplifying each rule with his own commentary.

The first rule in the words  
of Tichonius:

De Domino et Corpore ejus. Dominum ejusne corpus, id est Ecclesiam, Scriptura loquatur, sola ratio discernit, dum quid cui conveniat persuadet vel quia tanta est vis veritatis extorquet. Alias una persona convenitur quam duplicem esse diversa duorum officia edocent.<sup>188</sup>

The first rule in the words  
of St. Augustine:

Prima [regula] de Domino et ejus corpore est; in qua scientes aliquando capitis et corporis, i.e., Christi et Ecclesiae unam personam nobis intimari (neque enim frustra dictum est fidelibus, 'Ergo Abrahae semen estis,' cum sit unum semen Abrahae quod est Christus), non haesitemus quando a capite ad corpus, vel a corpore transitur ad caput, et tamen non receditur ab una eademque persona. Una enim persona loquitur

<sup>185</sup> *De doctr. christ.*, III, 30, 42 (PL 34, 81); F. C. Burkitt, *The Book of Rules of Tichonius*, Texts and Studies, vol. III, n. I (Cambridge: 1894). This edition is universally accepted.

<sup>186</sup> *De doctr. christ.*, III, 33, 46 (PL 34, 83).

<sup>187</sup> *Ibid.*, III, 30, 43 (PL 34, 82).

<sup>188</sup> F. C. Burkitt, *The Book of Rules of Tichonius*, pp. 1-2.

The first rule in the words  
of St. Augustine:

dicens, 'sicut sponso imposuit mihi  
mitram, et sicut sponsam ornavit  
me ornamento' (Isa. 61:10); et  
tamen quid horum duorum capiti,  
quid corpori, id est, quid Christo,  
quid Ecclesiae conveniat, utique  
intelligendum est.<sup>189</sup>

It is evident, partially from the context but especially from the antithesis between the first and the second rule, that in the rule just quoted, the Church is the body of Christ in the sense that only the good, who are members of Christ by the life-giving union of charity, come into consideration here as members. Although Sacred Scripture speaks of Christ and of the Church, His body, as of one person, one being, nevertheless we must distinguish well between that which really pertains to Christ the head and that which pertains to His body or members. The predicates are interchangeable between the head and the body, yet it must be borne in mind that they are proper either to the head or body and are applied to the other by the law of the so-called *communicatio idiomatum*.<sup>190</sup> This is in short the content of the first rule.

More relevant to the relationship of sinners to the mystical body of Christ is the second rule of Tichonius and St. Augustine's own amplification of it. They are adduced in translation and juxtaposition.

Tichonius writes:

Concerning the divided body of the Lord. The rule of the divided body of the Lord is much more necessary and is to be examined by us the more diligently and must be had before the eyes through all

St. Augustine comments:

The second [rule] concerns the divided (bipartito) <sup>192</sup> body of the Lord, which should not have been so called; for in truth the body of the Lord is not that which will not be with Him in eternity. But

<sup>189</sup> *De doctr. christ.*, III, 31, 44 (PL 34, 82).

<sup>190</sup> Cf. M. Pontet, *L'exégèse de S. Augustin prédicateur* (Paris: 1945), pp. 497 ff; T. J. van Bavel, *Recherches sur la Christologie de saint Augustin. L'humain et le divin dans le Christ d'après saint Augustin* (Fribourg, Suisse: 1954), pp. 57-73.



Tichonius writes:

the Scriptures. Just as it has been stated above in the first rule that the transition from head to body is seen by reason alone, so the transition and return from one part of the body to the other, from the right to the left or from the left to the right is clear in the aforementioned chapter.<sup>191</sup>

St. Augustine comments:

it ought to have been said concerning the true and mixed body of the Lord, or, the true and simulated body, or something else; because not only in eternity, but even now hypocrites are not to be said to be with Him, although they seem to be in His Church. Therefore that rule could have been so named that it would be said about the mixed Church. And this rule demands a watchful reader, when Scripture, already speaking to others, seems to speak to those to whom it was previously speaking; or about them, when it already speaks of others; as if one body were of both, on account of the temporal mixture and communion of the sacraments.<sup>193</sup>

It is naturally to be expected that this testimony and commentary of St. Augustine would carry with it high authority on account of the keen attention and diligence with which he weighs

<sup>191</sup> Burkitt, *op. cit.*, p. 8: "De Domini Corpore Bipertito. Regula bipertiti corporis Domini multo necessarius et a nobis tanto diligentius perspicienda et per omnes Scripturas ante oculos habenda est. Sicut enim supradictum est a capite ad corpus ratione sola videtur, ita a parte corporis ad partem, a dextera ad sinistram vel a sinistra ad dexteram, transitus reditusque ut in supradicto capite claret."

<sup>192</sup> "Bipartito," sic ed. Maur., but in MSS. "bipertito" as in Tichonius.

<sup>193</sup> *De doctr. christ.*, III, 31, 44 (PL 34, 82): "Secunda est de Domini corpore bipartito, quod quidem non debuit appellari; non enim revera Domini corpus est ita quod cum illo non erit in aeternum: sed dicendum fuit, de Domini corpore vero atque permixto, aut, vero atque simulato, vel quid aliud; quia non solum in aeternum, verum etiam nunc hypocritae non cum illo esse dicendi, quamvis in ejus esse videantur Ecclesia. Unde poterat ista regula et sic appellari, ut diceretur de permixta Ecclesia. Quae regula lectorem vigilantem requirit, quando Scriptura cum ad alios jam loquatur, tamquam ad eos ipsos ad quos loquatur, videtur loqui; vel de ipsis, cum de aliis jam loquatur; tamquam unum sit utrorumque corpus, propter temporalem commixtionem et communionem Sacramentorum. . . ."

the matter and phraseology of these rules. We must observe, too, that these remarks belong to his period of the highest intellectual maturity. It was towards the end of a life consumed in doctrinal strife, study, and thought that St. Augustine focused his attention upon these rules and approvingly added them to one of his important works.

This second rule of Tichonius expressly supposes the presence of sinners in the unity of the body of Christ. This rule is to serve as a guide of caution to the reader and investigator of the Sacred Books concerning certain attributes predicated of Christ. In texts which should naturally be attributed to Christ, but where the matter in no way allows their application either to Christ Himself as the head or to those members who constitute a real living unity with Him, there is still another class of members joined in a certain unity with Christ, and to these such predications or references may be made. These members are sinners. According to Tichonius, they not only are in the Church but also have a certain part in the body of Christ. This is evident from the very words of this rule, but it is also a part of his entire doctrine on the Church and sinners.

At first appearance it would seem that St. Augustine is at variance to some extent with an essential part of the statement or doctrine of Tichonius. Yet this discrepancy is only an apparent one touching on something accidental. He adduces the rules of Tichonius with approval. It is not the idea that displeases him, but rather the expression too crudely conveying the thought concerning the constitution of that body. Indeed, Tichonius conceives and expresses the notion of the body of Christ with its good and bad members in a curious manner. He presents it as a *corpus bipertitum*, that is to say a "two-parted" body. One part of that body, namely, the right side, is formed of the good; the other part, the left side, is composed of the wicked. Although the manner of expression is uncouth, the underlying idea is presented so strongly that no one can doubt that according to Tichonius the wicked also are included in the body of Christ. It is evident, too, that the reason for assigning a part of the body to the wicked, in the mind of Tichonius, is the complete identification of the Church with the body of Christ. He allocates the good to the

right side and the wicked to the left side of the body in a realistic manner in accord with the scriptural and traditional symbol of the right side for the good and the left side for the bad.<sup>194</sup> Tichonius writes: "These two parts are said in speech to be one man, because we can name two sides also in one man, that is a right and left [side], and there are in him many members, but one body. It has there sound members, it has also infirm ones. The healthy members are saints, the left members are sinners."<sup>195</sup>

St. Augustine ventures to correct the terminology of Tichonius by calling the *corpus bipartitum* of the latter a *corpus verum atque permixtum, verum atque simulatum*.<sup>196</sup> The reason which he adduces for the introduction of this new terminology, namely, "since not only in eternity, but even now hypocrites are not to be said to be with Him, although they seem to be in the Church," would appear to indicate more than a mere displeasure with the name. This reasoning seems to divest Christ of all sinners even now. With regard to the first part of it, namely that sinners will not constitute Christ's body after this life, there is no difficulty; only those who persevere in their goodness to the very end remain eternally in Christ's body to enjoy the everlasting fruition of God. The second element in that reasoning, that even now hypocrites are not to be spoken of as being with Christ, must, in consistency with St. Augustine's doctrine, be explained as meaning that they do not constitute the living and true members of the body of Christ. They do not belong to the true body; they are not *de corpore vero* because there is no spiritual element in their soul to bind them to Christ's body. But *propter temporalem commixtionem et communionem Sacramentorum* they are *de corpore permixto, simulato*. They are nevertheless in the body of Christ. In the momentous passage under study St. Augustine

<sup>194</sup> Mt. 25:33: "... et statuet oves quidem a dextris suis, haedos autem a sinistris."

<sup>195</sup> "Hae duae partes in praedicatione unus homo dicitur, quia et in uno homine possumus duo latera nuncupare, id est, dextrum et sinistrum, et sunt in eo multa membra, sed unum corpus. Habet ibi membra sana, habet et infirma. Sana membra sancti sunt, sinistra autem peccatores." These words of Tichonius are quoted by T. Hahn, *Tychonius-Studien. Ein Beitrag zur Kirchen und Dogmengeschichte des vierten Jahrhunderts* (Studien zur Geschichte der Kirche, b. 6, h. 2; Leipzig: 1900), p. 65.

<sup>196</sup> *De doctr. christ.*, III, 31, 44 (PL 34, 82).

promiscuously employs the terms *corpus* and *Ecclesia*, *permixtum corpus* and *permixta Ecclesia*, intimating thereby that the one concept is equivalent to the other.<sup>197</sup>

Hence it can be concluded that the doctrine contained in the rule of Tichonius is essentially approved and accepted by St. Augustine. In general, their doctrines of the constitution of the Church in its internal and external aspect present at least a relation of great similarity, if not one of dependence. Before, however, giving the gist of Tichonius' doctrine on the Church, it is expedient to add a few words of introduction on his authority in the opinion of his countryman and opponent in religion, the Bishop of Hippo. It is evident that Tichonius plays an appreciable role in the ecclesiological writings of St. Augustine and that he has had some influence upon the expression of the latter's doctrine.<sup>198</sup>

The period in which Tichonius flourished and his theological works appeared is between 370 and 380.<sup>199</sup> Hence this period almost immediately precedes the time of the appearance of St. Augustine in the arena of theological controversy in Africa. As a Catholic bishop, St. Augustine warns that the writings of Tichonius must be read with caution because he is a member of the Donatist party and because of his personal errors.<sup>200</sup> Nevertheless St. Augustine appraises Tichonius as an authority in theological matters. Tichonius must have realized that the tenets of his co-religionists were not consistent with scriptural teaching con-

<sup>197</sup> *Loc. cit.*

<sup>198</sup> Cf. A. Pincherle, "Da Tichonio a Sant' Agostino," *Ric. rel.*, I (1925), 443-66; H. A. Van Bakel, "Tyconius, Augustinus ante Augustinum," *Nieuw Theologisch Tijdschrift*, XIX (1930), 36-57; G. G. Willis, *St. Augustine and the Donatist Controversy* (London: 1950), p. 21; J. Ratzinger, "Beobachtungen zum Kirchenbegriff des Tyconius im Liber regularum," *Rev. des Études Augustiniennes*, II (1956), 173-85.

<sup>199</sup> From this period we have from him the following works: (1) *De Bello Intestino*, in the year 370, according to P. Monceaux (*Journal des Savants*, 1909, pp. 161 ff.); (2) *Expositiones Diversarum Causarum*, 375, according to P. Monceaux (*loc. cit.*); (3) *Commentarium in Apocalypsim*, about the year 380; (4) *Liber Regularum*, written according to F. C. Burkitt (*op. cit.*, p. xviii), "before 383" and according to T. Hahn (*op. cit.*, p. 6), "about 380."

<sup>200</sup> *De doctr. christ.*, III, 30, 42 (PL 34, 81): "Caute sane legendus est, non solum propter quaedam, in quibus ut homo erravit, sed maxime propter illa quae sicut Donatista haereticus loquitur."



cerning the true Church of Christ. Hence it appears that he was not a wholehearted supporter of his sect, not a Donatist by conviction, but rather by the force of circumstances.<sup>201</sup>

St. Augustine in one instance calls Tichonius a heretic,<sup>202</sup> but nevertheless he respects the accomplishments of his pen and forges argumentative weapons against the Donatists from his writings.<sup>203</sup> In his *Retractationes* St. Augustine adduces the explanation of II Tim. 2:20 as found in his *De Baptismo* and as borrowed before from St. Cyprian, but now he asserts that he prefers the interpretation of Tichonius, which he discovered later.<sup>204</sup> In his *Epistola* 249 he recommends to a certain Restitutus that he read Tichonius,<sup>205</sup> precisely on the question of the temporal intermingling of the good and the bad in the Church. He did not think it necessary to write to Restitutus on a subject on which Tichonius had written so well in a work<sup>206</sup> which must have been in the possession of Restitutus and with which he was supposed to have been so well acquainted.

<sup>201</sup> A. B. Sharpe, "Tichonius and St. Augustine," *The Dublin Review*, CXXXII (1903), 66: "Though himself [Tichonius] a Donatist, he wrote most convincingly against the Donatists."

<sup>202</sup> F. C. Burkitt, *op. cit.*, Introduction, p. xviii: "But this (*sicut Donatista haereticus*) is St. Augustine's hardest word, and indeed throughout the whole review he treats Tichonius as an authority to be explained rather than as a theorist to be criticized."

<sup>203</sup> T. Hahn, *Tychonius-Studien*, p. 1: "Augustin erklärt ihn nicht nur für begabt mit scharfem Geiste und reicher Beredsamkeit, sondern nimmt ihn auch gegen seine Feinde in dessen eigenem donatistischen Lager in Schutz, entlehnt ihm aber auch einen Teil der Waffen gegen die afrikanischen Schismatiker: vor allem den Schriftbeweis, jedoch auch sachliche und historische Argumente (Vgl. *Ep.* 93, 43)."

<sup>204</sup> *Retract.*, II, 18 (PL 32, 638; CSEL 36, ed. P. Knöll, 152).

<sup>205</sup> *Ep.* 249 (PL 33, 1065; CSEL 57, ed. A. Goldbacher, IV, 592): "Lege itaque Tichonium quem bene nosti, non quidem omnia probaturus; nam quae in illo cavenda sint, bene nosti. Hanc tamen quaestionem, quomodo in Ecclesia Dei si qua forte perversa vel etiam scelerata corrigere aut extinguere non valemus, salvo unitatis vinculo toleranda sint, strenue videtur mihi tractavisse atque solvisse. Quamquam in ejus litteris tantum modo intentione correcta, ad ipsos divinarum Scripturarum fontes recurrere nos oportet, ut ibi videamus quam pauca de hac re testimonia sententiarum, vel exempla gestorum posuit, et quam nemo possit omnia ponere, nisi qui pene omnes sanctorum Librorum paginas in sua scripta transferre voluerit."

<sup>206</sup> The book to which St. Augustine refers here is most probably *De Bello Intestino*. T. Hahn, *op. cit.*, p. 58: "Somit hat er in dieser Schrift wohl seine ganze Lehre von der Kirche entwickelt, freilich anlässlich der Kontroverse in seiner Partei."

The doctrine of Tichonius on the Church and on the body of Christ may be summed up in the following synopsis:

1) The Church in its amplest extension consists of those that are baptized and who profess the same faith. By faith he means the acceptance by the members of the same doctrines, and the following of the same moral discipline.<sup>207</sup> All such, be they good or bad, form, as Tichonius calls it, the general or universal Church. "This part which seems to be within is called the general Church."<sup>208</sup>

2) Within this general Church only the good, properly speaking, form the temple, the house of God, a heaven upon earth. The Church is an assembly of holy and pure men. Such holy individuals form an indivisible unity, which is but one person, the body of Christ.<sup>209</sup>

3) Therefore sinners do not, properly speaking, constitute the body of Christ; they do not enter into the formation of the temple and house of God. Since they are, however, members of the

<sup>207</sup> T. Hahn, *op. cit.*, p. 47: "So ist die Kirche für Tychonius ganz wie für Optatus zunächst die über den Erdkreis verbreitete Gesamtheit derer, die 1) äusserlich getauft sind und 2) denselben 'Glauben' bekennen d. h. katholisches Dogma und katholische Sitte als Norm des Wahren und Guten anerkennen. Es ist das *Ecclesia generalis*."

<sup>208</sup> "Haec pars quae intus esse videtur generalis Ecclesia nominatur." These words from Tichonius' *Commentarium in Apocalypsim* were incorporated by Beatus of Liebana (1789?) into his *Commentary on the Apocalypse* and cited by Hahn, *Tychonius-Studien*, p. 61. As to the person of Beatus, who is honored in Spain as a saint under the name of San Diego, see Mabillon, *Acta sanctorum ordinis S. Benedicti*, saec. IV, part. 1 (Venice: 1725), t. V. pp. 690-94; *Acta sanctorum*, Februarii, t. III (PL 46, 847-94); Ceillier, *Hist. des auteurs ecclés.*, 2 (1862: Paris), XII, 214-17. Regarding the *Commentary on the Apocalypse*, see Hausleiter, "Die Kommentare des Victorinus, Tichonius und Hieronymus zur Apokalypse," *Zeitschrift für kirchl. Wissenschaft und Leben*, 1886, pp. 239-57; H. L. Ramsay, "The Manuscripts of 'The Commentary of Beatus of Liebana' on the Apocalypse," *Revue des bibliothèques*, XII (1902), 74-103; H. L. Ramsay, "Le Commentaire de l'Apocalypse par Beatus de Liebana," *Revue d'hist. et de litt. relig.*, VII (1902), 419-47; H. J. Vogels, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der lateinischen Apokalypse-Übersetzung* (Düsseldorf: 1920), pp. 56 ff.

<sup>209</sup> Hahn, *op. cit.*, p. 64: "Die Kirche ist nämlich die Behausung Gottes; der Tempel, der Himmel auf Erden. Gott aber hat kein anderes Haus auf Erden als die, so unschuldiger Hände und reines Herzens sind. Die Kirche ist das Paradies, das niemand betritt, als wer Christus mit reinem Herzen erkannt hat und seinen Spuren nachwandelt. Die Kirche ist die Gesamtheit heiliger Menschen. Alle die einzelnen Heiligen aber bilden in der Kirche eine unzertrennliche Einheit, eine Person."

general Church, they are in some sense in, or they pertain to, the body of Christ. Tichonius considers the Church universally extended according to the promises of the Prophets to be the mystical body of Christ.<sup>210</sup> Although the whole general Church even with its sinners is for Tichonius the body of Christ,<sup>211</sup> yet not all constituting this general Church are members of the body of Christ in the same manner. A further allusion to, and explanation of, this manner of inherence will be made later in connection with St. Augustine's teaching on the same subject.

Comparing this outline of Tichonius' doctrine of the Church with the corresponding points of doctrine as found in St. Augustine it is obvious that there is a close similarity in the nature and structure of the Church as presented by both men. It is true that Augustine does not approve wholeheartedly of some expressions but nevertheless concurs with the doctrine of the Afro-Catholic. Tichonius' presentation is rather sketchy compared with the thorough investigation of the Church's inner constitution by St. Augustine. A certain parallelism runs throughout the description of the Church in both African writers. "Both present a city of God and a city of the devil as opposing one another. Both have a dual concept of the Church; it is not clear even in St. Augustine which is more important to him, the communion of the good or the hierarchical institution of the Catholic Church. According to both the holy ones live in the Church amidst a plurality of sinners. Both men are opponents of schisms, and see with pain in the surrounding sin the essential difference between, and the complete separation (in the eyes of God) of saints and sinners."<sup>212</sup>

<sup>210</sup> Hahn, *op. cit.*, p. 163: "Gott hat somit nach Tychonius die Verheissung an Abraham erfüllt, da er diese hierarchische Heilsanstalt herstellte und über die ganze Welt ausbreitete. Diese Kirche ist das *corpus Christi* für Tychonius."

<sup>211</sup> Hahn, *op. cit.*, p. 65: "Dennoch hatte auch die äussere anstaltliche Kirche für Tychonius eine so grosse Bedeutung, dass er auch ihr die Bezeichnung des *corpus Christi* nicht nehmen will."

<sup>212</sup> Hahn, *op. cit.*, p. 115: "Beide stellen eine civitas Dei und civitas diaboli einander gegenüber. Beide haben einen doppelten Kirchenbegriff: auch bei Augustin ist nicht klar, was ihm wichtiger ist, die Gemeinde der boni, oder das hierarchische Institut der katholischen Kirche. Nach beiden leben die Heiligen in der Kirche unter der Überzahl der Sünder. Beide sind Gegner der Separation, sehen in dem inneren Schmerz über die Sünden rings umher den Wesensunterschied und das in Gottes Augen vollkome Trennende von Heiligen und Sündern."

In taking over into his *De Doctrina Christiana* these rules of Tichonius towards the end of his life, St. Augustine acknowledged in theory the exegetical methods he followed in practice for so many years. An excellent specimen of their full practical value relating to the body of Christ is Augustine's immense commentary on the psalter—*Enarrationes in Psalmos*. The Fathers of this period express the highest estimation of the Psalms. St. Jerome urges the Christians to sing the Psalms "in the light of Holy Scripture"—*in scientia Scripturarum*.<sup>213</sup> St. Augustine exclaims "my psalter is my joy."<sup>214</sup> Much later St. Bernard writes in the traditional vein: "Food is savored in the mouth; the psalm in the heart."<sup>215</sup> St. Augustine sees Christ and His Church as the central theme of the psalms. A subject which recurs again and again in them is the coexistence of the wicked with the good in the Church.<sup>216</sup> Whenever a psalm is referable to Christ—and most or all of them are according to St. Augustine and other writers of these times<sup>217</sup>—the predicates that cannot be verified in the person of Christ are transferred to His body, the Church.

Some verses cannot be referred to Christ because they offend against the sanctity of His person. Sin, shortcomings, imperfections, some human frailties and emotions are made referable by Tichonius and St. Augustine to the members of the body of Christ. This is true even of those sins which St. Augustine reckons as bringing death to the member. Those who commit them are usually said to be in the Church, but they are also placed, as dead members, in the body of Christ. Not every passage dealing with sin or the sinner can, of course, be taken in this sense. Under it come many weaknesses and less worthy attributes, which, however, are quite natural and common to human nature. The person

<sup>213</sup> *Comment. in Ep. ad Eph.* III, 5 (PL 26, 562).

<sup>214</sup> *Enar. in Ps.* 87, 3 (PL 37, 1775). Cf. P. Salmon, "Le problème des Psaumes. Le texte et l'interprétation des psaumes au temps de S. Jérôme et S. Augustin," *L'ami du clergé* LXIV (1954), 161-73.

<sup>215</sup> *In Cantic.*, VII, 5 (PL 183, 809).

<sup>216</sup> M. Pontet *L'exégèse de S. Augustin prédicateur* (Paris: 1945), p. 388: "A travers la diversité de tous les siècles un seul homme, tête et membres, apparait et se construit, Jésus-Christ agrège un à un les prédestinés à son corps mystique; mais cette construction, ce progrès ne se font qu'au milieu des réactions atroces des méchants."

<sup>217</sup> E.g., Tertullian, *Adv. Praxean*, II (CSEL 47, III, 244): "Omnes pene psalmi Christi personam sustinent."



of Christ and His human nature are free from these frailties and imperfections, but His members are subject to them. And such sins are compatible with the living and true members of the body of Christ.<sup>217a</sup>

We have seen heretofore a whole series of scriptural arguments used by St. Augustine against the Donatists to prove the prediction of the Scriptures that the Church would contain even sinners among its members until the end of time. It was pointed out that in these instances the Church was conceived of in its social and visible form as the Church of the sacraments. Many of the images under which the Church is represented in its social capacity and empirical aspect as containing sinners, according to St. Augustine's argumentation, are gathered together in his commentary on Psalm 138, wherein the Church is nevertheless unmistakably treated as the body of Christ.

Now however says the body of Christ, which is the Church: Why is it that the proud calumniate me, as if others' sins defile me, and therefore separating themselves, "receive their cities in vain? Did I not hate those, Lord, who hated thee?" Why do the more wicked ones demand from me also a corporal separation from the evil ones, so as to pull out at the same time the wheat with the chaff before the harvest-time; so that I may lose the patience of suffering the straw before the winnowing-time; so that I may break the nets of peace and unity before all kinds of fish arrive at the end of the world as to a shore to be separated? <sup>218</sup>

Two things are presupposed in this text: first, a complete identity or coincidence of that Church which may be called the

<sup>217a</sup> Patristic theology of the third and fourth centuries was fully aware of the holiness of the head and the sinfulness of the members and yet hesitated not to envisage the whole as holy *a parte potiori*. Already then the principle was formulated to solve the difficulty that is sensed by D. Cairns, "Christ, the Church His Body and its Members," in *Essays in Christology for Karl Barth*, ed. by T. H. L. Parker (London: 1956), p. 222: "We shall be exceedingly suspicious of phrases which suggest that unity between Christ and the Church is such, that the Church can be described as a continuation of the Incarnation. . . . If the Church, like the Christians of whom it is composed, be continually in need of divine forgiveness given in Christ, then it cannot be a prolongation of the Incarnation of the Sinless One, however intimate its union with Him may be."

<sup>218</sup> *Enar. in Ps. 138*, 27 (PL 37, 1801).

Church of the sacraments and that Church which is the body of Christ; secondly, the same sinners that have been included in the Church of the sacraments with all the force of scriptural arguments are given a place in that Church which is the body of Christ.

Nor can it be retorted against the above text, which so happily unites both aspects of the Church in regard to the same class of sinners, that there is in it but a customary replacing of the word *Ecclesia* by *corpus Christi*, or the casual joining of one to the other, without intention of signifying specifically the body of Christ. For, in his commentary on the Psalms St. Augustine treats of the Church precisely as the body of Christ. His general principle is that Christ is the subject of each Psalm. At times Christ the head is spoken of; at times His members; at times both head and members are considered together as one.

There is also an example wherein a whole church, that is a particular or regional church, is considered dead, namely: "That church, to whose angel <sup>219</sup> in the figure of its superiors or souls it is said that it does not live, that it is dead, and still it is enumerated among the seven Churches, and the precepts of life are inculcated to it not as divided (*divisae*) <sup>220</sup> from the structure (*compage*) of the body of Christ, but as remaining in its unity." <sup>221</sup>

And yet, this church, although it is dead, is allowed a place in the body of Christ because it has not separated itself from the

<sup>219</sup> St. Augustine is in accord here with the exegesis and opinion of Tichonius, which he seems to have adopted: *De doctr. christ.*, III, 30, 42 (PL 34, 81): "Neque enim aliquid illic tale versatur aut quaeritur, sicut in Apocalypsi Joannis quaerit [Tichonius], quemadmodum intelligendi sint angeli Ecclesiarum septem, quibus scribere jubetur, et ratiocinatur multipliciter, et ad hoc pervenit ut ipsos angelos intelligamus Ecclesias (Apoc. 1:20)."

<sup>220</sup> With regard to the word "*divisae*" which is of importance in the passage, MSS are at variance. The reading adopted above is in accordance with the text as restored by the Maurist Fathers in their edition. Other edited texts instead of "*divisae*" have "diverse" or even "*divise agenti*." This last word "*agenti*," however, is not found in the MSS.

<sup>221</sup> *Contra ep. Parm.*, II, 10 (PL 43, 63; CSEL 51, ed. M. Petschenig, 67): "Illa Ecclesia, cujus angelo in figura praepositorum vel animarum dicitur quod non vivat, sed mortuus sit, et tamen inter septem Ecclesias numeratur, nec ei *divisae* a *compage corporis Christi*, sed in unitate perseveranti praecepta vitae insinuantur (Apoc. 3:1-6)."

body of Christ, as heretics and schismatics have done. Christ suffers on account of both: the sinners in His body and the heretics outside of His body.<sup>222</sup> The Augustinian principle, then, in this matter may be construed in the following manner: All adhering to the Church's unity adhere also to the unity of Christ's body, even if they are dead as in the case just adduced of the whole regional church.

Let us recall the Church or the body of Christ under the image of a temple. It is true that St. Augustine works out a fine distinction, already described, between those who form and constitute the temple and those who are merely in it. Nevertheless in his exposition of the Psalms he explicitly calls the body of Christ a temple and asserts that the body of Christ, as the temple, has in it both the good and the bad. It is expressly and intentionally stated here that not only the temple but the body of Christ, which is the temple, has the bad in it. "If therefore that temple was a figure, it is manifest because also the body of Christ which is a true temple whose image it was, has commingled in itself those who buy and sell, that is, those seeking their own and not that of Jesus Christ."<sup>223</sup>

It would be pointless to multiply testimonies to this effect from his extensive commentary on the Psalms. Some few examples have been selected as illustrations of his teaching that sinners belong not only to the juridical Church but also to the mystical body of Christ. From these examples and explanations the underlying principles for the doctrine of the inherence of sinners in the mystical body of Christ can be discovered.

#### The Manner of Inherence

As a conclusion from all that has been hitherto observed relative to the good and the bad coexisting in the body of Christ, it is to be stated that the position of these two classes as regards that body is not one of identity but of contrast. Only the good

<sup>222</sup> *Enar. in Ps.* 88, 26 (PL 37, 1800): "Et deinde dicit quid interea per totum hoc tempus, dum jam resurrexit et adhuc cum Patre est, patiatu hic per commixtionem peccatorum in corpore suo, quod est Ecclesia, et per separationem haereticorum."

<sup>223</sup> *Enar. in Ps.* 130, 2 (PL 37, 1704).

are members to such an extent as to be unequivocally in the body of Christ, as to constitute it, as to be the formative substance of it. In a word, they are the unqualified members of Christ's body. The wicked are in the body of Christ; they are members of it because they adhere to it but they are not genuine members. In the case of the good and true members, their union with the body of Christ is intrinsic through the medium of inner life-bringing bonds, so that the resulting communion is organic and living. In the case of the wicked their adherence to the mystical body is voluntary but external, since they are members of it by virtue of being in the unity of the Church which is the body of Christ. The wicked, therefore, and the good are in the mystical body, provided that they are in the unity of the Church, but their status is vastly dissimilar.

St. Augustine uses tangible examples to illustrate the difference between the membership of the good and that of the wicked in Christ's body. The virtuous faithful who form the body of Christ are compared to the woman of the Gospel story,<sup>224</sup> who touched Christ. The others who are in His Church are likened to the crowd that pressed upon Christ. This scriptural likeness fits into the scheme of his theology on the mystical body of Christ. Those who touch Christ are no other than those who have the contact of communion through internal life with Christ; only these, then, can form His living members, be one with Him and constitute His body. The crowd of sinners of which he speaks are in the Church; and because they are in it, they press upon, or rather oppress, the body of Christ. They are not life-possessing members of it because they do not participate in the life of the spiritual lifegiver, Christ.<sup>225</sup> Therefore, following the same line of thought, he exhorts his faithful in another sermon in the following words: "Be, therefore, the body of Christ and not an oppression (*pressura*) of the body of Christ."<sup>226</sup>

Let us study another image to the same effect. The anthropomorphic figure under which membership in the Church is real-

<sup>224</sup> Luke 8:44-46.

<sup>225</sup> *Sermo* 3, 1 (PL 38, 642).

<sup>226</sup> *Sermo* 42, 4, 7 (PL 38, 417): "Estote ergo corpus Christi, non pressura corporis Christi." Cf. *Sermo* 81, 1, 1 (PL 38, 499-500).



istically presented occurs in St. Augustine's commentary on the Epistle of St. John. Both commentaries—the one on the Gospel of St. John and the other on the Epistle of St. John—abound in rich and beautiful thoughts on the Church as the mystical body of Christ.<sup>227</sup> Commenting on the words, *antichristi multi facti sunt, Ex nobis exierunt*, he refers the word "antichrist" to the heretics and schismatics of his time; they departed from the unity of Church, the body of Christ; they are now outside the Church. But we are to take consolation, he says, because they would not have gone out, if they were of us.<sup>228</sup> Only an antichrist can leave the unity of the Church. Who, however, is not such an antichrist remains in the unity of the Church and adheres to the body of Christ; he is reputed (*computatur*) a member of that body.<sup>229</sup>

Besides those already outside of the Church, St. Augustine treats in the passage under consideration two other classes of men who are within the body of Christ: (1) the good with whom he is not concerned, and (2) the wicked whom he expressly adjudges as adhering to the body of Christ but in the form of an excrescence. He calls them "bad humors," and likens them to hair of which the head can be shorn without impairing the integrity of the human nature. "And there are those who are within the body of our Lord Jesus Christ as bad humors. When they are vomited, the body is relieved; so also when the wicked have left then the Church is relieved."<sup>230</sup> They proceed from the body but they are not there for its good. Later ecclesiologists have frequently made use of St. Augustine's analogies and sought further examples in the human body of things not having, or not appearing to have, true and full life.<sup>231</sup>

<sup>227</sup> Cf. Marie Comeau, *Saint Augustin exégète du quatrième Évangile* (2me éd.; Paris: 1930), pp. 339-69.

<sup>228</sup> *In Io. Ep. tr.* 3, 4 (PL 35, 1999): "Omnes haeretici, omnes schismatici ex nobis exierunt, id est, ex Ecclesia exeunt; sed non exirent, si ex nobis essent. Antequam exirent ergo, non erant ex nobis."

<sup>229</sup> *Ibid.*: "Jam quis sit contrarius Christo, nunc advertis ipso exponente, et intelligitis non posse exire foras nisi antichristos: eos autem qui non sunt Christo contrarii, foras exire nullo modo posse. Qui enim non est Christo contrarius, in corpore ipsius haeret, et membrum computatur."

<sup>230</sup> *In Io. Ep. tr.* 3, 4 (PL 35, 1999).

<sup>231</sup> Thus, R. Bellarmine, *De Controversiis Christianae Fidei*, I. III, c. 3 (*Opera Omnia Bellarmini* [Neapoli: 1856], II, 75, 91): "... tales sunt

The Church is by no means constituted of only healthy members. To have all healthy members does not belong to this side of the Church's existence. That is a characteristic of the future life of the Church: "Perfect health shall not be until in the resurrection of the dead."<sup>232</sup> It must be expected that there will be sick and feeble members in it. Who are these infirm members to whom the Bishop refers? They constitute two classes of members. First, such are designated as infirm who are actually in a living union with the body of Christ but their union is weak. There is hope that united to the life-giving body of Christ they may improve in the health and strength of sanctity through the grace of Jesus Christ,<sup>233</sup> but there is no assurance that they will persevere in their union of grace with Christ. Secondly, such also come under this term who are actually in the membership of the body of Christ but who are not actually united to it in a living manner, and are thus a source of disturbance to it.<sup>234</sup>

If such a member exists in the physical body of man, surgery is undertaken to remove it, provided the sick member is a menace to the whole and provided there is no hope of restoring it to a healthy state. Likewise in the mystical body of Christ, under extraordinary circumstances an obnoxious member may be also physically severed from the communion of other members. Usually, however, he is left to remain in the communion of the Church because he has a better opportunity and a greater facility to change for the better when adhering to a Church founded to impart life and remission of sin.<sup>235</sup>

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sicut capilli, aut ungues, aut mali humores in corpore humano." Cf. De la Servière, *La théologie de Bellarmin* (Paris: 1909), pp. 170-71; S. Hosius, *Confutatio Prolegomenon Brentii*, l.III (*Opera Omnia Hosii* [Coloniae: 1584]. 1, 537): "Contra mali sic sunt in Christi corpore Ecclesia, sicut sunt in humano corpore sanguis noxius, humores mali, capilli, ungues, membra arefacta, quae tametsi vitam a spiritu non recipiunt, sunt nihilominus in corpore." Cf. G. M. Grabka, *Cardinalis Hosii doctrina de Corpore Christi Mystico* (Washington, D.C.: 1945), pp. 256 ff.

<sup>232</sup> *In Io. Ep. tr.* 3, 4 (PL 35, 1999).

<sup>233</sup> *Sermo* 76, 2, 3-4, 6 (PL 38, 480-82).

<sup>234</sup> *In Io. Ev. tr.* 52, 2 (PL 35, 1770): "O Domine mediator, Deus supra nos, homo propter nos, agnosco misericordiam tuam. Nam quod tu tantus tuae charitatis voluntate turbaris, multos in corpore tuo qui suae infirmitatis necessitate turbantur, ne desperando pereant consolaris."

<sup>235</sup> *In Io. Ep. tr.* 3, 6 (PL 35, 2000): "Aut in membris sumus, aut in humoribus malis. Qui se in melius commutat, in corpore membrum est:

Infirmity, then, does not lie in imperfections, omissions, negligences, nor even in the transgressions of venial sins. All of these are to be found even in the just and holy who form the mystical body of Christ. The infirmity of which Augustine now speaks means to be devoid of internal health. The health of the soul, the health of a member of the body of Christ, is grace and charity. Whoever is in the body of Christ but without grace and charity is without that life which is proper and natural to the body of Christ. Such a one is sick unto death, but since he remains in union with Christ—the source of life to the members of His body—he can be said to be infirm and not irreparably dead. He remains a member of Christ externally, as it were, by virtue of adhering to the social and hierarchical Church, but the internal life of Christ is not communicated to him in default of an internal, living contact with Christ the head.<sup>236</sup>

The infirm (*infirmi*), therefore, in the sense just described are to be identified with those members whom Augustine designates as dead (*mortui*). The relationship of both groups to the mystical body is the same, but the images under which they are pictured present different aspects. The infirm, devoid of the health which consists in charity, inhere in the body of Christ; their rehabilitation depends on restoring them to grace and charity. The dead are such because they lack internal, spiritual life in which consists a living union with the body of Christ.

Tichonius also employs the same image and the term *infirmi* in the same sense as St. Augustine; viz., for sinners, too, are allowed a place in the body of Christ itself, although they are segregated, as it were, by their location in it from the holy to whom that body of Christ will bring salvation. Tichonius says: "The

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qui autem in malitia permanet, humor malus est; et quando exierit, relevabuntur qui premebantur."

<sup>236</sup> J. Vetter, *Der heilige Augustinus und das Geheimnis des Leibes Christi* (Mainz: 1929), p. 127: "Die sichtbare Kirche stellt die grössere Gemeinschaft dar, die jenen engern Kreis der 'Heiligen' zwar in ihrem Schosse trägt, darüber hinaus aber auch kranke und sogar todkranke Glieder in ihrer Einheit beschlossen hält, denen sie durch ihre Gnadenmittel Gesundheit und Leben erneuern will. Eben in dieser Ermöglichung der Geheiligten liegt der Sinn der sichtbaren Kirche als Gemeinschaft der gesunden und kranken Glieder."

body of Christ has healthy members, but it has also sick ones. The healthy members are the holy; the feeble (*infirmi*), indeed, are sinners; his right are the saints, but his left sinners.”<sup>237</sup>

In practical pastoral life, when special steps have been taken to induce a sinner to become converted, apparently without success, such a one ought to be considered as dead, and consequently should merit to be severed from the body of Christ entirely.<sup>238</sup> If the Church, nevertheless, is loath to do this, it is because, on the one hand, she thus imitates God in exercising mercy and patience;<sup>239</sup> on the other hand, because the conversion of a sinner under the influence of grace is not to be considered as unfeasible. Death has entered his soul but the omnipotent Physician is able to restore life to it.<sup>240</sup> Hence also the justification of both terms *infirmi* and *mortui* when applied to the same members of the body of Christ. It is evident, however, that in the type, that is in the human body, the difference between a dead member and an infirm one would be considerable. In another passage St. Augustine designates the same sinners as decaying or distorted members, who mar the body of Christ, so that, in consequence, it would be better if they were cut off. He urges, therefore, each member: “Let him be beautiful, useful, healthy; let him adhere to the body, let him live for God from God.”<sup>241</sup>

<sup>237</sup> “Habet [Corpus Christi] ibi membra sana, habet et infirma. Sana membra sancti sunt, infirma vero peccatores; dextra ejus sancti sunt, sinistra autem peccatores.” These words of Tichonius are preserved in the Commentary of Beatus, quoted by Hahn, *Tychonius-Studien*, p. 65.

<sup>238</sup> *Sermo* 17, 3 (PL 38, 125): “Quando aliquid pungitur, et dolet, aut sanum est, aut in illo spes aliqua sanitatis: quando autem tangitur, pungitur, vellicatur, nec dolet; pro mortuo habendum est, ac de corpore praecidendum. Sed aliquando nos parcimus, et non novimus nisi loqui: excommunicare, de Ecclesia projicere pigri sumus.”

<sup>239</sup> *Enar. in Ps.* 93, 18 (PL 37, 1206): “Qui hoc volunt quod Deus vult. Parcit peccatoribus, tu vis ut jam perdat peccatores. . . . Vult autem Deus parcere malis, tu non vis parci: patiens est Deus peccatoribus, tu non vis tolerare peccatores. Sed ut dicere coeperam, aliud vis tu, aliud Deus: converte cor tuum, et dirige ad Deum; quia et Dominus infirmis compassus est. Vidit in corpore suo, id est in Ecclesia sua infirmos, qui primo voluntatem suam sequi tentarent; sed cum viderent voluntatem Dei aliam esse, dirigerent se et cor suum ad suscipiendam et sequendam voluntatem Dei.”

<sup>240</sup> *Sermo* 17, 3 (PL 38, 125).

<sup>241</sup> *In Io. Ev. tr.* 26, 13 (PL 35, 1613); “Fiant (fideles) corpus Christi si volunt vivere de Spiritu Christi. De Spiritu Christi non vivit, nisi corpus



Membership in the Church of Christ entails a twofold connection with the Church, an external one and an internal one. By virtue of being united with the sacramental, social and hierarchical Church one is also united with Christ, the head of the mystical body. Sinners are united in this external manner to the Church, and if they are reputed to be members of the external and visible Church, they also must be reputed to be members of Christ's body. It is not altogether in keeping with St. Augustine's thought to make sinners members of the visible Church but to deny them membership in the mystical body.<sup>242</sup> Augustine allows them membership in both aspects of the Church, but qualifies their inherence in Christ's mystical body as being infirm, nay dead.<sup>243</sup>

There is another long series of testimonies bearing on this subject, which at first sight seem to suggest a sharp line of demarcation between sinners and the body of Christ. They are, namely, those descriptions wherein the good and the holy constituting the body of Christ are portrayed as one unit, a whole, or a person in the middle of the evil. The body of Christ is said to be in the midst of a multitude of the wicked,<sup>244</sup> to be making a pilgrimage here on earth among sinners,<sup>245</sup> to be persecuted<sup>246</sup> and oppressed<sup>247</sup> by them; it is made to sigh among them,<sup>248</sup> and to cry to God<sup>249</sup> that He deliver the body from the wicked. Deliver-

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Christi. . . . Accedat, credat, incorporetur, ut vivificetur. Non abhorreat a compage membrorum, non sit putre membrum quod resecari mereatur, non sit distortum de quo erubescatur: sit pulchrum, sit aptum, sit sanum; haereat corpori, vivat Deo de Deo."

<sup>242</sup> E.g., Sheldon, *History of Christian Doctrines* (New York: 1901), p. 269: "Some may be externally connected with this Church who are not truly parts thereof, not members of the body of Christ. These excrescences, however, will be cut off in time, and cannot impair the claims of the Catholic Church to be the one true Church."

<sup>243</sup> C. Romeis, *Das Heil des Christen ausserhalb der wahren Kirche nach der Lehre des hl. Augustinus* (Paderborn: 1908), p. 20: "Er (Augustinus) unterscheidet sehr wohl zwischen der äusseren Eingliederung in den Organismus der Kirche und dem inneren Lebensprinzip, das den Christen zu einem lebendigen, tätigen und fügsamen Gliede macht."

<sup>244</sup> *Enar. in Ps.* 52, 1 (PL 36, 613).

<sup>245</sup> *Enar. in Ps.* 119, 7 (PL 37, 1602).

<sup>246</sup> *Enar. in Ps.* 85, 19 (PL 37, 1095).

<sup>247</sup> *In Io. Ep. tr.* 3, 4-5 (PL 35, 1999-2000).

<sup>248</sup> *Enar. in Ps.* 138, 29 (PL 37, 1802).

<sup>249</sup> *Enar. in Ps.* 141, 16 (PL 37, 1842).

ance from all the evil that presses upon it is not to be expected during the period of the earthly existence of the Church, but is reserved for the life to come.<sup>250</sup>

This mode of description so frequently occurring especially in his commentary on the Psalms does not entail any real division of the Church as if it made a real separation of the body of Christ from the congregation of the wicked. There is a separation but it is internal and not external; it is ethical and not social; it is a separation of hearts and minds; it is an incongruousness of wills and morality. Above all it is a theological division: some possess the life, grace, and the diffusion of charity, others do not. Such an ethical and theological division, because it is basically internal, does not affect the unity of an undivided Church and of a single body. The good and the wicked forming one visible and discernible Church can be considered as two classes in the Church, spiritually apart and foreign to each other in the very formation of Christ's body. Yet the wicked are not so foreign and distant as to be excluded from an external attachment, so to speak, to the mystical body or from a certain participation in it. Thus in the commentary on Psalm 138, the sinners at the outset are presented as taking part in the body of Christ, and are spoken of later as sinners in the midst of whom the body of Christ must suffer.<sup>251</sup> And elsewhere <sup>252</sup> speaking of sinners who left the Church, he asserts that they were not cut off from Christ's body, but that they were those who pressed upon His chest when they were within.

In this matter of the relation of sinners to the body of Christ it is interesting to observe in some passages, when St. Augustine is compelled to be exact in expression, how his mind conceives definite distinctions, which are expressed by certain adverbial particles. Examples could be multiplied; a few instances will suffice. Thus in the commentary on the famous rule of Tichonius one cannot help feeling the emphasis on the word "really" (*revera*): the wicked are "really" not the body of Christ. In contradistinc-

<sup>250</sup> *Enar. in Ps. 110, 1* (PL 37, 1463).

<sup>251</sup> *Enar. in Ps. 138, 29* (PL 37, 1802).

<sup>252</sup> *In Io. Ep. tr. 3, 4* (PL 35, 1999): "Non de mea carne praecisi sunt, sed pectus mihi premebant cum inessent."

tion to the mass of sinners the good are said to be "properly" (*proprie*) the body of Christ.<sup>253</sup> Whilst the sinners are only "seemingly" (*videntur*) within, the holy are "truly" (*vere*) in that Church which is the body of Christ.<sup>254</sup>

It may be opportune to add here a passage drawn from Tichonius, which reads like one of St. Augustine's, and from which it is sufficiently evident that their ecclesiological doctrines were much alike. At times the thought is more simply and clearly expressed by the semi-Donatist than by the Catholic Bishop; in many an instance the terminology is identical. In any case, it may be stated that the two agree on the coexistence of sinners with the good in the body of Christ and on their manner of inherence in it. Tichonius, therefore, must be respected for his important corroborative value in interpreting St. Augustine. Here are the words of Tichonius:

These two parts are said to be one man, because likewise in one man we are able to name two sides, that is the right and the left, and there are in it many members, but one body. It has there healthy members, and it has also infirm members. Healthy members are the holy; the infirm however are sinners. Just as there are in man infirm members, so that the healthy members suffer, and a person is relieved from sickness then when the wound has gone away, so also wicked men, which is the left part, are among the healthy members of the Church, after the manner of bad humors (tumors?).<sup>255</sup>

Tichonius, therefore, is more blunt than St. Augustine is in his statement placing the wicked in the mystical body of Christ.

<sup>253</sup> *Contra Faust.*, XIII, 16 (PL 42, 292; CSEL 25, 1, 397): "Nec impatientia tolerandi malos, relinquantur boni, qui proprie sunt corpus Christi; et ideo cum ipsi relinquuntur, ille relinquitur."

<sup>254</sup> *Contra Crescen.*, II, 33, 42 (PL 43, 492; CSEL 52, ed. M. Petschenig, 402): "Quia nec propter malos qui videntur esse intus, deserendi sunt boni qui vere sunt intus."

<sup>255</sup> The quotation is taken from Hahn, *Tychonius-Studien*, p. 65: "Hae duae partes in praedicatione unus homo dicitur, quia et in uno homine possumus duo latera nuncupare, id est dextrum et sinistrum, et sunt in ea multa membra, sed unum corpus. Habet ibi membra sana, habet et infirma. Sana membra sancti sunt, infirma vero peccatores. Sicut sunt in homine membra infirma, et ita ut sana doleant, et tunc relevatur homo ab aegritudine, cum vulnus foras exierit, ita et homines mali, quod sinistra pars est, sic sunt in membra ecclesiae sana quod est dextera pars, sicut humores (tumores?) mali."

He is explicit in affirming that the good and the evil are members—each in their own way—of the body of Christ. Like St. Augustine, he calls them sick members; again, like St. Augustine, he likens them to bad fluids in the human body or tumors, of which it is better for the body to rid itself.<sup>256</sup> From these particular analogies common to both writers it appears that Tichonius, although in a different camp, was a writer who exercised some influence on the expression of St. Augustine's doctrine in this matter.

### The Foundation For This Doctrine

It seems that it would be difficult to justify the inherence of the unjust in the mystical body of Christ. For do we not associate holiness with membership in Christ's mystical body? Is it not prejudicial to the head, the source of all holiness for his body, to have sinners as a part of His body? Nevertheless it is so. This is possible because the Church which is His body is at the same time a social organization, an empirical kingdom, a sacramental institution for the salvation of men. Sinners are in the body of Christ precisely because they are in the visible Church of Christ. Unless the Church and the body of Christ correspond to one another, and unless the members of the one are members of the other, the Church with its membership becomes unknowable, the kingdom on earth invisible, and His mystical body imperceptible.

There are tangible bonds by which members are united to the experimental Church. Their participation in the same sacraments and their social affiliation with the one Catholic Church is a matter that can be detected and examined. "They seem to be

<sup>256</sup> *Loc. cit.*: "Der Donatist sieht als eine göttliche Ordnung an, dass stets zum Körper Christi auch Böse gehören müssen. Gute wie Böse sind Glieder an dem einem Leibe, die einen gesund, die anderen krank. Oder wie er noch besser erklärt, die Bösen sind wie ein Geschwür im Leibe, von dem der Körper nur befreit wird, wenn es losbricht; es ist nicht der Körper aber im Körper und bereit auch den gesunden Gliedern Schmerzen. Die Bösen sind an den Guten wie ungesunde Feuchtigkeiten. Mit ihnen muss stets die Kirche erscheinen und wird als schwarz um ihretwillen verlästert (R 10:14-16). Hier ist die Schwierigkeit überwunden, aber nicht immer ist Tychonius so klar. Das Corpus Christi sind eigentlich nur die Guten, aber es ist krank und entstellt, weil es immer an und in sich die Bösen trägt."



united by the communion of the sacraments and the communion of the Catholic Church.”<sup>257</sup> This is true not only of the worthy members but also of the unworthy ones: “They receive the sacraments with us, they receive baptism with us, they receive. . . the Eucharist, and whatever there is in the sacraments; they receive the communication of the altar with us, and they are not from us.”<sup>258</sup> These are external bonds by which even the sinner remains in union with the Church.

There are two other factors of prime importance in uniting one as a member to the Church or disjoining him from it. These are faith and charity. Both of these have a twofold aspect. Faith may be internal and it thus constitutes an internal bond with the mystical body of Christ; or it may be external and it thus forms an external bond uniting the one professing it to the visible and external Church. Charity likewise may be considered as an internal bond uniting the member to Christ’s body; but it is also an external bond which finds its expression in the external unity of the Church.

Those who sin against faith and charity inasmuch as they are external bonds disrupt those bonds and cease to be members of the visible Church. Heretics do not profess the same faith; by stubbornly professing and defending error, they sever themselves from the one true Church. Schismatics do not possess charity; by sinning against the oneness of Christ’s Church, they find themselves outside of it. Sinners are guilty of neither transgression: they profess the same doctrine, and they adhere to the one fold. The minimal requirements, therefore, for being a member of the Church are to be baptized, to remain in the unity of the faith and in communion with the visible Church.<sup>259</sup>

Two suppositions are possible: 1. that the spiritual Church, the mystical body, is one and the same with the visible Catholic

<sup>257</sup> *Ep.* 149, 3 (PL 33, 631; CSEL 44, ed. A. Goldbacher, III, 350): “Per sacramentorum communionem unitatisque Catholicae videntur Ecclesiae copulati.”

<sup>258</sup> *In Io. Ep. tr.* 3, 5 (PL 35, 1999): “Multi qui non sunt ex nobis, accipiunt nobiscum sacramenta, accipiunt nobiscum baptismum, accipiunt nobiscum quod norunt fideles se accipere benedictionem, eucharistiam, et quidquid in sacramentis est; ipsius altaris communicationem accipiunt nobiscum, et non sunt ex nobis.”

<sup>259</sup> A. Michel, “Les différents points de vue de St. Augustin sur la question des ‘membres de l’Église,’” *Les questions ecclésiastiques*, V (1912), 396.

Church—a social, sacramental and hierarchic institution; if this should be the case, then sinners belonging to the visible Church would also belong to the mystical body. 2. that the mystical body is distinct and separate from the visible Church; in such a supposition, members in the one would differ from the members in the other, although some or even many members would be in the one Church and the other. Augustine conceives the Church under both aspects but does not divide it into distinct and separate entities. This concept of the Church determines the appurtenance of sinners. They are in the mystical body simply because the Church with all its members is that body; and the members of the Church, conceived as an external organization, are the members of the body of Christ, although not necessarily in the same manner.

A sinner is, therefore, in the Church, considered as a social organization, and in the Church, considered as the body of Christ. But in neither is he a member in the full sense of the word because the purpose of the Church's existence is not fulfilled in him. He is not fully in that Church which is a social and visible organization because its object is to produce and manifest fruits of sanctity; the Church's light is to shine before men so that they can recognize it as Christ's work from the conduct of its members. Much less is a sinner properly in the body of Christ—rather he is but loosely bound with it—because he does not live in faith, hope, and charity; in a word, he is not internally united to Christ in the communion of the life of grace.

Considering both aspects of the Church—that of the external Church and that of the mystical body—the sinner is associated with the former rather than the latter. The external Church denotes the external union which the sinner possesses by his participation in the external observances and rites; it also connotes the internal union with Christ which the sinner does not possess by default of the life of grace. Moreover, the external Church denotes an institution which transforms from sin into holiness by its life-giving sacraments. The mystical body denotes an organism living with the stream of life which ever continues to flow from the head. While the external Church connotes the body of Christ, the body of Christ connotes the external Church. In reality, the internal and the external Church are inseparable.

Summarily, therefore, the *Catholica* as the empirical and visible Church, is synonymous with the body of Christ. If not all, many students of St. Augustine's doctrine on the Church will agree with this conclusion.<sup>260</sup> Further, it has been ascertained that not only are these two concepts of the Church identical but that the external Church and the mystical body are composed of the very same members. Misled by some statements made by St. Augustine against the Donatists, some authors are of the opinion that not all who are members of the social institution of the Church are also members of the spiritual organism of the body of Christ.<sup>261</sup> Finally the Church as an institution and as an organism are not interchangeable if the quality of membership is considered.<sup>262</sup> Thus, the just and the holy in the full sense form the body of Christ because they live by the life of Christ, the head. Sinners are not in the proper sense the mystical body, because they do not live by the life of Christ, but they are nevertheless in Christ's body.

If, therefore, in the controversy against the Donatists, Augustine asseverates that sinners are not in the mystical body, he does not mean to state that they are not in Christ's body at all. Bearing in mind their particular doctrine on the conditions of a valid administration of the sacraments, his statements center around the

<sup>260</sup> This identity of the visible Church and the body of Christ, is maintained by A. Dorner, *Augustinus: Sein theologisches System und seine Religionsphilosophische Anschauung* (Berlin: 1873), pp. 263-76; W. Simpson, *St. Augustine and African Church Divisions* (London: 1910), p. 71: "This Catholic Church is the Body of Christ."

<sup>261</sup> Thus W. Bright, *Lessons from the Lives of Three Great Fathers*, appdx., XVII, pp. 280 f., states that the true or "interior" Church is "the Church visible minus those who hereafter would be eliminated as having no part in her true life." It consists of "those members of the visible body who realized their privileges and their obligations, who were Christians inwardly as well as outwardly," and who were therefore "the objects of a divine predestinating election." We may note that Bright observes that Augustine's idea of an "interior" Church is not to be confounded with the "invisible" Church as held by many Protestants.

<sup>262</sup> J. Vetter, *Der heilige Augustinus und das Geheimnis des Leibes Christi*, p. 127: "Aber gerade die menschliche Schwachheit des Pilgerstandes hat zur Folge, dass innerhalb der sichtbaren Kirche um jene Gemeinschaft der Heiligen ein fortwährendes Ab- und Zufluten durch Verlust und Wiedergewinn der Gnade möglich ist. Dieses Auf- und Absteigen aus dem Heiligen ins Unheilige, ohne dass dadurch die grosse Einheit böswillig verlassen wird verbietet uns, die grosse sichtbare Kirche ohne weiteres mit der engeren Gemeinschaft der 'Heiligen' identisch zu erklären."

doctrine that sinners do not form Christ's body; they are not, in the true sense, the mystical body; they are not living parts of it. The cardinal point which the African Bishop intends to emphasize is the fact that a sinner does not possess supernatural life. If, therefore, the Donatist adversary maintains that only the just administering, for instance, baptism can communicate justice, only the living can communicate life, then many would be unbaptized, because there are sinners who baptize in the Catholic Church as well as in the Donatist sect. Not living in union with Christ and not being in possession of the Holy Spirit, they cannot impart the life of grace and the gift of the Holy Ghost to others.

Augustine, therefore, separates sinners from the just and holy ones in the Church, the mystical body of Christ, not in a physical sense but in a moral and spiritual sense. The moral division consists in a disparity of hearts and minds; the spiritual division, in a dissimilarity of souls, for the good are in internal communion with the living head, the wicked are destitute of grace and a union with Christ. In a word, the spiritual sword dividing members within the Church is holiness, a condition of justice, a state of grace. To portray this division within the Church graphically, two circles are discernible as encompassing the members of the Church, the mystical body of Christ: 1) the outer, larger one embraces all members who are united by a participation in the sacramental, social, and juridical life of the Church: these are the good and the wicked, the saints and sinners; 2) the inner, and smaller circle embraces those members who, in addition to the external bonds, are united by a life of holiness flowing from a living union with Christ: this inner sanctum contains only the just, the good, the holy.<sup>263</sup>

<sup>263</sup> A. Harnack *Lehrbuch der Dogmengeschichte*, III (4 Aufl.; Tübingen: 1909), 147: "Die Unheiligen in der Kirche gehören fraglos zur Kirche; denn sie stehen in der Einheit unter Wirkung der Heiligungsmittel und können noch *boni spirituales* werden. Allein sie gehören nicht zum Heiligthum der Kirche, sondern bilden einen weiteren Kreis in ihr ('*vasa in contumeliam in domo Dei*'); sie sind nicht selbst, wie die '*vasa in honorem*,' die *domus Dei*, sondern sind 'im Hause'; sie sind '*in communione sacramentorum*,' nicht im eigentlichen Verbands des Hauses, sonder '*congregationi sanctorum admixti*,' sie sind deshalb in gewissem Sinn nicht in der Kirche, weil sie nicht die Kirche selbst sind; daher kann man auch die Kirche als '*corpus permixtum*' bezeichnen."



### CHAPTER 3

## SINNERS AND THE CELESTIAL MYSTICAL BODY OF CHRIST

TIME and history, the life of the individual and of the Church receive their fuller meaning when they are set in the doctrinal background of three simple adverbs which St. Augustine was in the habit of using in his sermons; viz., *hic*, *ibi*, *interim*. Heaven is the *ibi*, the goal of all of our efforts and aspirations; *hic* is the earth, the place of trial and struggle, of vice and virtue; *interim* is the lapse of time during which it is given us to expect the day of the Lord toward whose advent all good Christians are oriented.<sup>1</sup> The Church exists on earth, but exists also in heaven. Like Christ the Church partakes of time and eternity. Just as Christ is in time so also the Church is in time; and just as after His Ascension Christ is outside of time—an eternal Christ—so there is also now an eternal Church. The eternal and temporal in Christ as well as the Church make but one.<sup>2</sup>

A treatise on the nature of the Church as it now is will not be complete unless it embraces the nature of the Church as it will be when it attains its final goal. Nor does the relation of the sinner to the body of Christ here upon earth attain its full meaning unless it is considered in conjunction with the mystical body in heaven. Thus far we have studied the Church of Christ within the confines of this earth and within the limits of time. It began in reality with Christ and will continue to the end of the world; nay, in a certain sense it began with the very first just men, who were justified in anticipation of the merits of Christ, and is thus formed of all the just existing from the beginning till the end of

<sup>1</sup> F. Chatillon, "Hic, ibi, interim," *Mélanges Marcel Villers, Rev. d'ascétique et de mystique*, XXV (1949), 194-99.

<sup>2</sup> R. Gillet, "Temps et exemplarisme chez saint Augustin," *Augustinus Magister* (Paris: 1954), II, 939.

time and the world. Its existence, however, extends beyond temporal boundaries. In fact, its temporal existence is but a preparation for its eternal existence. Its *raison d'être* does not lie on this side of life but on the other. "This Church precedes that one which is promised, the immortal and eternal city."<sup>3</sup>

From the Church temporal there will be a transition to the Church eternal but not according to all members. The eternal Church is a prolongation of the temporal Church, while the membership of each is identical inasmuch as no one can be a member of the eternal Church who is not a member of the temporal Church, but not all the members of the latter will be members of the former. Those who have attained life eternal within the fold of the institutional Church on earth, as living members of the body of Christ here below, will constitute the real Church in heaven, will form the unadulterated and indefectible heavenly body of Christ forever. And thus we must distinguish "the Church as it is now . . . and the Church as it will be then, when the wicked will not be in it. Therefore the saints reign with Him even now, but otherwise than they shall reign in the future."<sup>4</sup>

These two conditions of Christ's Church are true in all the aspects under which the Church has thus far been considered, whether as an externally organized institution (i.e., the visible Church), or a spiritually vivified organism (the body of Christ), or a socio-religious collectivity (the city of God or a kingdom of God). The consideration of the future Church of heaven is a reason why it is possible to narrow or expand the conception of these terms and thus to provide grounds for believing that these concepts are not identical. Indeed the members of the Church militant will not all be members of the Church triumphant. The body of Christ in its heavenly constitution will not embrace all who formed it here below. The itinerant city of God will not be the same when it has reached the end of the journey to be the eternal city of God. The earthly kingdom of God will not be the same when it becomes the heavenly kingdom of God.

For that reason the Church is identified with each of those terms and yet must not be identified with them when the Church

<sup>3</sup> *Enar. in Ps.* 9, 12 (PL 36, 122).

<sup>4</sup> *De civ. Dei*, XX, 9, 1 (PL 41, 673; ed. Dombart-Kalb, II, 429).

is envisaged in its earthly existence and the other conceptions in their heavenly existence. Thus St. Augustine is able to say that the Church is the city of God: "What is the city of God, unless the holy Church,"<sup>5</sup> and then disavow this statement by asserting that the predestined and the angels form the city of God.<sup>6</sup> The reason: "The city (of God) is a stranger on earth, founded in heaven";<sup>7</sup> "the foundation of a spiritual structure is in heaven."<sup>8</sup> So, too, Augustine can identify the Church with the kingdom of God: "The Church even now is the kingdom of Christ and the kingdom of heaven,"<sup>9</sup> and then makes a reservation: "For although the Church which now exists is at times called the kingdom of God, it is so named because it assembles for the future and eternal life."<sup>10</sup> But does not the New Testament distinguish the kingdom of God from the Church in this manner?<sup>11</sup>

Although intensely interested in the Church as it exists now on earth and in time, St. Augustine never loses sight of the goal of the Church, its existence in heaven. In general, it is characteristic of his thought and religion that he views things pertaining to this universe *sub specie aeternitatis*—whether it is philosophy, the state, or the Church. "No Christian Father is more uncompromising in the other-worldliness than is Augustine."<sup>12</sup> When

<sup>5</sup> *Enar. in Ps.* 98, 4 (PL 37, 1261).

<sup>6</sup> *De civ. Dei*, XV, 1, 1 (PL 41, 437; ed. Dombart-Kalb, II, 58).

<sup>7</sup> *Sermo* 105, 9 (PL 38, 622).

<sup>8</sup> *Enar. in Ps.* 86, 3 (PL 37, 1103).

<sup>9</sup> *De civ. Dei*, XX, 9, 1 (PL 41, 67; ed. Dombart-Kalb, II, 429).

<sup>10</sup> *De sanct. virg.*, 24 (PL 40, 409; CSEL 41; ed. J. Zycha, 260).

<sup>11</sup> Cf. F. M. Braun, *Aspects nouveau du problème de l'Église* (Fribourg: 1942), pp. 109–11 and 161–70; L. Cerfaux, *La théologie de l'Église suivant saint Paul* (Paris: 1948), pp. 293–98; H. N. Ridderbos, *De Komst van het Koninkrijk* (1950); J. Bonsirven, *Théologie du Nouveau Testament* (Paris: 1951), p. 91; S. Tyszkiewicz, *La sainteté de l'Église christo-conforme* (Paris: 1945), pp. 86–87: "L'Église en ce monde ne peut pas être adéquatement identifiée avec le Royaume de Dieu." H. de Lubac, *Méditation sur l'Église* (3 ed.; Paris: 1954), pp. 54–56. See also: W. G. Kümmel, "Jesus und die Anfänge der Kirche," *Studia theologica*, VII (1953), 1–27; D. M. Stanley, "Kingdom to Church: The Structural Development of Apostolic Christianity in the New Testament," *Theological Studies*, XVI (1955), 1–29.

<sup>12</sup> J. Burnaby, *Amor Dei: A Study of St. Augustine's Teaching on the Love of God as a Motive of Christian Life* (London: 1947), p. 29. Also Robertson, *Regnum Dei* (London: 1901), p. 184: "There is then, in reserve, throughout Augustine's utterances on doctrinal and even practical ques-

he labors for the glory of the Church, it is not so much for the glory which surrounds her here, as for that which surrounds her above. The former passes, the latter abides forever. When the Bishop labors to bring and to promote the good of his spiritual children he holds out to them not so much the blessings that they are now capable of in their mortal condition, but those that are in store for them when they shall have been transformed into immortality. Just as the blessings which the Church now brings to its members are shadows of eternal blessings, so also the earthly Church is but an image of the celestial Church.<sup>13</sup> Without the glories and the blessings of the heavenly Church, the eternal mystical body, the earthly Church loses its meaning and usefulness.<sup>14</sup>

The visible Church here below is an institution, a place of salvation.<sup>15</sup> It attains its true purpose only then when its members are incorporated into the heavenly body of Christ. Indeed, one cannot be saved unless he becomes a member of the Church by the reception of baptism. But this in itself does not suffice. One must become a living member of Christ's earthly mystical body by a life of grace in faith, hope, and charity. But even in such a living member of Christ's body the purpose of the Church may not be fulfilled, if he fails to persevere in a life of union with Christ to the end. The grace of perseverance is the bridge which carries one from the temporal body of Christ to the eternal one. If those presently united to Christ through faith and charity do not possess perseverance "they are not truly called," nor are they "the members of Christ's body."<sup>16</sup> "For in truth the body of

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tions, this element of abstract idealism,—the appeal to transcendental reality, to the aspect of things as viewed *sub specie aeternitatis*."

<sup>13</sup> *Enar. in Ps. 9, 12* (PL 36, 122): "Gestat imaginem Ecclesiae quae futura est."

<sup>14</sup> Cf. F. Hofmann, *Der Kirchenbegriff des hl. Augustinus* (München: 1933), p. 135; W. Ziegenfuss, *Augustinus: Christliche Transzendenz in Gesellschaft und Geschichte* (Berlin: 1948), p. 131.

<sup>15</sup> R. Seeberg, *Studien zur Geschichte des Begriffes der Kirche* (Erlangen: 1885), p. 53: "Die Kirche ist bei Augustin die erscheinende Heilsanstalt. Nur wer sich dieser unterstellt, hat Hoffnung auf Heil. . . . Die Kirche ist vor allem der Ort des Heils auf Erden."

<sup>16</sup> *De correp. et grat.*, 9, 22 (PL 44, 929): "Si autem perseverantiam non habent, id est, in eo quod coeperunt esse non manent, non vere appellantur quod appellantur et non sunt."



the Lord is not that which will not remain with Him in eternity." <sup>17</sup>

It does not follow from these assertions that sinners and the unpersevering just do not belong to the Church, the mystical body, while it is here on earth. It is far from Augustine's doctrine to consider the elect, the predestined as the only members constituting the Church upon earth. Unrepenting sinners, the unpersevering just as well as the elect form the Church of Christ upon earth, but only the truly elect will form it in heaven. But under a certain aspect, inasmuch as the purpose of the Church's existence is fulfilled only in the elect, it can be said that they are alone in the full sense her members. In the sinner Augustine sees attachment to the external Church; in the just one to the mystical body here on earth; in the elect to the mystical body in heaven.

Underlying Augustine's evaluation of the temporal and eternal stages of the Church's existence is his Platonic metaphysics.<sup>18</sup> According to it the reality of a being is estimated in accordance with the degree of its permanence. Beings subject to change are appearances; changeless beings are realities. Plato teaches that man cannot be satisfied with a knowledge of phenomena, but rises above the material sphere to enter the world of ideas.<sup>19</sup> It is here that the soul of man satiates its thirst for knowledge by the vision of eternal and immutable truths, and by the intuition of the Highest Good.<sup>20</sup> Plotinus, who "evidently regards mystical experience as the supreme attainment of the true philosopher,"<sup>21</sup> combines philosophy with mysticism so that happiness and salvation are attained by an intellectual ascent and assimilation to God in contemplation and ecstasy.<sup>22</sup>

Platonic and Neoplatonic thought is discernible in the manner

<sup>17</sup> *De doctr. christ.*, III, 31, 44 (PL 34, 82).

<sup>18</sup> Cf. F. J. Thonnard, "Caractères platoniciens de l'ontologie augustinienne," *Augustinus Magister* (Paris: 1954), I, 318-27.

<sup>19</sup> F. Copleston, *A History of Philosophy* (Westminster, Md.: 1948), I, 152 ff.

<sup>20</sup> A. E. Taylor, *Plato the Man and His Work* (London: 1948), pp. 285 ff.

<sup>21</sup> Copleston, *op. cit.*, I, 472.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. P. V. Pistorius, *Plotinus and Neoplatonism* (Cambridge: 1952), pp. 157 ff.

in which Augustine expresses his doctrine of God. Of all beings we predicate that they are, but they are this or that. Of God all that need be said is that God is. Augustine, in fact, makes the statement that God is the "is." He is supremely and necessarily. As such He is immutable and eternal. In comparison with the self-subsisting, all-perfect being of God, the contingent and ever-changing existences of creatures may be said not to be at all. They, therefore, cannot be the object of man's aspirations, for they cannot satisfy the heart of man. Only the Highest Good can satiate the intellect and will of man. And just as in "Plotinian Neoplatonism philosophy tends to pass into religion,"<sup>23</sup> so too in Augustinian thought philosophy and theology seem to merge in the attainment of the one Supreme Being.

This attitude of St. Augustine is found also in his estimation of social relations, e.g., of the state to the Church. The one has as its object a temporal end, the other an eternal end. In his presentation of the earthly city and the city of God Augustine is so eager about the attainment of the true good, eternal and immutable, that he is inclined to disregard the legitimate aims and ends of each. The Church temporal and the Church eternal have the same head, but not the same number of members and not in the same condition. The status of the Church eternal is marked by stability and immutability, by bliss and glory. The Church temporal "precedes in time, not in dignity," but the Church eternal is more glorious "because that is more honorable at which we endeavor to arrive, than that which we do in order to merit arrival there."<sup>24</sup>

In his doctrine of God, Augustine lays down principles which aid us in the evaluation of the heavenly mystical body. Our knowledge of God is gained from the perfections seen in the universe; perfections sublimated to the highest degree and despoiled of all imperfection.<sup>25</sup> God cannot be corruptible, but in-

<sup>23</sup> Copleston, *op. cit.*, I, 472.

<sup>24</sup> *Enar. in Ps.* 9, 12 (PL 36, 122): "Sed praecedit tempore non dignitate: quia honorabilius est quo pervenire nitimur, quam id quod agimus, ut pervenire mereamur."

<sup>25</sup> *De quant. anim.*, I, 34, 77 (PL 32, 1077); *Confes.*, VII, 4, 6 (PL 32, 735; ed. M. Skutella, 129). Cf. S. J. Grabowski, *The All-Present God: A Study of St. Augustine* (St. Louis: 1954), pp. 61 ff.

corruptible; He cannot be violable, but inviolable; He cannot be mutable but immutable.<sup>26</sup> So, too, the Church on earth differs from that in heaven. The Church in its earthly form possesses members in an imperfect, mutable, and defective condition; the Church in its heavenly form will contain the perfect, immutable and indefective. The Church Militant is an embodiment of the present life, the Church Triumphant of the future life. The present life is ever changing, the future changeless; the present is short, the future without end; the present is beset by evils, the future is without them; the present abounds in suffering and death, the future will be blissful and immortal.

The present time is only a preparation for life; the future will be the fruition of never-ending blessedness. Now is the time to merit; then will be the time to receive the reward. Since the life of the future is ever present and uppermost in the Bishop's mind, he cannot think of the present Church without thinking of its goal—the heavenly existence of the Church Triumphant, the joyous heavenly body of Christ.

Brethren, this has always been our warning to you, we have never desisted from it, never been silent upon it. The eternal life is to be loved, the present life is to be despised. Live well now, and hope that it will be well with you hereafter.<sup>27</sup>

I have not dwelt on the rule that all you do be done for hope of the future. For I know the thoughts of all Christians are bent on the world to come. He who thinks not of the world to come, he who is a Christian for any other reason than that he may receive that which God promises in the end, is not yet a Christian.<sup>28</sup>

People flock to churches and their chaste acts of worship . . . where they learn how they may so spend earthly life, as to merit a blessed eternity hereafter.<sup>29</sup>

We are born and die here; let us not love this: let us migrate by charity, let us live above by charity, by that charity by which we love

<sup>26</sup> *Confes.*, VII, 1, 1 (PL 32, 733; ed. M. Skutella, 124); *In Io. Ev. tr.* I, 8 (PL 35, 1383).

<sup>27</sup> *Sermo* 302, 10, 9 (PL 38, 1389).

<sup>28</sup> *Sermo* 9, 4, 4 (PL 38, 78).

<sup>29</sup> *De civ. Dei*, II, 28 (PL 41, 77; ed. Dombart-Kalb, I, 94-95).

God. We meditate upon nothing in this pilgrimage of our life, than that we shall not always be here, and that by living well we shall prepare for ourselves a place there from which we shall never migrate.<sup>30</sup>

In determining the members of the present and future Church, Augustine allows God's foreknowledge to play its role. In the light of the divine knowledge the Church is viewed already at present in its ultimate perfection and consummation such as it will be when it shall have reached the final goal. The definitive state of Christ's future mystical body is impervious to man at present, but in God's foreknowledge the membership of the future glorious Church is already definitely fixed: no new name shall be added nor any name already in the book of life shall be removed. Hence the extension of the temporal Church, even when viewed as the body of Christ, is wider than that of the eternal Church.

God foresees the wicked in the Church who will not take the way leading to conversion of heart, and who in consequence will not be among the members of Christ's heavenly body. Looking at them through the prism of divine prescience they may be said not to belong to His Church even now, "because not only in eternity but not even now are hypocrites<sup>31</sup> to be said to be with Him, although they seem to be in His Church."<sup>32</sup> God also foresees the lapse of those who now form a living union with Christ in the Church below, and who will not be restored to that union before their departure from this life. Indeed they are now members of Christ's mystical body but to Him "to whom is known what they shall be, they are not that,"<sup>33</sup> viz., what they now are. On account of God's foreknowledge, they are said even now not

<sup>30</sup> *In Io. Ev. tr.* 32, 9 (PL 35, 1646). Cf. also *Sermo* 108, 1 (PL 38, 633); *Enar. in Ps.* 91, 1 (PL 37, 1171).

<sup>31</sup> The word "hypocritae," as is evident from the context, is to be taken to denote sinners in the Church. This is corroborated from the terminology of Tichonius: "Die falsi fratres aut hypocritae, wie Tychonius wiederholt klar ausspricht sind 'die Welt' in der Kirche" (Hahn, *Tychonius-Studien*, p. 73).

<sup>32</sup> *De doctr. christ.*, III, 31, 44 (PL 34, 82).

<sup>33</sup> *De correptione et gratia*, 9, 22 (PL 44, 929).



to form the body of Christ.<sup>34</sup> "For in truth the body of the Lord is not that which will not remain with Him in eternity."<sup>35</sup>

With the introduction of this new element into the concept of the Church, to the graphic presentation of the Church's membership a new circle must be added in order to distinguish the quality of members constituting the body of Christ. This will be the innermost circle embracing the very core of Christ's body here upon earth, and containing the elect: the *numerus praedestinatorum*. There are thus three categories of members forming the fold of the Church, the mystical body of Christ. If they are not recognizable to the eye of man, they are evident in the knowledge of God. They are:

1) In the outermost circle are the unjust and the wicked. They are united to the Church by liturgical, social, and juridic bonds. They may be converted by penance and reinstated into a living union with Christ, and thus pass to the membership of the inner and even innermost circle.

2) In the inner circle are the just: they are united to the visible Church not only by sacramental bonds but also by the invisible inner bonds whereby they become living members of Christ's body. However defections are possible in the members of Christ's body. Death-bringing sins can cut off the flow of life from the head. Being a member of Christ's body once or for a long time is no assurance that one will remain such always, and depart in that status from this life and enter into the next. If a member, therefore, loses the life of grace he once possessed he drops into

<sup>34</sup> *De correp. et grat.*, 7, 16 (PL 44, 925): "Horum fides, quae per dilectionem operatur, profecto aut omnino non deficit, aut si qui sunt quorum deficit, reparatur antequam vita ista finiatur, et deleta quae intercurrerat iniquitate, usque in finem perseverantia deputatur. Qui vero perseveraturi non sunt, ac sic a fide christiana et conversatione lapsuri sunt, ut tales eos vitae hujus finis inveniatur; procul dubio nec illo tempore, quo bene pieque vivunt, in istorum numero computandi sunt. Non enim sunt a massa illa perditionis praescientia Dei et praedestinatione discreti; et ideo nec secundum propositum vocati, ac per hoc electi . . . et tamen quis neget eos electos, cum credunt, et baptizantur, et secundum Deum vivunt? Plane dicuntur electi a nescientibus quid futuri sint, non ab illo qui eos novit non habere perseverantiam quae ad beatam vitam perducit electos, scitque illos ita stare, ut praesciret esse casuros?"

<sup>35</sup> *De doct. christ.*, III, 31, 44 (PL 34, 82).

the category of those who are enclosed by the outer circle, provided he remains in the unity of the Church.

3) The innermost circle, the core, circumscribes those who are united to the Church in time and eternity. They are united to the Church by the liturgical bonds and the profession of the same faith; they are united to the body of Christ by internal faith, hope, and charity; they are united forever by final perseverance to the body of Christ: "Their faith, which works by charity, will either not fail them at all, or if it should fail some of them, it is restored before this life is finished."

The Church in its most proper sense is formed of these three categories of members here upon earth; only the third category will constitute the heavenly Church. The three categories of members are associated with but one definite, visible, recognizable Church here below; the third category will form one definitive and exclusive Church in heaven. The Church eternal is but a prolongation into the world beyond of the Church temporal. The Church on earth is essentially related to and ordained for the Church in heaven. The heavenly existence of the Church is the essential destination of the Church's earthly existence; without the former the latter has no reason for existence in the order established by God.

Jesus, the incarnate Son of God, instituted the Church to be the only channel of salvation and the repository of the fruits of redemption. Because all mankind was under the curse of sin and in need of salvation the Church is a salvific means destined for all men. It was propagated by the apostles, the twelve chosen and appointed by Christ Himself. This apostolic, catholic, and one Church is also the sole body of Christ, and on that account principally is holy. It became in due time a social and juridical organization of vast proportions, but it also remained an organism of immense vitality. It is a historical institution subject to the ravages of time and an ageless spiritual reality. This is the ordinary and most frequent use of the word "Church" or its equivalent—*Ecclesia, Catholica, Corpus Christi*—in the writings of St. Augustine.

The word "Church" does not however possess the rigidity of

a distilled definition. For it is a term that designates not only a visible and historical institution but also a living and life-bringing organism. It is both an external and internal kingdom. It possesses elements which pertain to the phenomenological order—these admit readily of definition—, but it also possesses elements which pertain to the existential order—these do not admit easily of definition. The Church embraces many more members than it actually does if the starting-point of its existence is taken to be its foundation by Christ and its terminus the end of this world. The existence of the temporal, institutional, and historical Church is extended in two directions: viz., to embrace men who existed before it was visible and historically founded by Christ and to contain those who have departed from this life.

In this extended sense, the beginning of the Church reaches back to the very beginning of man. The first good and just inhabitants of the universe are reckoned to be the first members of Christ's mystical body. Augustine scans the pages of the Old Testament to discover what children of God's people were reputed just, and consequently were united to Christ. The Church existed in Abel, but not in Cain; in Henoch who was separated from the wicked; in the home of Noe alone, whilst the unjust perished in the waters; in Abraham, then in his brother's son, Lot; then in Israel.<sup>36</sup> It was becoming that these men of a chosen

<sup>36</sup> *Enar. in Ps. 78, 2* (PL 37, 1689): "Olim est Ecclesia; ex quo vocantur sancti, est Ecclesia in terra. Aliquando in solo Abel Ecclesia erat, et expugnatus est a fratre malo et perduto Cain. Aliquando in solo Enoch Ecclesia erat, et translatus est ab iniquis. Aliquando in solo Noe Ecclesia erat, et pertulit omnes qui diluvio perierunt. . . . Aliquando in solo Abraham Ecclesia erat . . . in solo filio fratris ejus Lot. . . . Coepit esse et in populo Israel Ecclesia; pertulit Pharaonem et Aegyptos. Coepit et in ipsa Ecclesia, id est in populo Israel, numerus esse sanctorum." Cf. etiam *Contra Adv. Leg. et Proph.*, 2, 5, 20 (PL 42, 650); *Enar. in Ps. 36, sermo 3*, 4 (PL 36, 385); *Sermo 144*, 5 (PL 38, 789 f.); *Sermo 45*, 5 (PL 38, 265-66); *Sermo 4*, 11, 11 (PL 38, 39); *Sermo 342*, 9, 11 (PL 39, 1499-1500); in *Ps. 90, sermo 2* (PL 37, 1159); in *Ps. 61*, 4 (PL 36, 731 f.); *Enchir.*, 56, 15 (PL 40, 258-59); *In Io. Ev. tr.* 45, 9 (PL 35, 1722); *De vera relig.*, 27, 50 (PL 34, 144); *In Io. Ep. tr.* 1, 2 (PL 35, 1979); *ibid.*, tr. 10, 3 (2055); *Retract.*, I, 13, 3 (PL 32, 603; CSEL 36, ed. Knöll, 58-59). See T. Specht, *Die Lehre von der Kirche nach dem hl. Augustinus* (Paderborn: 1892), pp. 26-27, 253; P. C. Butti, *La Mente di S. Agostino nella Città di Dio* (Firenze: 1930), p. 200; J. Tixeront, *Histoire des Dogmes* (4me éd.; Paris: 1912), II, 385; K. Adam, *St. Augustine. The Odyssey of his Soul* (New York: 1932), pp.

people who were the channel of the Messianic blessings for all people should themselves participate in the life of that mystical body which they were to prepare and cause in the person, life, and works of Jesus Christ.

But how could they participate in the life of a body which was not yet, and a Church which was not founded? <sup>37</sup> Since the fall of Adam there is no sanctification, holiness, justice except through Christ. God cannot find pleasure in men, unless He finds justice in them—a justice which connects them to Christ. “Salvation is in Christ,” <sup>38</sup> and in Christ alone. If holy men, therefore, appear in the Old Testament, they indeed antecede the advent of Christ but not His power of sanctification. If these men are reputed to be holy, if they are just in the eyes of God, they are such in virtue of the faith which they had in the future Christ. They attain salvation in view of the merits of Christ which are applied to them by anticipation. “Wherefore, the ancient just were justified before the Incarnation of the Word, in that faith of Christ, and in that true justice, which is Christ for us: they believed that that would take place in the future what we believe to have taken place; they, too, have been saved by grace through faith, not of themselves but by the gift of God.” <sup>39</sup>

This conception of “the Church before the Church” is not exclusive to the writings of St. Augustine. It is found in the tradition which preceded him; it continues to be in the tradition which followed him. There are some slight indications of it in Greek patristic thought,<sup>40</sup> but in its definite form, as found in

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45–48; Y. M. J. Congar, “Ecclesia ab Abel,” *Abhandlungen über Theologie und Kirche: Festschrift für Karl Adam* (Düsseldorf: 1952), p. 84.

<sup>37</sup> For both the advantages and disadvantages of extending the concept of the Church in this fashion, cf. J. Beumer, “Die Idee einer vorchristlichen Kirche bei Augustinus,” *Münchener Theologische Zeitschrift*, III (1952), 261–75.

<sup>38</sup> *In Io. Ev. tr.* 5, 3 (PL 35, 1415).

<sup>39</sup> *De patien.*, 21 (PL 39, 621; CSEL 41, ed. J. Zycha, 682); cf. also *Sermo* 300, 1–2 (PL 38, 1377); *De vera relig.*, 10, 19 (PL 34, 131); compare this text with that of *Retract.*, I, 13, 3 (PL 32, 603; CSEL 36, 58–59); *Enar. in Ps.* 61, 6 (PL 36, 733); *De civ. Dei*, XVIII, 47 (PL 41, 609; ed. Dombart-Kalb, II, 331); cf. A. Tymczak, *Nauka Św. Augustyna o Wierze* (Przemyśl: 1933), p. 66.

<sup>40</sup> Cf. S. Tromp, *Corpus Christi quod est Ecclesia* (2nd ed.; Rome: 1946), p. 122.



St. Augustine, it is proper to the Latin Fathers. Such is the definite teaching of Ambrosiaster,<sup>41</sup> St. Ambrose,<sup>42</sup> St. Jerome.<sup>43</sup> After St. Augustine's time it occurs in the works of such Fathers as Leo the Great,<sup>44</sup> and St. Gregory the Great;<sup>45</sup> it is found in the treatises of the Scholastics, as in St. Thomas;<sup>46</sup> it even occurs in the polemical works of the ecclesiologists of the sixteenth century, when these writers leaned heavily on the writings of the Bishop of Hippo.<sup>47</sup> It was not until the definition of the Church in the form of a juridic society became established as the preponderant element, that the extension of the Church to the saints of the Old Testament was given over to oblivion. As in St. Augustine, so also in all of these writers, faith in the future Christ, the God-man and Redeemer, is the necessary requisite for the incorporation of all men—those of the Old as well as of the New Covenant—into the mystical body of Christ.<sup>48</sup>

It must be borne in mind that when the term "Church" is used to embrace those who preceded Christ, the founder of the historical Church and the head of the mystical body, it is used not in its proper but extended sense. Augustine himself warns us that he is broadening the comprehension of the Church by including such whom we ordinarily would not expect it to em-

<sup>41</sup> *Quaest. ex Vet. Test.*, 3 (PL 35, 2219).

<sup>42</sup> *Com. in Luc.* 7:21 (PL 15, 1705).

<sup>43</sup> *Ad Gal.*, II, 4:1-2 (PL 26, 396): "Istum intellectum Ecclesiae Catholicae convenire, quae et veteri et novo Testamento unam asserat providentiam, nec distinguat in tempore, quos condicione providentia sociaverit." Also *In Job*, 42 (PL 26, 846-47).

<sup>44</sup> *Sermo* 3, 4 (PL 54, 147); *Sermo* 30, 7 (PL 54, 234); *Sermo* 52, 1 (PL 54, 314).

<sup>45</sup> *Epistola* 5, 18 (PL 77, 740): "Sancti ante legem, sancti sub lege, sancti sub gratia, omnes hi perficientes corpus Domini, in membris sunt Ecclesiae constituti."

<sup>46</sup> *Summa theologica*, IIIa, q. 8, a. 3.

<sup>47</sup> *Confessio Catholicae Fidei Christiana*, c. 15 (*Opera Omnia Hosii* [Coloniae: 1584], I, 22): "Apud quascunque fuit fides Mediatoris, apud eos Ecclesiam fuisse, quatenus ab illa se non praeciderunt, dubium non est. Constat autem Adam, Abel, Seth, Enoch, et caeteros deinceps Patriarchas ac Prophetas fidem habuisse Mediatoris, quem signis etiam, sacrificiis, caeremoniis adumbrabant. Ex illo itaque tempore coepit Ecclesia, quae numquam una et eadem esse desiit, juxta seriem successionis, continuata ab orbe condito usque ad nos, usque ad saeculi consummationem duratura."

<sup>48</sup> K. Werner, *Geschichte der apologetischen und polemischen Literatur der christlichen Theologie* (Schaffhausen: 1861-67), IV, 351.

brace. "Accept, brethren, the Church not only in those alone who began to be holy after the advent and birth of the Lord: but all whosoever were holy belong to the Church."<sup>49</sup> Nor does St. Augustine distinguish in his use of the words "Church" or "the body of Christ" for both designations are applied indiscriminately to the holy ones preceding the coming of Christ.

No doubt, the designation "mystical body" signifying the internal aspect of the Church is more adapted to this purpose than the name "Church" denoting primarily the external aspect. A scriptural passage<sup>50</sup> supplies Augustine with an analogy and illustration of the doctrine that Christ's mystical members could exist before He came. Just as in the birth of Jacob his hand came forth first, and then the head, and finally the other members, so also some members of Christ's mystical body have preceded the appearance of their mystical head, and the rest after Christ.<sup>51</sup>

There are three central doctrines which account for the existence of Christ's mystical body on earth. These doctrines also give the reason why the just who preceded Christ are His members. The Church, the body of Christ was made possible by the Incarnation of the Word, and by the redemption of mankind by Christ. The end of the Church's existence is the glory of God attained in the eschatological Church.

1) The mystical body on earth was made possible through the assumption of a human nature by the Word.<sup>52</sup> In appropriating that which became common to the Word and man, a medium for contact and a union were established. Christ made it possible for all men to be incorporated into Him through faith, hope, and charity. Nor were those who preceded Christ to be excluded from this possibility, for knowing of His future advent through revelation, they could believe, hope, and love their future Redeemer and thus participate in the blessings He was to merit for all men who want to avail themselves of them.

2) The Incarnation in itself does not adequately account for

<sup>49</sup> *Sermo* 4, 11 (PL 38, 39).

<sup>50</sup> Gen. 38:27.

<sup>51</sup> *Enar. in Ps.* 61, 4 (PL 36, 731); *De cat. rud.*, 3, 6 (PL 40, 313-14).

<sup>52</sup> *Enar. in Ps.* 44, 3 (PL 36, 495): "Assumpta est [in incarnatione] Ecclesia ex genere suo, ut caput esset Ecclesiae ipsa caro Verbo conjuncta, et ceteri credentes membra essent illius capitis."

the existence of the mystical body. The consummation of it takes place on the Cross in the work of redemption.<sup>53</sup> According to the will of the Father it was particularly through His passion and death that Christ merited that life of grace for mankind. It is by virtue of this life that men are reborn and incorporated into His body. The water and blood flowing from the side of the dying Savior are symbols of His mystical body: viz., water symbolizes the sacrament of baptism by which men are reborn and incorporated into His body; blood, an element in the Eucharist, a symbol of the unity of the body's members with their head. The justifying merits of Christ's death are imparted not only to those who come after the sacrifice of the Cross but also to those who have preceded it. No one can attain justification unless through the fruits of Christ's sacrificial death. And whoever is justified is at the same time incorporated into His body. Just as the redemptive power is destined for all mankind, so too it is the intention of the Savior to have all men incorporated into His body in a life-giving union.

3) And, therefore, no one who forms the Church eternal, Christ's celestial body, has attained it without Christ's merits. Moreover, since salvation is unattainable without membership in the Church which Christ instituted upon earth, all the blessed in heaven were members of Christ's Church here below. Because the just of the Old Covenant are also in the company of the New Covenant forming the heavenly Jerusalem, they were in some measure Christ's body in its earthly sojourn.

The notion of the Church is extended in the other direction so as to include those who shall reign with Christ after His second coming. In the present stage of the Church's existence there is a commixture of the good and the wicked; in that stage which follows the resurrection only the just will form the body of Christ.<sup>54</sup> In their earthly sojourn the faithful are the Church of

<sup>53</sup> *De civ. Dei*, X, 6 (PL 41, 284; ed. Dombart-Kalb, I, 411): *Christus "seipsum obtulit in passione pro nobis, ut tanti capitis corpus essemus."* *Enar. in Ps.* 26, II, 2 (PL 36, 200): *"Sacrificium obtulit Deo . . . tamquam agnus immaculatus fuso sanguine suo redimens nos, concorporans nos sibi, faciens nos membra sua, ut et in illo nos Christus essemus."* Cf. F. Rivière, *Le dogme de la rédemption chez saint Augustin* (3me éd.; Paris: 1933).

<sup>54</sup> *In Io. Ev. tr.* 123, 2 (PL 35, 1966): *"Hic enim Ecclesia qualis in solis bonis futura est, significatur per capturam 153 piscium."*

Christ, but a Church that is blemished by sinners; in its heavenly condition it will be a glorious Church not having spot or wrinkle.<sup>55</sup> Here below it is God's city, but not free from oppression of the earthly city; above it will be "the most blessed and supernal city."<sup>56</sup> It is now indeed a Church, but suffering, visible, and humiliated; then it will be "the happy, mystic, and great Church."<sup>57</sup>

The Church eternal is the purpose and destination of all creation; it is the end of the Church temporal. Irrational creatures are to be made use of in the development of the physical life of man and in his spiritual growth, and man through the Church is to enjoy God, first here in a limited way, then there in a consummate and indefectible manner. Life in the heavenly Church is the crown for all labors and sufferings; it is the delicious fruit of all merits. The heavenly body of Christ is the eternal, unadulterated glory of God and unblemished glorification of Christ, its head. The Church eternal is heaven, and heaven is the Church eternal. These are inseparable and will forever remain synonymous.

To be in heaven means to live, to enjoy a fullness of life. Heavenly life is "perfect life, perfect health."<sup>58</sup> Compared with that of heaven the present life is no life at all.<sup>59</sup> God is the very source of life and to be united with Him is to be united with life itself.<sup>60</sup> Life manifests itself in the knowledge and volition of a rational creature. Even on earth a creature is rendered happy by knowledge and action.<sup>61</sup> This is true of heaven also. Our knowledge here on earth may be enriched by revelation and may come through the gift of faith, but it remains imperfect. Our action, too, emanating from the gift of charity unites us but imperfectly with the object loved. Both, our knowledge and our charity, will be perfect in heaven.

Our knowledge of God will be such that we shall see Him face to face and contemplate His divine essence. "The vision

<sup>55</sup> Eph. 5:27.

<sup>56</sup> *Enchir.*, 57, 58 (PL 40, 259).

<sup>57</sup> *Sermo* 252, 7 (PL 38, 1175).

<sup>58</sup> *Sermo* 306, 4, 4 (PL 38, 1402).

<sup>59</sup> *Sermo* 16, 1, 1 (PL 38, 122).

<sup>60</sup> *Sermo* 306, 5 (PL 38, 1402).

<sup>61</sup> *De agon. christ.*, 13, 14 (PL 40, 299): "Cum enim cognitio et actio beatum hominem faciunt, . . ."



of God was for St. Augustine the goal of the God-given life of grace."<sup>62</sup> This vision is not merely a contact of the intellect with its object, but it is a possession of it.<sup>63</sup> This is the reward of all the saints.<sup>64</sup> In it consists consummate bliss in comparison with which the pleasure derived from all things is as nothing.<sup>65</sup> Nothing less than God is able to bring about perfect and complete satiation of the soul of man.<sup>66</sup> Intuiting God the blessed shall no longer be able to sin nor to experience concupiscence.<sup>67</sup> Here we shall love "the true and highest good."<sup>68</sup> Mutable goods would not exist unless there were an immutable good. All things are good by participation in that good which is goodness itself. One must not attach himself to the things that are good by participation as if they were the last end of man. Uniting with the highest good by love in a direct manner is the only true beatifying object of man.<sup>69</sup> In knowing the supreme truth and loving the highest good consists the fruition of God.<sup>70</sup>

Blessedness is the sum total of all that is good: *bonorum omnium summa et cumulus*.<sup>71</sup> Seeing and loving God brings to the heavenly citizens indescribable joy. "There we shall see [God], and our heart will rejoice."<sup>72</sup> Not all joys are alike. Far be it from me, says St. Augustine, that I should consider any joyful experience to be that joy which is the joy of happiness.<sup>73</sup> There is a joy that is not given to the wicked. Only that joy is true which arises out of the worship and possession of God. True joy is twofold: first the joy of the just in this life, and this is incomplete; secondly the joy of the blessed in heaven, and this is con-

<sup>62</sup> D. J. Leahy, *St. Augustine on Eternal Life* (London: 1939), p. 37.

<sup>63</sup> C. Boyer, *L'idée de vérité dans la philosophie de saint Augustin* (2me éd.; Paris: 1940), p. 256; E. Gilson, *Introduction à l'étude de saint Augustin* (3me éd.; Paris: 1949), p. 9.

<sup>64</sup> *De civ. Dei*, XVI, 39 (PL 41, 518; ed. Dombart-Kalb, II, 188).

<sup>65</sup> *Sermo* 128, 8 (PL 38, 711).

<sup>66</sup> *Confes.*, XIII, 8 (PL 32, 848; ed. M. Skutella, 334-35); *De beata vita*, 2, 11 (PL 32, 965); 3, 17 (PL 32, 968).

<sup>67</sup> *Sermo* 171, 9, 9 (PL 38, 931).

<sup>68</sup> *De civ. Dei*, VIII, 8 (PL 41, 233; ed. Dombart-Kalb, I, 333).

<sup>69</sup> *De Trin.*, VIII, 3, 5 (PL 42, 950).

<sup>70</sup> *De civ. Dei*, VIII, 8 (PL 41, 233; ed. Dombart-Kalb, I, 333).

<sup>71</sup> *Enar. in Ps.* 3, 11 (PL 36, 72).

<sup>72</sup> *De civ. Dei*, XX, 21, 1 (PL 41, 691; ed. Dombart-Kalb, II, 457).

<sup>73</sup> *Confes.*, X, 22, 32 (PL 32, 793; ed. M. Skutella, 233).

summate. Because the citizens of heaven will embrace God, the very source of all bliss, irrevocably by intuition, their joy will neither be diminished nor lost. "This is blissful life to rejoice in Thee, of Thee, and on account of Thee."<sup>74</sup> "Those who do not want to rejoice in Thee, and this alone is blissful life, do not want a blissful life."<sup>75</sup>

When the intellect of man is in possession of the supreme truth and when the will of man is in possession of the highest good, the faculties of man are perfectly satiated. Peace ensues. To possess internal peace is an indescribable blessing. Indeed there is a peace that is given on earth to men of good will.<sup>76</sup> The measure of it depends on the adherence of the soul to God. This is the peace in Christ that the Church brings to the just. It is in order to attain this peace on earth that we receive the sacraments, and that we are instructed in Christ's deeds and words. It is for this purpose that we receive grace and the Holy Ghost.<sup>77</sup> But this peace is partial and imperfect. A condition for consummate peace is immortality.<sup>78</sup> Peace exists there where there is no resistance, no contradiction, no adversity. But in this life, even if we are the members of Christ's Church, there is conflict with the devil, concupiscence, temptations.<sup>79</sup>

The peace that is promised to us on earth will be ours in heaven,<sup>80</sup> where there will be perfect peace.<sup>81</sup> In the heavenly life of the blessed the two conditions for consummate peace are fulfilled: viz., they are perfectly and indissolubly united to God, and there will be no opposition of flesh against spirit as it presently is in man's divided nature.<sup>82</sup> The peace that is attained in the future life makes that life so excellent and desirable that this life in comparison with the future life is no life.<sup>83</sup> All the things that God grants us now and that bring us satisfaction, He Himself

<sup>74</sup> *Confes.*, X, 22, 32 (PL 32, 793; ed. M. Skutella, 233).

<sup>75</sup> *Confes.*, X, 23, 33 (PL 32, 793; ed. M. Skutella, 234).

<sup>76</sup> *Lc.* 2:14; *De serm. Dom. in monte*, I, 2, 9 (PL 34, 1233).

<sup>77</sup> *In Io. Ev. tr.* 104, 1 (PL 35, 1901).

<sup>78</sup> *I Cor.* 15:53-55.

<sup>79</sup> *Enar. in Ps.* 84, 10 (PL 37, 560).

<sup>80</sup> *Enar. in Ps.* 48, 6 (PL 36, 560).

<sup>81</sup> *Expos. ad Rom.* 13-18 (PL 35, 2066).

<sup>82</sup> *De contin.*, 7, 17 (PL 40, 259; CSEL 41, ed. J. Zycha, 161).

<sup>83</sup> *Sermo* 16, 1, 1 (PL 38, 122).

will be for us.<sup>84</sup> "Nothing else but God is our joy, our peace, our repose, and the end of all miseries."<sup>85</sup>

The union with God in heaven is individual, personal, but it also is corporate, social. Such is the nature of the worship God instituted upon earth, such will be the nature of bliss and glory in heaven. Those whom Christ assembled into a family of the sons of God on earth, will remain united in the possession and fruition of their eternal inheritance in the house of their Father. They shall love one another in the perfection of charity, since they shall see themselves full of God. No disorder is possible in heaven because in loving the heavenly citizens they will be loving God who will be all in all.<sup>86</sup> "We shall have God a common vision; we shall have God a common possession; we shall have God a common peace."<sup>87</sup>

God willed men to be sanctified through incorporation in Christ the Mediator; now He wishes them beatified in union with Christ. God wanted to be glorified on earth by men in union with Christ, His incarnate Word; now He wants to be acknowledged and praised in heaven by the blessed remaining united to the glorified Son of God. And thus the Church eternal will remain one in the unity of its earthly Redeemer. He the God-man remains the head of His body, the heavenly inhabitants His members. They never will cease to live in union with Him and to participate in His divine life. Each blessed elect will have his place and function in the heavenly body according to his vocation and merits. "Each member will perform in the universal concert the part assigned to him; the resultant harmony will be the delight of all eternity and the bliss of heaven."

Are the Church Militant and the Church Triumphant one Church or two distinct and separate Churches? More appropriately it can be said that they constitute one, continuous Church. Just as the coexistence of sinners and saints in the Church here below does not hinder the external Church from being the mystical body, so too the existence in the Church temporal of such

<sup>84</sup> *Enar. in Ps. 84, 10* (PL 37, 1077): "Quidquid enim est quod modo nobis dat, ipse nobis erit pro omnibus quae dat."

<sup>85</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>86</sup> I Cor. 11:28.

<sup>87</sup> *Enar. in Ps. 84, 10* (PL 37, 1076).

who will not remain a part of the Church eternal is no impediment to their identification. The Church exists, as it were, in two stages according to the respective condition of its members. And thus the Church here and the Church there are not two but one, "the Church above, the Church below."<sup>88</sup> The citizens of the Church below are transients on earth; their home is above.<sup>89</sup> They already now possess citizenship in the Church above by the life of grace which will blossom forth into the life of glory when transplanted from a mortal to an immortal state.

The principal mark identifying both Churches as one is the unchanging head of the Church, the Mediator of mankind, the Word incarnate. He is the head of the Church temporal, He is the head of the Church eternal. He administers divine life here below to corruptible vessels, above to incorruptible vessels. His Spirit, the Holy Ghost, animates the body below, He will beatify it above. The Church below corresponds to the condition of its members on earth—it is a Militant Church; the Church above corresponds to the condition of its members above—it is a Church Triumphant. The body of Christ here below is a commixture of saints and sinners, above it is a communion of angels and saints. Members of the present body of Christ are in flux, in growth; members of the future body of Christ are in a state of maturity, stability, and permanence. Now they are defectible, then indefectible. When the present earthly Church shall have accomplished its purpose, it will cease to be what it was and will be transformed into the glorious, unblemished, and triumphant Church eternal.

The Church is aware of the two lives divinely presaged and commended to it: one life is in faith, the other in vision; one in pilgrimage, the other in eternity; one in labor, the other in rest; one in route, the other in the fatherland; one in action, the other in contemplation. The one life turns from evil and does good, the other has no evil from which to turn, and has a great good to enjoy; the one struggles against an enemy, the other is without an enemy.<sup>90</sup>

<sup>88</sup> *Enar. in Ps.* 87, 4 (PL 37, 1776).

<sup>89</sup> *In Io. Ev. tr.* 124, 5 (PL 35, 1974).

<sup>90</sup> *Ibid.*



In the heavenly Church there are now and will be two categories of creatures: viz., intellectual, which are purely spiritual, and rational, which are men. While the Church exists in both of its stages of existence the Church above is presented as composed of angels, the Church below as consisting of the faithful.<sup>91</sup> The "congregation of angels" forming the temple of God in heaven<sup>92</sup> is being continually augmented by the blessed until after the resurrection the holy Church in heaven will become "the plenary body of the Lord."<sup>93</sup>

Augustine divides the world of spirits into good ones and wicked ones.<sup>94</sup> God created both but inasmuch as they were good; He is the creator of all substances, and therefore, the evil spirits do not proceed from an evil supreme principle, as the Manicheans maintained. God had gifted them with a free will. Some chose to adhere to Him as their common good, and thus they chose eternity, truth, and love. Others finding pleasure in a created good, viz., in the powers which they received from God, turned away from a superior and common good and adhered to themselves. This is the cause of their eternal misery: they do not possess God, the sole beatifying object.<sup>95</sup>

In a sense, the good spirits can be said to be mediators between God and men as they are ministers of God and helpers of men.<sup>96</sup> The perfect Mediator, however, is Christ for in Him are all the necessary conditions of mediatorship fulfilled. Christ is inferior to angels according to the assumed humanity but He is superior to them according to His divinity. He is the creator of angels, the Lord of angels. They minister to Him in His humanity,<sup>97</sup> as He in His humanity ministers to men.<sup>98</sup> Since the Lord of angels

<sup>91</sup> *Enar. in Ps.* 87, 4 (PL 37, 1776): "Ecclesia deorsum in omnibus fidelibus, Ecclesia sursum in omnibus angelis."

<sup>92</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>93</sup> *Enar. in Ps.* 110, 1 (PL 37, 1463).

<sup>94</sup> *De civ. Dei*, IX (PL 41, 257 ff.; ed. Dombart-Kalb, I, 415 f.); cf. H. Eger, *Die Eschatologie Augustins* (Greifswald: 1933), pp. 61 f.; H. Kuhn, *Das Reich des lebendigen Lichtes, Die Engel in Lehre und Leben der Christenheit* (Berlin: 1947), pp. 119 f.

<sup>95</sup> *De civ. Dei*, XII, 1, 1 (PL 41, 349; ed. Dombart-Kalb, I, 512).

<sup>96</sup> *De civ. Dei*, IX, 13, 3 (PL 41, 267; ed. Dombart-Kalb, I, 385).

<sup>97</sup> Matt. 4:11.

<sup>98</sup> Matt. 20:28; *Enar. in Ps.* 137, 4 (PL 37, 1776).

ministers to man, the latter should not think it impossible for him to become the equal of angels in heaven.

It is not unsuitable nor incongruous that men and angels should form one society of the blessed in heaven. And thus all rational creatures are not divided in four classes (the good men and the good spirits; the evil men and evil spirits), but into two classes, the good men and spirits forming one class whereas evil spirits and evil men form another class.<sup>99</sup> Neither angel nor man possesses of himself an intrinsic beatifying power. This power is added to their nature as a free gift of God. Just as flesh does not live by a power inherent in it, but by a power that is superior to it, so it is also above the nature of an angel or man to live that life of bliss which consists in the vision of God. To see God, to enjoy the treasures and blessings of His being belong to God's own inexpressible blessedness. If God shares this bliss with man and angel, it is out of sheer condescension and by imparting to man and angel a power that is superior to them.<sup>100</sup> It is by the life flowing from Christ the head<sup>101</sup> that angels and men are able to participate in the all-beatifying vision of the Trinity.<sup>102</sup>

The numbers of those coming from the Church Militant into the Church Triumphant will be great. Augustine, interpreting the words of our Lord that the path leading to life eternal is narrow and that few follow it,<sup>103</sup> states that the blessed in heaven can be said to be few and many. They are few when compared with the numbers of those who will not attain the bliss of the heavenly Church, but they will be many when considered in themselves: "Few in comparison to the doomed, but many in

<sup>99</sup> *De civ. Dei*, XII, 1, 1 (PL 41, 349; ed. Dombart-Kalb, I, 512).

<sup>100</sup> *De civ. Dei*, XIX, 25 (PL 41, 656; ed. Dombart-Kalb, II, 401): "Sicut non est a carne, sed super carnem, quod carnem facit vivere; nec solum hominem, sed etiam Potestatem Virtutemque coelestem."

<sup>101</sup> *De civ. Dei*, IX, 15, 2 (PL 41, 269; ed. Dombart-Kalb, I, 389): "Idem (Christus) in inferioribus (hominibus) via vitae, qui in superioribus (angelis) vita."

<sup>102</sup> *De civ. Dei*, VII, 30 (PL 41, 220): "Non nisi ex se ipso beatificat Angelos, . . . non tamen ex Angelis homines, sed ex se ipso, sicut Angelos, beatificat." *Loc. cit.*, X, 2 (PL 41, 280): "Nec aliunde illis supernis praeberi vitam beatam, et lumen intelligentiae veritatis, quam unde praebetur et nobis; . . ."

<sup>103</sup> Matt. 17:13-14.

the society of the angels.”<sup>104</sup> Just as the Bishop refers to the damned as to “a mass of perdition”<sup>105</sup> so he also thinks of the blessed as of “a mass of saints.”<sup>106</sup>

### A Graphical Presentation of the Church

Now that we have reached the last stage and culminating point in the Church of St. Augustine—the bliss of the blessed Church of heaven—a graphical portrayal of his Church will form a sort of summary of what has been said on its membership. Such a presentation will aid us in grasping a complex concept. Others have attempted to do the same.

Käppeli, writing on the mystical body of Christ according to the teaching of St. Thomas, presents St. Augustine’s concept by way of introduction to his theme. In the words of Käppeli the Church of St. Augustine is in the first place the *Catholica*, visible, hierarchical, and apostolic Church, which embraces the just and the sinners in its unity. Secondly, within the empirical *Catholica* there are those who are actually in possession of, and united by, charity. Thirdly, within this last circle of the just there is a core of those who are gifted with perseverance.<sup>107</sup>

Scholz, in his commentary on Augustine’s “City of God,” presents the Church as a three-storied pyramid. Each story or tier of the pyramid presents the members of the Church according to the degree of their inherence in the Church, and according to their union with Christ. Scholz sees the base of the pyramid as of a “hierarchical” structure; the middle section is of an “ethical”

<sup>104</sup> *Sermo* III, I, I (PL 38, 642).

<sup>105</sup> *Ench.*, 99 (PL 40, 278): “massa perditionis.”

<sup>106</sup> *Sermo* III, I, I (PL 38, 642): “massa sanctorum”; “massa purgata stans ad dexteram.”

<sup>107</sup> T. Käppeli, *Zur Lehre des Thomas von Aquin vom Corpus Christi Mysticum* (Freiburg: Schweiz: 1931), p. 29: “Die Kirche ist ihm [Augustin] in erster Linie die *Catholica*, die sichtbare und apostolische, die ganze Welt umspannende, Sünder und gerechte Gläubige in ihrem Schosse tragende. Innerhalb der *Catholica* unterscheidet Augustin den engeren Kreis der Gemeinschaft jener, die im Stande der Liebe sind. Einen noch engeren Kreis bildet die Gemeinschaft der Prädestinierten, die nicht nur gegenwärtig im stande der Gnade sind, sondern nach Gottes Vorherbestimmung in demselben bis ans Ende verharren werden.”

structure; the peak of a specifically "religious" structure. In its largest comprehension the Church is a social and hierarchical institution containing sinners; within this Church Augustine discerns those who form the *communio sanctorum*; within this circle the Bishop sees the *numerus praedestinatorum*.<sup>108</sup>

Indeed the starting-point for a description of the manifold elements that enter into the concept of St. Augustine's Church is the hierarchical, social, and sacramental organization. It determines, in general, those who are members of the Church of Christ and those who are not, although it does not determine the quality of a member. This religious organization belonging to Christ is called *Ecclesia, Catholica*, and *Ecclesia Catholica*. The visible Church is the body of Christ though only a portion of the Church visible is in a living union with Christ the head, and thus truly constitutes His body. Within the body of Christ are those who now are united to Christ and will persevere in that union till the end, and will form Christ's mystical body in heaven.

1) Humanity, viewed through the prism of religion, may be conveniently conceived and graphically portrayed by three concentric circles. Each circle encompasses a portion of mankind. To the outermost circle belong those who will be eternally damned. They are the *massa damnationis*, the *massa perditionis*,<sup>109</sup> *massa peccati*, and on that account "a mass of wrath."<sup>110</sup> If God had chosen to save no one from this mass of wretchedness His

<sup>108</sup> H. Scholz, *Glaube und Unglaube in der Weltgeschichte: ein Kommentar zu Augustins "De civitate Dei"* (Leipzig: 1911), p. 124: "Der Kirchenbegriff wird zusehends enger. Er verjüngt sich gleichsam nach oben zu. Er gleicht einer dreistöckigen Pyramide, deren unterstes Stockwerk im hierarchischen Still gebaut ist, während das mittlere eine ethische, das oberste eine spezifisch religiöse Struktur aufweist; denn es ist nicht so, dass jeder folgende Begriff seine Vorgänger verschlingt, sondern die drei Existentialformen der Kirche sind schichtweise übereinander gelagert. Darum bedeutet es für Augustin keinen Widerspruch, wenn er die mit dem Reiche Gottes identische Kirche, nachdem er sie erst in die Priesterkirche hineingeschaut, hinterher auf die engere Sphäre der *communio sanctorum* und zuletzt auf den engsten Kreis des *numerus praedestinatorum* reduziert."

<sup>109</sup> Cf. B. Leeming, "Augustine, Ambrosiaster and the *massa perditionis*," *Gregorianum*, XI (1930), 58-91.

<sup>110</sup> *Sermo* 22, 9, 9 (PL 38, 153): "Massa peccati, massa irae facti sumus."



judgment would be just because man had placed himself in this condition.<sup>111</sup> Whoever is saved is saved by the mercy of God "who redeemed us by the blood of His Son."<sup>112</sup> Applying to oneself the virtue of His redemption man is transferred from "the powers of darkness," as if "from a mass of ruin," into the kingdom of the Son.<sup>113</sup> Within this circle are all the unregenerated. As a subdivision, belonging within this circle, are certain types of regenerated souls not belonging to the one Church of Christ. They are heretics, who sever themselves from the unity of Christ's Church by the profession of heterodox faith; schismatics, who sever themselves from the unity of the Church by lack of charity; the excommunicated, whom the Church severs from herself for reason of their behavior.

2) In the second or middle circle are members of the empirical Church. Since the empirical Church is the mystical body of Christ, they are members of the mystical body. Although the members embraced by this circle are in the Church there is a great disparity among them. In order to distinguish them properly according to the quality of internal life and degree of inherence in the body of Christ, they must be subdivided into three sections or again three circles.

a) In the outermost section or circle are sinners who belong to the unity of the Church by virtue of the profession of the same faith and the communion of the same sacraments, as well as of the same religious observances. They are in the Church, but they do not properly constitute the Church or the mystical body of Christ. The purpose of the Church's existence is not being fulfilled in them. They are to be considered as dead members of the Church and of Christ's body.

b) In the middle section or subdivision of the circle are members in whom the purpose of the Church's existence is being fulfilled. They are true members of the Church. They presently live united to Christ by the life of grace. They consider this life as a place of pilgrimage, and living in faith, hope, and charity

<sup>111</sup> *De correptione et gratia*, 10, 28 (PL 44, 933); *De praedicatione sanctae*, 8, 16 (PL 44, 972).

<sup>112</sup> *Sermo* 22, 9, 9 (PL 38, 153).

<sup>113</sup> *Ep.* 187, 12, 35 (PL 33, 845-46; CSEL 57, IV, 113).

they expect the future life. However it is possible for the just and the good, as long as they are in this vale of trial and temptation, to deviate from the path of justice and to cease being living components of Christ's mystical body. And thus in this as well as in the former category of men there is fluctuation: the sinners within the Church are converted into living members of Christ's mystical body, and living members of His body become dead members without leaving the unity of the Church.

c) Constituting the very core of this section are those who depart from this life united to Christ in the life of grace. The distinguishing characteristic between this and the former category is the grace of perseverance. Not all of those who are presently live members of Christ's body will persevere to the end.<sup>114</sup>

3) In the innermost circle of the graphic presentation of St. Augustine's Church we shall find the last mentioned group no longer as forming the Church on this side of life but on the next. They have passed from the present condition of life and the Church to that of the future life and Church. They are the mystical body of Christ no longer on earth but in heaven. They have fully and perfectly attained the goal for which the Church has been founded by Christ on earth.<sup>115</sup> For them there can be no possibility of defection. It is true that the future Church will not

<sup>114</sup> Compare this delineation with that of Thomas Stapleton, *Principiorum Fidei Doctrinalium Relectio* (Antwerp: 1596), q. 1, art. 2, pp. 6-7, according to whom there are three categories of members in the Church. He distinguishes these according to the three degrees or kinds of union with Christ. (1) There are members united to Christ by the fact that they have put on Christ through faith in the sacrament of baptism. (2) Other members are more united to Christ by the bond of charity, and they become one spirit with Him. (3) There are still other members who are most united to Christ; viz., through faith, charity, and final perseverance. Accordingly, the Church is presented under various descriptions in Sacred Scripture as it refers to the first, second, or third class of members. When it is described as embracing the first group, it is called a *domus magna*, in which there are *vasa in honorem et vasa in contumeliam* (II Tim. 2:20), a *civitas supra montem posita*, an *ager*, in which the wheat grows with the cockle, a *sagena* gathering all kinds of fish. When the Church is presented as embracing the second group, it is designated as the *corpus Christi* (Eph. 1:23), whose members are the temple of the Holy Ghost, and as the *sponsa Christi*. On account of the third group of members the Church is named a *hortus conclusus*, *fons signatus*, *unica columba*, *una perfecta mea*, *amica mea* (Cant. 4:12; 6:8; 4:7).

<sup>115</sup> *Ep.* 187, 13, 41 (PL 33, 848; CSEL 57, IV, 118).

be formed of all the members of the present Church. Yet the present Church, the body of Christ, now building on earth will be the same that will be consummated at the end of time, to remain the body of Christ for eternity and to enjoy the beatifying presence of the Triune God forever.

## CHAPTER 4

### THE CHURCH AND PREDESTINATION

#### PREDESTINATION

**I**N GENERAL, it is no easy task to systematize the vast thought of St. Augustine, the Bishop of Hippo, the mouthpiece of the African Church, the writer and instructor, the preacher and polemist.<sup>1</sup> This is particularly true when it is a matter of determining the complex spiritual structure of the Church, the mystical body of Christ, which is indispensable to the attainment of life everlasting. It has been established that salvation cannot be attained without the life of grace and that faith, hope, and charity are temporal bonds assisting the soul to God and Christ, in such a manner that without them our soul is severed from a participation in the life of God here and in eternity. There is one more factor of paramount importance in the salvation of man, and that is predestination. One may possess the life of grace, be united to Christ in faith, hope, and charity, and yet if that one is not predestined he or she will not reach the port of salvation.

It is a most difficult, if not almost impossible, task to establish the meaning of St. Augustine's concept of predestination in a manner that would satisfy all investigating minds. The learned Augustinian scholar, Dom Rottmanner, stated the problem at the end of his last work by reiterating a statement which he had made thirty years before: "The question as to what is the real doctrine of St. Augustine (on grace and predestination) has been at all times diversely answered and will never allow itself to be resolved satisfactorily if we try to find in all the works of St. Au-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. E. Gilson, *Introduction à l'étude de saint Augustin* (3me éd.; Paris: 1949), pp. 331 ff.; J. Maritain, *Les degrés du savoir* (5me éd.; Paris: 1946), pp. 577 ff.



gustine a harmonious and logically developed system.”<sup>2</sup> This difficulty is usually recognized by investigators who make a serious study of St. Augustine’s doctrine on predestination.<sup>3</sup> It is further evident from the fact that serious controversies concerning the doctrine were stirred up among his followers during his life and after his death. All Christian beliefs claim their doctrine of predestination to be that of St. Augustine: St. Thomas and St. Bonaventure, Luther and Calvin quote the Bishop with equal facility. Within the Catholic Church Augustinianism, Molinism, and Thomism, differing in their explanations of the efficaciousness of grace and in describing the nature of predestination, invoke the authority of St. Augustine in favor of their doctrine.

The word “predestination” is not an inflexible term in the works of St. Augustine, and yet it is not indefinite; in fact, it is more determinate and definable than many another important theological term in his writings. Portalié believed that the term is used in connection with future bestowal of grace,<sup>4</sup> whereas D’Alès states that it is used principally in connection with the future bestowal of glory.<sup>5</sup> The works of the Bishop reveal that he employs the term “predestination” in relation to life eternal, but also in relation to death eternal: viz., to be predestined to damnation.<sup>6</sup> As a rule, however, its use is reserved for appoint-

<sup>2</sup> O. Rottmanner, *Der Augustinismus* (München: 1892).

<sup>3</sup> E.g., A. M. Jacquin, “La prédestination d’après saint Augustin,” *Miscellanea Agostiniana* (Roma: 1930), II, 853: “Saint Augustin n’est pas arrivé du premier coup à formuler sa doctrine de la prédestination; il paraît même que ses idées sur ce point subirent avec le temps de changements assez notables.” P. Platz, *Der Römerbrief in der Gnadenlehre Augustins* (Würzburg: 1937), p. 188: “Wir treten somit an eine Frage heran, die aus sich schon genug und übergenuß Schwierigkeiten bereitet, die aber zu einem scheinbar unlöslichen Knoten sich verwickelt, sobald man die verschiedenen, sich geradezu widersprechenden Deutungsversuche des augustininischen Gedankengutes vergleicht. Der Streit hat mit dem Tode Augustins begonnen und wird noch lange währen, wenn überhaupt eine allseitig befriedigende Lösung möglich ist.” G. Nygren, *Das Prädestinationsproblem* . . . (Lund: 1956).

<sup>4</sup> P. Portalié, “Augustin,” *Dict. de théol. Cath.* I, 2403; “Le grand docteur n’a connu qu’une seule prédestination, celle de la grâce.”

<sup>5</sup> A. D’Alès, “Prédestination,” *Dict. apol. de la foi Catholique*, IV (Paris: 1922), 213: “La prédestination à la gloire . . . vient chez Augustin au premier plan.”

<sup>6</sup> E.g., *De civitate Dei*, XXII, 24, 5 (PL 40, 792; ed. Dombart-Kalb, II, 616); *De perf. just. hom.*, 13, 31 (PL 44, 308; CSEL 42, 32); *In Io. Ev. tr.* 3, 18, 5 (PL 35, 1928): “damnationi praedestinatus.”

ment to salvation. Furthermore, the term "predestination" may be employed with reference to a single gift, such as predestination to grace,<sup>7</sup> faith, continence,<sup>8</sup> or it may be used to designate a chain of graces ending in eternal salvation. In this latter case the term refers to final perseverance in grace and the glory that is consequent upon it. "Perseverance to the end is not given except by Him who predestined us to His kingdom and glory."<sup>9</sup> This is the common use in St. Augustine and the accepted meaning in Christianity. Finally, Augustine points out that where divine prescience is spoken of in the Scriptures<sup>10</sup> or the commentators of them<sup>11</sup> it may mean more than divine foreknowledge, since it can be substituted by the term "predestination."

St. Augustine is fully aware that when he applies the terms "knowledge" and "foreknowledge" to God, he is using words which give expression to the condition of man rather than to the sublimity of God.<sup>12</sup> Such language brings to his mind the laborious, piecemeal, and discursive manner in which human knowledge is acquired. So imperfect and fragmentary is our knowledge that when it is compared with the divine it is rather ignorance than knowledge.<sup>13</sup> Divine knowledge by a single, eternal, and all-embracing act knows whatever is knowable without change or accretion.<sup>14</sup> Hence when one speaks of God's knowledge, using the same terms as are used of man's, this stupendous difference must be borne in mind. For God "knows and foreknows in an ineffable manner."<sup>15</sup>

The divine knowledge and the divine predestining will are a part of an incomprehensible divine nature. Our mind comes to

<sup>7</sup> *De dono pers.*, 19, 48 (PL 45, 1023).

<sup>8</sup> *De dono pers.*, 17, 42 (PL 45, 1018).

<sup>9</sup> *De dono pers.*, 21, 55 (PL 45, 1027).

<sup>10</sup> *De dono pers.*, 18, 47 (PL 45, 1022).

<sup>11</sup> *De dono pers.*, 19, 48 (PL 45, 1023).

<sup>12</sup> *De div. quaest. ad Simpl.*, II, 2, 1 (PL 40, 138); *De Trin.*, XV, 13 (PL 42, 1076).

<sup>13</sup> *Confes.*, XI, 4, 6 (PL 32, 811; ed. M. Skutella, 268): "tua comparata, ignorantia est." *Enar. in Ps.* 49, 18 (PL 36, 756 f.).

<sup>14</sup> *Retract.*, I, 5, 2 (PL 32, 590; CSEL 36, ed. P. Knöll, 26): "... nec venit in mentem Deum non discere disciplinas, et habere omnium rerum scientiam, in quo etiam praescientia est futurorum."

<sup>15</sup> *De div. quaest. ad Simpl.*, II, 2, 2 (PL 40, 139): "Et tamen scit Deus, et praescit Deus ineffabili modo."

a knowledge of God by way of concepts extracted from the finite world. God cannot be defined, for He is being unqualified. He simply *is*; He is, to use St. Augustine's crisp description, the *ipsum esse*.<sup>16</sup> Such a being must be all-perfect, possessing all attributes in the highest degree and without any physical or metaphysical composition.<sup>17</sup> In man intellect and knowledge, will and action are not only distinct but also separable. In God intellect is knowledge, will is power, action. More than that God and His intellect are one and the same; God and His will are identical. In Augustine's words: "The will and the power of God are God Himself."<sup>18</sup> And again, St. Augustine in reference to the divine knowledge: "That which is God's knowledge is also His wisdom, His essence, or substance. Because in the wonderful simplicity of His nature it is not one thing to know and another to be; but to know is the same thing as to be."<sup>19</sup>

This nature of the divine Being accounts for the incomparable and infinite perfections of God. He is life, "the highest life,"<sup>20</sup> "the first and the highest life";<sup>21</sup> He is intellect, the first and highest intellect,<sup>22</sup> "the highest reason,"<sup>23</sup> "the highest and secret knowledge";<sup>24</sup> He is "the highest power."<sup>25</sup> He is all these in a class all by Himself because He truly is;<sup>26</sup> He supremely is—*summe est*;<sup>27</sup> He is "the is";<sup>28</sup> He is in the highest possible degree

<sup>16</sup> *De mor. Ecc.*, I, 14, 23 (PL 32, 1321): "Deum . . . nihil aliud dicam, nisi idipsum esse." Cf. *De Trin.*, V, 2, 3 (PL 42, 912); *De civ. Dei*, XI, 10, 3 (PL 41, 327; ed. Dombart-Kalb, I, 477). See, M. Schmaus, *Die psychologische Trinitätslehre des hl. Augustinus* (Paderborn: 1927), pp. 82-85; E. Gilson, *Introduction à l'étude de S. Augustin* (3me éd.; Paris: 1949), p. 286.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. S. J. Grabowski, *The All-Present God: A Study in St. Augustine* (St. Louis: 1954), pp. 166 ff.

<sup>18</sup> *Confes.*, VII, 4, 6 (PL 32, 735-36; ed. M. Skutella, 129): "Voluntas enim et potentia Dei, Deus ipse est."

<sup>19</sup> *De Trin.*, XV, 13, 22 (PL 42, 1076).

<sup>20</sup> *Retract.*, I, 5, 2 (PL 32, 591; CSEL 36, ed. P. Knöll, 26).

<sup>21</sup> *De Trin.*, VI, 10, 11 (PL 42, 931).

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>23</sup> *Retract.*, I, 5, 2 (PL 32, 591; CSEL 36, 26).

<sup>24</sup> *Enar. in Ps.* 49, 18 (PL 36, 576).

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>26</sup> *De div. quaest. ad Simpl.*, II, 2, 2 (PL 40, 139): "Deus qui vere summeque est."

<sup>27</sup> *De civ. Dei*, XII, 5 (PL 41, 353; ed. Dombart-Kalb, I, 518); *Contra Secund. Manich.*, 10 (PL 42, 586; CSEL 25, II, 919).

<sup>28</sup> *Enar. in Ps.* 134, 4 (PL 37, 1741): "Est enim est, sicut bonorum bonum

without the shadow of nonbeing which follows all participated existences. In a word, He is subsisting being, and as such He is all-perfect and immutable.<sup>29</sup> Indeed, there is a multiplicity of perfections in God but they are not to be considered as distinct from His being.<sup>30</sup> God is said to be "multiple because there are many perfections which He has"; He is said to be "simple, however, because He is not anything else than what He has."<sup>31</sup>

The terms "prescience" and "predestination" constitute the very core of Augustine's doctrine on predestination and occur almost inseparably when he treats of it.<sup>32</sup> Foreordaining cannot take place without God's foreknowledge of what He is foreordaining, but His foreknowledge may exist without God foreordaining the object of the divine knowledge. He thus foresees the commission of sin by angel or man, but He does not foreordain it.<sup>33</sup> He does, however, foreordain the salutary good performed by man since he must confer the grace with which man will cooperate in order to perform the salutary good. Hence Augustine's well known definition of predestination: "This is the predestination of saints, and nothing else: namely, the foreknowledge and the preparation of the gifts of God, whereby they who are delivered, are most certainly delivered."<sup>34</sup>

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est." *Confes.*, XIII, 31, 46 (ed. M. Skutella, 367): "Ab illo enim est, qui non aliquo modo est, sed est." Cf. E. Gilson, *Philosophie et Incarnation selon saint Augustin* (Montreal: 1947), p. 26: "Il est, c'est tout." *Id.*, *Being and Some Philosophers* (Toronto: 1949), p. 31; H. I. Marrou, *L'ambivalence du temps de l'histoire chez saint Augustin* (Montreal: 1950), p. 42; S. J. Grabowski, "St. Augustine and the Presence of God," *Theological Studies*, XIII (1952), 355; *id.*, *The All-Present God: A Study in St. Augustine* (St. Louis: 1954), pp. 171-73.

<sup>29</sup> *Confes.*, VII, 11, 17 (PL 32, 742; ed. M. Skutella, 141). Cf. F. Cayré, *Dieu présent dans la vie de l'esprit* (Bruges-Paris: 1951), pp. 24-25, 95.

<sup>30</sup> Grabowski, *op. cit.*, p. 168.

<sup>31</sup> *Ep.* 169, II, 7 (PL 33, 745; CSEL 44, III, 617): "Multiplex enim, quoniam multa sunt quae habet; simplex autem, quia non aliud quam quod habet est."

<sup>32</sup> E.g., *In Io. Ev. tr.* 84, 15, 1 (PL 35, 1845): "cum praescivit et praedestinavit nos. . . ."

<sup>33</sup> *De praed. sanct.*, 10, 19 (PL 44, 975).

<sup>34</sup> *De dono pers.*, 14, 35 (PL 45, 1014); *ibid.*, 17, 42 (PL 45, 1018-19): "Namque in sua quae falli mutarique non potest praescientia, opera sua futura disponere, id omnino, nec aliud quidquam est praedestinare." *Ibid.*, 18, 47 (PL 45, 1022-23); *ibid.*, 20, 53 (PL 45, 1026).



What relation does there exist between the divine foreknowledge and predestination? In man intellect and knowledge precede the will and volition in the course of human action. The principle of the Scholastics that man cannot will, desire, or love an object unless he is first aware of its existence—*nihil volitum nisi praecognitum*—has already been expressed in the psychology of St. Augustine.<sup>35</sup> Steeped in scriptural thought and language, the Bishop usually follows the word order of St. Paul, placing *praescientia* first and *praedestinatio* second, merely giving the sequence of words without making any attempt to determine their mutual relationship. Toward the end of his life when the opportunity presented itself to synthesize his thoughts on predestination in the two brief but weighty treatises, *De praedestinatione sanctorum*,<sup>36</sup> and *De dono perseverantiae* (these were originally but one treatise),<sup>37</sup> Augustine's explanation practically resolves itself in making both terms synonymous.<sup>38</sup>

These treatises written with youthful fervor<sup>39</sup> by an aged prelate express his maturest thoughts on the problem of predestination. In the former treatise—viz., *De praedestinatione sanctorum*—the act of predestination is placed before prescience. If this word order is purposeful and expresses the sequence of divine acts whereby man is chosen to eternal happiness, it follows that the predestining act of the divine will is the cause of the divine knowledge. Because God decrees an event or act to take place, He whose will is immutable, absolutely knows that it will not be otherwise. Augustine also expressly professes this interpretation: "By predestination God foreknows what He is to do."<sup>40</sup> And

<sup>35</sup> *In Io. Ev. tr.* 96, 4 (PL 35, 1876): "Non enim diligitur, quod penitus ignoratur. Sed cum diligitur, quod ex quantalacumque parte cognoscitur, ipsa efficitur dilectione, ut melius et plenius cognoscatur."

<sup>36</sup> J. M. Dalmau "Praedestinatio, Electio' en el libro 'De praedestinatione Sanctorum,'" *Augustinus Magister* (Paris: 1954), I, 127-36.

<sup>37</sup> Cf. A. M. Jacquin, "La question de la prédestination aux Ve et VI<sup>e</sup> siècles"; *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique*, V (1904), 282-83.

<sup>38</sup> P. Platz, *Der Römerbrief in der Gnadenlehre Augustins* (Würzburg: 1937), p. 199.

<sup>39</sup> G. Bardy, *Saint Augustin: L'homme et l'oeuvre* (7me éd.; Paris: 1948), p. 463.

<sup>40</sup> *De praed. sanct.*, 10, 19 (PL 44, 974 f.): "Praedestinatione quippe Deus ea praescivit, quae fuerat ipse facturus. . . ."

again in the same treatise: "The chosen are predestined by that predestination in which God knows His future deeds."<sup>41</sup>

In the latter treatise,—viz., *De dono perseverantiae*, Augustine reverses the order of words, using St. Paul's sequence. God's foreknowledge precedes the act of predestining, so that predestination is in consequence of the prepossessed knowledge of God. "Will some one say that God did not foresee to whom it would be given to believe?"<sup>42</sup> "To whomsoever He gives His gifts He foresees without doubt that He shall give them and prepared them in His prescience."<sup>43</sup> St. Augustine's thought can be paraphrased in this manner: God knows the graces He bestows in time; however, He must have foreknowledge of this bestowal, and it was in this eternal foreknowledge that He prepared the grace to be bestowed in time. The Bishop uses such terms as "to predestine," "to prepare grace," "to dispose of His benefits" (*praedestinare, praeparare, disponere*) to designate one and the same act, viz., of predestining from eternity a grace that is to be bestowed in time. Although he speaks of predestining to a particular favor of God, the grace predestined is but a link in the chain of favors ending with eternal happiness.

The interplay between prescience and predestination occurs also in other works of St. Augustine which are not professedly predestinarian. Thus in a sermon, preached in 409–410, he says: "God who alone could predestine and know, does not know the sheep and the goats except by predestination and prescience."<sup>44</sup> In an anti-Pelagian work, written in 413, he states that God "pre-

<sup>41</sup> *De praed. sanct.*, 17, 34 (PL 44, 986: "Electi sunt (praedestinati) ante mundi constitutionem ea praedestinatione, in qua Deus sua futura facta praescivit.")

<sup>42</sup> *De dono pers.*, 14, 35 (PL 45, 1014): "An quisquam dicere audebit Deum non praescisse quibus esset daturus ut crederent? Quae utique, si praescivit, profecto beneficia sua, quibus nos dignatur liberare, praescivit."

<sup>43</sup> *De dono pers.*, 17, 41 (PL 45, 1018 f.): "... sua dona quibuscumque donat procul dubio se donaturum esse praescivit et in sua praescientia praeparavit ... in sua quae falli mutarique non potest praescientia opera sua futura disponere, id omnino nec aliud quidquam, est praedestinare."

<sup>44</sup> *Sermo* 47, 15 (PL 38, 304): "Non scit nisi praedestinatione et praescientia oves et hircos ille solus, qui praedestinare potuit, qui praescire." Migne, of his own initiative, changes the text from "qui praescire" to "quia praescire." Cf. O. Rottmanner, *Geistesfrüchte aus der Klosterzelle* (München: 1908), p. 20, n. 1.

destined by a certain prescience and future beneficence those to eternal life who were to reign with Him.”<sup>45</sup> Interpreting the words of St. John’s Gospel 15:11: “These things I have spoken to you, that my joy may be filled,” the Bishop states that God finds His joy in us not in time only when He sees us as actual participators of His divine life but from eternity already “when He foresees and predestines us” to that life; nor is there any fear mingled with His joy “lest that, which He foresaw He would do, should not happen.”<sup>46</sup>

If St. Augustine does not determine the relationship of these two verbs more definitely, it is because he believes that the acts of prescience and predestination, when applied to the elect, have the same meaning in the usage of Sacred Scripture.<sup>47</sup> This accounts for the change in order, especially in his last works. The external circumstance determining the usual order in which prescience is placed first and predestination second is the fact that St. Paul gives this sequence. In the well known predestinarian passage<sup>48</sup> the verb “to know” precedes that of predestining in a series of divine acts which account for man’s salvation.

The human intellect discerns a sequence in the acts of God which is comparable to the sequence of man’s own acts. Lest one should falsely presume that God’s knowledge, like that of man, is determined by external objects, Augustine lays down a general principle making external objects depend upon divine knowledge.

<sup>45</sup> *De pecc. mer. et rem.*, II, 29, 47 (PL 44, 179; CSEL 60, 118): “. . . per certissimam praescientiam et futuram beneficentiam secum regnatos in vitam praedestinavit aeternam.”

<sup>46</sup> *In Io. Ev. tr.* 83, 1 (PL 35, 1845): “In ipso autem semper gaudium erat, qui nos suos futuros certissima suae praescientiae veritate gaudebat. Proinde gaudium jam ipse perfectum de nobis habebat, quando nos praesciendo et praedestinando gaudebat: neque enim ullus in illo ejus gaudio metus esse poterat, ne forte non fieret quod se facturum esse praesciebat.”

<sup>47</sup> *De dono pers.*, 18, 47 (PL 45, 1022): “. . . dona Dei quae dantur electis secundum Dei propositum vocatis, in quibus donis est et incipere credere et in fide usque ad vitae hujus terminum perseverare . . . , haec inquam, Dei dona si summa est praedestinatio quam defendimus, non praesciuntur a Deo; praesciuntur autem: haec est igitur praedestinatio quam defendimus. Unde aliquando eadem praedestinatio significatur etiam nomine praescientiae, sicut ait Apostolus: ‘Non repulit Deus plebem suam quam praescivit.’ (Rom. 2:2).”

<sup>48</sup> Rom. 8:29: *quos ante praescivit et praedestinavit.*

"God does not know things because they are, but things are because God knows them."<sup>49</sup> The Bishop applies this general principle of divine knowledge without any reservation to the supernatural domain of grace and salvation. "Without doubt," he says, "God has foreseen, if He has predestined; to have predestined means nothing else than to have known that which He Himself would do."<sup>50</sup>

There is a variety of interpretations of St. Augustine's mind relative to the relationship existing between the divine knowledge and predestination. According to some the divine knowledge of the acts of man precedes and then is followed by the divine decision rejecting or electing man.<sup>51</sup> Such a predestination is consequent upon the merits of man—*post praevisa merita*. Kolb also sees the divine foreknowledge as being first in the sequence of the divine acts playing a part in predestination because it is an indication and proof of predestination.<sup>52</sup> Others conceive divine knowledge not as a representation of creatures, but as an indication of God's own works in creatures. To foresee the salutary deeds of man is not to foresee something external to God, but it is to foresee the effects which God Himself foreordains in man.<sup>53</sup> If it is a matter of the whole complex of divine works in

<sup>49</sup> *De Trin.*, XV, 23, 23 (PL 42, 1076): *ibid.*, XIV, 10, 11 (PL 42, 931-32).

<sup>50</sup> *De dono pers.*, 18, 47 (PL 45, 1023): "Hoc est ergo praedestinavit: sine dubio enim praescivit, si praedestinavit: sed praedestinasse quod fuerat ipse facturus."

<sup>51</sup> E.g., C. Wolfsgruber, *Augustinus* (Paderborn: 1898), p. 828; E. Portalié "Augustin," *Dict. de théol. cath.*, I, 2404: "Dieu avant de contempler le libre jeu de la volonté, n'a pas une intention formelle et absolue d'exercer sa justice vindicative, de préparer, d'obtenir des mérites à récompenser ou des péchés à punir."

<sup>52</sup> K. Kolb, *Menschliche Freiheit und göttliches Vorherwissen nach Augustin* (Freiburg im Br.: 1908), p. 120: "Augustin stellt die praescientia voran, weil er sie als Beweis für die Prädestination geltend machen will. Der Gedanke, der Augustins Umstellung zu Grunde liegt, ist: Gott sieht voraus, also und deshalb prädestiniert er auch; die praescientia ist somit wenn ein Beweis, auch ein Hinweis auf die Prädestination."

<sup>53</sup> Fonsegrive, *Essai sur le libre arbitre* (2me éd.; Paris: 1896), p. 104: "Prévoir alors nos actions bonnes et le résultat final de toutes ces actions n'est pas, en réalité, prévoir quelque chose qui lui soit extérieur, c'est simplement prévoir les effets futurs de la volonté première par laquelle il a tout créé et préordonné. Ce n'est pas parce que nous devons être par nous-mêmes bons et saints que Dieu nous a choisis, mais pour que nous le fussions." R. Garrigou-Lagrange, *Predestination* trans. by Dom. B. Rose



man, including final perseverance, then the predestination is to life everlasting before the foreseen merits of man.<sup>54</sup> This is predestination *ante praevisa merita*. And thus the foreseen merits are not the cause of predestination to glory but the effect of it.<sup>55</sup>

In this connection suffice it to mention the cardinal doctrines bearing on Augustine's teaching on predestination. 1) He teaches unequivocally, especially in his earlier writings, that God wills the salvation of all men,<sup>56</sup> in accordance with the patent meaning of the words of St. Paul.<sup>57</sup> However, he does not uniformly interpret the classical Pauline text, and seems especially in his later years, to limit or qualify the universal salvific will expressed in it.<sup>58</sup> 2) There is such a grace given by God which is efficacious,<sup>59</sup>

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(St. Louis: 1950), p. 42: "The fact that God foresees our salutary and meritorious acts presupposes, according to the teaching of St. Augustine, the decree of the divine will as regards these acts . . . for St. Augustine the foreknowledge of our salutary acts refers to what God has decreed that created wills should do." *Id.*, "L'équilibre supérieur de la pensée de saint Augustin dans les questions de la grâce," *Augustinus Magister* (Paris: 1954), II, 766; J. Vetter, *Der heilige Augustinus und das Geheimnis des Leibes Christi* (Mainz: 1929), p. 137: "Die Prädestination ist eine Aktivität des lebendigen Gottes. Sie ist nicht beliebiges Vorherwissen dessen, was Gott zu seiner Zeit wirksam ausführen will. . . . Prädestination ist also Vorherwollen späterer Wirksamkeit."

<sup>54</sup> Garrigou-Lagrange, *op. cit.*, p. 44; Tixeront, *History of Dogmas*, II, 503: "St. Augustine's views, considered as a whole, direct us toward the doctrine of predestination to glory before foreseen merits. . . . Were it a question of the full predestination to efficacious grace, final perseverance, and glory, and not of predestination to glory alone, there would be no room to doubt: the Bishop of Hippo insists again and again upon its absolute gratuitousness."

<sup>55</sup> O. Rottmanner, *Der Augustinismus* (München: 1892), p. 12, n. 4: A. M. Jacquin, "La prédestination d'après saint Augustin," *Miscellanea Agostiniana* (Rome: 1931), II, 864.

<sup>56</sup> *De spiritu et lit.*, 33, 58 (PL 44, 238): "Vult autem Deus omnes homines salvos fieri et in agnitionem veritatis venire, non sic tamen, ut iis adimat liberum arbitrium, quo vel bene vel male utentes justissime judicentur." *De dono pers.*, 9, 21 (PL 45, 1004).

<sup>57</sup> I Tim. 2:4. E.g., *Ep.* 217, 6, 19 (PL 33, 986; CSEL 57, IV, 417); *Ench.*, 103 (PL 40, 280); *De praed. sanct.*, 8, 14 (PL 44, 917); *De correptione et gratia*, 14, 44 (PL 44, 943); *Contra Iul.*, IV, 8, 44 (PL 44, 760).

<sup>58</sup> Cf. *Ep.* 217, 6, 19 (PL 33, 986; CSEL 57, IV, 417): "Tamquam diceret nullum hominem fieri salvum, nisi quem ipse fieri voluerit." *Ench.*, 103 (PL 40, 280): "Omnes Deus docet venire ad Christum, non quia omnes veniunt, sed quia nemo aliter venit." *De praed. sanct.*, 8, 14 (PL 44, 971): "Ut intelligantur omnes praedestinati, quia omne genus hominum in eis

in fact, St. Augustine says it cannot be resisted<sup>60</sup> and those to whom it is given will be infallibly brought to the haven of salvation. By using the strong term "irresistible" the Doctor of Grace underscores its efficacy without intending to abandon the will to fatalism and irresponsibility. 3) St. Augustine protests that the freedom of the human will is not destroyed by the presence of an efficacious grace, but rather is rendered free and capable of salutary actions.<sup>61</sup>

Although St. Augustine strenuously defends the existence of efficacious grace and of a free will, it is not easy to explain their harmonious coexistence and interaction<sup>62</sup> as it is evident from the fact that dissenting systems of grace invoke the authority of the African champion of grace. The problem of free will under the

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est." *De correptione et gratia*, 14, 44 (PL 44, 943): "Ut omnes homines omne genus humanum intelligamus per quascumque differentias distributum, reges, privatos, nobiles, ignobiles, sublimes, humiles, doctos, indoctos. . ." *Contra Iulium*, IV, 8, 44 (PL 44, 760). So that Rottmanner draws this conclusion: "Zwei Dinge stehen für Augustinus—in seiner strengeren Periode—unumstößlich fest: erstens die Wahrheit (das Axiom) dass keine menschliche Willensmacht den allmächtigen Heilswillen Gottes vereiteln könne, und zweitens die Tatsache, dass nicht alle Menschen selig werden. Daraus folgt mit unerbittlicher Logik, dass Gott unmöglich das Heil Aller wolle, weil sonst ja Alle selig werden müssten." *Geistesfrüchte aus der Klosterzelle* (München: 1908), p. 29.

<sup>59</sup> F. Salguiero, *La doctrine de saint Augustin sur la grâce, d'après le traité à Simplicien* (Coimbre: 1925).

<sup>60</sup> *De correptione et gratia*, 14, 43 (PL 44, 942); *ibid.*, 14, 45 (PL 44, 943): "Non est itaque dubitandum voluntati Dei . . . voluntates humanos non posse resistere, quominus faciat ipse quod vult; quandoquidem etiam de ipsis hominum voluntatibus, quod vult, cum vult facit"; *ibid.*, 12, 38 (PL 44, 940); *Enchiridion*, 98 (PL 40, 277); *De gratia et libera arbitrio*, 14, 29 (PL 44, 898).

<sup>61</sup> *De gratia et libera arbitrio*, 20, 41 (PL 44, 905): "Satis me disputasse arbitror adversus eos qui gratiam Dei vehementer oppugnant qua voluntas humana non tollitur, sed ex mala mutatur in bonam, et cum bona fuerit adjuvatur." *Epistola* 157, 2, 10 (PL 33, 677): "Neque enim voluntatis arbitrium ideo tollitur, quia juvatur: sed ideo juvatur quia non tollitur." J. D. Burger, *Saint Augustin* (Neuchâtel: 1948), p. 255: "Dieu dirige notre destin sans supprimer notre liberté." E. Gilson, *Introduction à l'étude de Saint Augustin* (3me éd.; Paris: 1949), p. 214: "Bien loin d'abolir la volonté, la grâce en refait une bonne volonté, elle la libère." J. Loncke, "S. Augustinus de gratia et libertate," *Collationes Brugenses*, XLVIII (1952), 32–36.

<sup>62</sup> O. Rottmanner, *Geistesfrüchte aus der Klosterzelle* (München: 1908), p. 48: "Alle Versuche, den vollen Freiheitsbegriff mit der augustininischen Gnadenlehre in ungetrübten Einklang zu bringen, sind misslungen und müssen misslingen."

influence of efficacious grace<sup>63</sup>—a doctrine proper to St. Paul<sup>64</sup> as well as St. Augustine<sup>65</sup>—has vexed the minds of theologians from the dawn of systematized theological thought to the present time.

It must be observed that the concept of freedom undergoes changes in the course of Augustine's intellectual development. The natural, self-determining will, manifesting itself so clearly in the period of the "Dialogues," is transformed, in the light of St. Paul's teaching, under the actualizing power of grace (385-400). During the Pelagian heresy, when the eye was focused on the opponent's naturalism, the Bishop concentrates his attention on the power of grace, although in such great works of this period as the "Commentary on the Psalms" and the "Tracts on St. John" the human will is not despoiled of its own reactions: grace inclines the will but does not alienate it (412-421). In the last period (421-429) the mind of the Saint is preoccupied with predestination, rigorously conceived, in which the designs of God, through the operations of His grace, are infallible—but not coercive, and therefore making those under its influence responsible.<sup>65a</sup>

What are the divine gifts prepared for men and which constitute the objects of the divine predestining thought and will? They do not constitute gifts of the natural but of the supernatural order. Predestination concerns itself with a favor, that is, with

<sup>63</sup> Cf. A. Casamassa, *Il pensiero di Sant Agostino nel 396-397: i "tractores divinatorum eloquiorum" di Retract. I, 23, e l'Ambrosiastro* (Rome: 1919). M. P. Borgese, *Il problema del malo in sant' Agostino. La libertà, il peccato e la grazia* (Palermo: 1921); L. Bovy, *Grâce et Liberté chez Saint Augustin* (Montréal: 1938); J. Ball, "Libre arbitre et liberté dans saint Augustin": *L'Année théologique* VII, (1946), 400-430; Léon-Dufour, "Grâce et libre arbitre chez saint Augustin, a propos de: 'Consentire vocationi Dei . . . propriae voluntatis est,'" *Rech. de science rel.*, XXXIII (1946), 129-63; H. Rondet, "La liberté et la grâce dans la théologie augustinienne," in *Saint Augustin parmi nous* (Paris: 1954), pp. 201-22.

<sup>64</sup> Johs. Weiss, *Die christliche Freiheit nach der Verkündigung des Apostel Paulus* (Göttingen: 1902).

<sup>65</sup> Hans Jonas, *Augustin und das Paulinische Freiheitsproblem* (Göttingen: 1930).

<sup>65a</sup> Cf. G. de Plinval, "Aspects du déterminisme et de la liberté dans la doctrine de saint Augustin," *Rev. des Études Augustiniennes*, I (1955), 345-78.

the bestowal of such benefactions as are gratuitous to man's nature. Predestination's ultimate goal is the possession of God in the beatifying vision of Him; it comprises also the means leading to the attainment of God. Both this attainment of God and the means leading thereto are the objects foreordained to man by the predestining divine will and constitute the supernatural order. St. Augustine does not use the term supernatural which is of much later origin,<sup>66</sup> but the concept underlying the term constitutes the very heart of his theology.<sup>67</sup> And thus man cannot be predestined to eternal glory unless he is also predestined to faith, and thereafter to a whole chain of salutary deeds spreading over the span of his life, and ultimately to final perseverance.<sup>68</sup> "God turns the wicked will of man making it good, moves it to good deeds and guides it to life eternal . . . by His most hidden judgment, but without doubt most just."<sup>69</sup>

All these benefactions bestowed on the predestined individual are graces of God. Predestination, therefore, is said to be the preparation of these benefactions, the foreordaining of grace, and grace conferred upon man is the effect of predestination. "Between grace and predestination there is only this difference: predestination is the preparation of grace and grace is the bestowal

<sup>66</sup> The term "supernatural" was introduced into ecclesiastical usage by Pius V (1566-72) when proscribing propositions 21 and 23 of Michael du Bay in his Bull "Ex omnibus afflictionibus," Oct. 1, 1567. Cf. C. Du Plessis d'Argentré, *Collectio Judiciorum de novis erroribus, qui ab initio XII saeculi . . . usque ad a 1713 in Ecclesia proscripti sunt et notati* (Lutetiae Parisiorum: 1755 ff.), II, 110 ff. It was introduced into Latin by Scotus Erigena in his translation of Pseudo-Dionysius to whose Greek *ὑπερφύης supernaturalis* is made the correspondent Latin word. Cf. A. Deneffe, "Geschichte des Wortes 'supernaturalis,'" *Zeit für kath. Theol.*, XXXXVI (1922), 337-60; H. Lubac, *Nouvel. Rev. Theol.*, VI (1934), 225-49; 350-70. It seems that the Greek Fathers also used *ὑπερκόσμος* in the sense of the Latin *supernaturalis*; cf. K. Rahner, "De termino aliquo in theologia Clementis Alexandrini qui aequivalet nostro conceptui entis 'supernaturalis,'" *Gregorianum*, XVIII (1937) 426-31.

<sup>67</sup> Cf. P. Dumont, "Le surnaturel dans la théologie de saint Augustin," *Rev. des sciences relig.*, XI (1931), 512-42; C. Romeis, "Zum Begriff des Übernatürlichen in der Lehre des hl. Augustinus," *Grabmann-Mausbach, Aurelius Augustinus* (Köln: 1930), 225-41.

<sup>68</sup> *De dono pers.*, 17, 43 (PL 45, 1020); *ibid.*, 17, 47 (PL 45, 1022); *ibid.*, 21, 56 (PL 45, 1028).

<sup>69</sup> *De grat. et lib. arb.*, 20, 41 (PL 44, 906).



itself.”<sup>70</sup> The children of the kingdom of God are distinguished from the children of perdition by the predestination of grace.<sup>71</sup> And thus the highest value does not accrue to man from his rational nature, but from the predestining grace which is super-added to his nature.<sup>72</sup>

In St. Augustine's doctrine of grace and predestination God looms as the sole cause of man's justification, merit, and salvation. Man cannot ascribe to himself either the first step nor the last as his own in the attainment of eternal glory. Faith and charity, continence and perseverance are not the products of man's will, but the unmerited gifts of God.<sup>73</sup> Consequently to Him who has wrought salvation in man is all glory due. The absolute gratuity of the divine gifts in the work of salvation is the hinge on which the whole controversy with the Pelagians concerning grace and predestination revolves.<sup>74</sup> St. Augustine's encounter with the Pelagians constitutes a major event in the history of the Church.<sup>75</sup>

There are five scriptural terms which St. Augustine never tires of repeating when he treats of grace and predestination. These five words occur in his citations of and commentaries upon the eighth chapter of the Epistle to the Romans.<sup>76</sup> In this passage St. Paul enumerates the stages of salvation: they are accomplished in those who are the foreknown, the predestined, the called, the justified, and the glorified.<sup>77</sup> The first two epithets, viz., fore-

<sup>70</sup> *De praed. sanct.*, 10, 19 (PL 44, 974): “Inter gratiam et praedestinationem hoc tantum interest, quod praedestinatio est gratiae praeparatio, gratia vero jam ipsa donatio.”

<sup>71</sup> *De dono pers.*, 14, 35 (PL 45, 1014).

<sup>72</sup> *De praed. sanct.*, 10, 19 (PL 44, 974).

<sup>73</sup> *De dono pers.*, 24, 66 (PL 45, 1033).

<sup>74</sup> Cf. G. de Plinval, “Les luttes pélagiennes,” *L'histoire de l'Église*, published under the direction of A. Fliche and V. Martin, vol. IV (Paris: 1939); *id.*, *Pélage, ses écrits, sa vie et sa réforme* (Lousanne: 1943); J. Ferguson, *Pelagius: A Historical and Theological Study* (Cambridge: 1956).

<sup>75</sup> Van der Meer, *Augustinus der Seelsorger* (Köln: 1951), p. 159: “Aber sein Auftreten gegen die Pelagianer gehört in die grosse Kirchengeschichte.”

<sup>76</sup> Rom. 8:28-30.

<sup>77</sup> All five terms: *praescientia*, *praedestinatio*, *vocatio*, *justificatio*, *glorificatio*, occur in the following passages: *In Io. Ev. tr.* 45, 12 (PL 35, 1725); *In Io. Ev. tr.* 48, 6 (PL 35, 1743); *Enar. in Ps.* 150, 3 (PL 37, 1962); *Sermo* 155, 8 (PL 38, 845 f.); *Sermo*, Guelf. 9, 3 (MA, 470); *De spir. et lit.*, 5, 7 (PL 44, 204); *De nat. et grat.*, 5, 5 (PL 44, 250; CSEL 60, 236); *Contra Jul. Pel.*, V, 4, 14 (PL 44, 792); *De praed. sanct.*, 17, 34 (PL 44, 986).

knowledge and predestination are acts of which man is the object: they do not take place in man but have already taken place in God.<sup>78</sup> The other three acts, that is of calling, justifying, and glorifying affect man who is the recipient of these benefactions.<sup>79</sup> The calling and justification take place now in time; glorification is reserved for the future life.<sup>80</sup>

Being acts of the divine intellect and will, foreknowledge and predestination are as eternal and immutable as God Himself.<sup>81</sup> Because these acts are eternal there can be no merit on man's part which could have brought about man's predestination; it takes place before man is and acts.<sup>82</sup> Because the acts are immutable the number of predestined is filled forever: it will not be increased nor diminished.<sup>83</sup> No one who has been included in the number of the predestined can slip away and be condemned nor can any one who is not included steal into it and be saved.<sup>84</sup> The number of the predestined is large considered in itself, but is small in comparison with the number of the reprobate.<sup>85</sup>

The calling of man is an act of God. This is possible because by sin, original and personal, man is estranged from God.<sup>86</sup> Heeding the call of God man forsakes his state of enmity to become a Christian.<sup>87</sup> The effect of the calling, however, is not the same in all who have become Christians. All the called ones will come to Christ, will be justified, will put Him on, will be incorporated

<sup>78</sup> *De corrept. et grat.*, 9, 23 (PL 44, 929-30).

<sup>79</sup> *Enar. in Ps.* 150, 3 (PL 37, 1962).

<sup>80</sup> *De corrept. et grat.*, 9, 23 (PL 44, 930).

<sup>81</sup> *Sermo* 158, 4, 4 (PL 38, 864).

<sup>82</sup> *Sermo* 168, 3, 3 (PL 38, 863-64).

<sup>83</sup> *Ep.* 186, 7, 25 (PL 33, 825; CSEL 57, IV, 65); *De corrept. et grat.*, 13, 39 (PL 44, 940-41); *De bapt. c. Donat.*, V, 27, 38 (PL 43, 195; CSEL 51, 294).

<sup>84</sup> *Quaest. in Hept.*, II, 102 (PL 34, 632; CSEL 28, 159); *In Io. Ev. tr.* 48, 6 (PL 35, 1743); *Enar. in Ps.* 88, *sermo* 2, 4 (PL 37, 1133); *Sermo*, Guelf. 9, 3 (MA, 470); *De civit. Dei*, XIII, 23, 1 (PL 41, 397; ed. Dombart-Kalb, I, 589); *ibid.*, XVIII, 51, 2 (PL 41, 614; ed. Dombart-Kalb, II, 337); *De gestis Pel.*, 3, 7 (PL 44, 324); *Contra Jul. Pel.*, V, 4, 14 (PL 44, 937).

<sup>85</sup> *De corrept. et grat.*, 10, 28 (PL 44, 933); *Ep.* 190, 3, 12 (PL 33, 860; CSEL 57, 146); *Sermo* 111, 1 (PL 38, 641-42); *Contra Cresc.*, IV, 63 (PL 43, 582; CSEL 52, 560); *Op. imp. c. Jul.*, II, 142, 205-7 (PL 45, 1200, 1229-31; CSEL 52 560).

<sup>86</sup> *Sermo* 168, 3, 3 (PL 38, 864); *Sermo* 158, 1, 1 (PL 38, 862-63).

<sup>87</sup> *Sermo* 158, 4, 4 (PL 38, 864).

into His body, but not all will do this in such a manner as to remain with Him until the end. Some will turn away from the faith they once embraced; others will not live in accordance with it.<sup>88</sup> In a way, all of these can be said to have been called, but all do not constitute the number of the elect. In order to be called in a manner as to be enumerated also among the elect, one must possess the grace of predestination.<sup>89</sup> For such as are called and predestined God turns all things to their advantage, even their mistakes, weaknesses, and sins.<sup>90</sup>

The "called" (*vocati*) of Romans 8:30 remind St. Augustine of Matthew 22:14 where our Lord speaks of the many who are called and the few who are chosen. It is evident that all who are "chosen" are also "called," but not all who are "called" are "chosen." However, in explaining Romans 8:30 Augustine takes "the called" to mean the elect, i.e., those who are effectively called to eternal glory. For they are called according to the counsels not of men but of God.<sup>91</sup> Matthew 22:14 (*Multi vocati; pauci electi*) accompanies Augustine's exegeses of Roman 8:30 from the very first interpretation of the latter<sup>92</sup> to the very last works written against the Semipelagians.<sup>93</sup> In the later years the Saint gave more consideration to those who are called only to faith and justification but who do not reach the goal of eternal life. Distinguishing between "the sons of promise" and "the sons of discrimination"—putting both into the category of sonship—he thereby emphasizes more effectively the election to eternal bliss.<sup>94</sup>

The sequel to calling is justification. The impious and sinners—such are the progeny of Adam—are called in order to be jus-

<sup>88</sup> *In Io. Ev. tr.* 45, 12 (PL 35, 1724-25).

<sup>89</sup> *Contra Jul.*, V, 4, 4 (PL 44, 792).

<sup>90</sup> *De Trin.*, XIII, 20 (PL 42, 1070); *De correptione et gratia*, 9, 24 (PL 44, 930); *De praed. sanct.*, 18, 37 (PL 44, 988).

<sup>91</sup> *Prop. ep. Rom.*, prop. 55 (PL 35, 2076); *Contra duas ep. Pel.*, II, 10, 22 (PL 44, 586; CSEL 60, 583-84).

<sup>92</sup> *Prop. ep. Rom.*, prop. 55 (PL 35, 2076).

<sup>93</sup> *De correptione et gratia*, 7, 13 f. (PL 44, 924 f.); *Contra duas ep. Pel.*, II, 10, 22 (PL 44, 605; CSEL 60, 583-84).

<sup>94</sup> *De correptione et gratia*, 9, 20-21 (PL 44, 227-29): "Fuerunt ergo isti ex multitudine vocatorum, ex electorum autem paucitate non fuerunt." *De dono persever.*, 9, 21 (PL 45, 1004); *Ep.* 149, 22 (PL 33, 639; CSEL 44, 368).

tified. The divine calling and the process of justification transfer children of darkness into the kingdom of light on this earth, from the power of Satan to the legitimate ownership of God, from the death of the soul to the participation of life in Christ Jesus. Because all men have sinned in Adam, all merit the punishment of God. If, therefore, God separates those whom He calls from the mass of sinners and restores to them the life of justice, it is entirely through God's grace, undue to man's nature and unmerited by him.<sup>95</sup>

Justification consists in the remitting of sins, receiving of the Holy Ghost and the participating in the life of Christ, of whose fullness we all receive. The ordinary means for the attainment of this condition is the sacrament of baptism. Justification upon earth is not complete and perfect. An indication that man's justice in this life is not consummate is the fact that, even if we are Christ's, we must struggle with the flesh, the world, and the devil.<sup>96</sup> There are various degrees of justice, hence of sanctification, in the souls of men. When we make progress in our spiritual life, exercising charity towards God and our neighbor, the justice in our soul increases and is perfected. This is the purpose of life to become godlike and holy more and more until our justice will become consummate in life everlasting.<sup>97</sup>

The last stage of God's work will be the glorification of man. All previous acts have this one as their end: man is predestined, called, justified in order to be glorified. Just as it was possible to glorify the human nature of Christ, so it is possible to glorify man because he is mortal and earthly.<sup>98</sup> Glorification consists in two things: first, in the transfiguration of man's earthly body at the end of time when Christ will appear in His glory to glorify man; <sup>99</sup> secondly, in the possession and fruition of God in an ineffable way by the powers of man's soul. In this consist con-

<sup>95</sup> Rom. 3:23-24; *Enar. in Ps.* 5, 17 (PL 36, 89); *Enar. II in Ps.* 44, 3 (PL 36, 495); *Sermo* 144, 1 (PL 38, 788); *De nat. et grat.*, 1, 4 (PL 44, 248, 250; CSEL 60, 233, 235); *De grat. Christi*, I, 21, 44 (PL 44, 377); *Ep.* 194, 3, 6 (PL 33, 876; CSEL 57, 180).

<sup>96</sup> *Sermo* 158, 4, 4 (PL 38, 864).

<sup>97</sup> *Sermo* 158, 5, 5 (PL 38, 864).

<sup>98</sup> *Sermo* 168, 3, 3 (PL 38, 863-64).

<sup>99</sup> *De corrept. et grat.*, 9, 23 (PL 44, 929-30).



summate happiness, unperturbed peace, inexpressible joy, endless eternity, consummate life. Predestination has become a reality.

### THE CHURCH

Predestination is for Augustine the first cause and the last determining factor in the attainment of eternal happiness. God determines from all eternity and executes that decision regarding each individual being at the end of one's life. Predestination is a combination of God's knowledge and of the decision of His will regarding man. It is something great and mysterious; it determines the eternal lot of man: who is predestined is saved, who is not is damned. But the Church, too, is a vivifying organism into which one must be grafted in order to possess life eternal; it is a universe-embracing organization within which one can be saved; outside of which one is lost.

The problem arises whether these two determinants are exclusive of one another or whether they are inclusive, and therefore compatible. Does St. Augustine wreck that magnificent structure of the social Church and the mystical body which he defended so strenuously over a long number of years against the Donatists now towards the end of his life in the process of defending and developing the Pauline doctrine of predestination against the Pelagians? Some interpreters of St. Augustine's ecclesiology see in his concept of predestination a contradiction of, or at least an incompatibility with, his concept of the Church. Since his predestinarian doctrine engaged his attention at a later period than did the ecclesiological doctrine, it annuls, in the opinion of these writers, what Augustine stated in his former years on the indispensability of the Church and the necessity of being a member of it.

Writing a century ago, Köstlin saw in the doctrine of predestination as it is found both in St. Paul <sup>100</sup> and in St. Augustine <sup>101</sup> a sole determinant of salvation; consequently membership in the Church is not a necessity for salvation. Reuter, viewing Augus-

<sup>100</sup> Köstlin, *Das Wesen der Kirche*.

<sup>101</sup> Köstlin, "Die katholische Auffassung von der Kirche in ihrer ersten Ausbildung," *Deutsche Zeitschrift für christliche Wissenschaft und christliches Leben*, VII (1856), 112.

tine's concept of predestination as developed without regard to the Church, is of the opinion that the Church and predestination are incompatible concepts.<sup>102</sup> Although the Church, in his interpretation of St. Augustine, is not a necessary means to salvation, it serves as a pedagogical institution and has a moral purpose.<sup>103</sup> Seeberg, too, comes to the conclusion that, in St. Augustine's teaching, the Church is not the sole medium of salvation; for predestination can fall to one's lot outside the pale of the Church, and predestination is the ultimate cause of one's salvation.<sup>104</sup>

Holl, synthesizing these two Augustinian doctrines, admits that it is impossible to rise above the Church which is the source of grace and the teacher of morality,<sup>105</sup> but asserts that by introducing the gratuitous election of saints to life eternal by the will of God, the Bishop of Hippo destroyed his concept of the Church.<sup>106</sup> In the opinion of Harnack, "the thought of predestination shatters every notion of the Church . . . and renders valueless all divine ordinances, the institution, and means of salvation."<sup>107</sup> Simpson sees the concepts of the Church and predestination as antithetic: "It is plainly easier to believe in Redemption through the Church without believing in Predestination, or to believe in Predestination without believing in the Church, than it is to believe in both. For the one appears incompatible with the others."<sup>108</sup> Moreover Simpson believes that Augustine was aware of the existence of the antinomy of both doctrines and left them unintegrated. "Whatever may be said about the two, it certainly cannot be said that Augustine was able to reconcile them. He left the problems of their relation quite unsolved."<sup>109</sup> In like manner Willis believes that "ultimately an extreme doctrine of predestina-

<sup>102</sup> H. Reuter, *Augustinische Studien* (Gotha: 1887), p. 98.

<sup>103</sup> *Loc. cit.*, p. 84.

<sup>104</sup> R. Seeberg, *Studien zur Geschichte des Begriffes der Kirche* (Erlangen: 1885), pp. 49-53.

<sup>105</sup> K. Holl, "Augustins innere Entwicklung," *Abhandlungen der preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Phil.-hist. Klass. 4 (Berlin: 1922), p. 93: "Keine Möglichkeit über die Kirche als Gnaden- und Erziehungsanstalt hinauszuwachsen."

<sup>106</sup> *Loc. cit.*, 102.

<sup>107</sup> A. Harnack, *History of Dogma* (London: 1896), V, 166.

<sup>108</sup> W. J. Sparrow Simpson, *St. Augustine's Episcopate* (London: 1944),

p. 1.

<sup>109</sup> *Ibid.*

tion cannot be reconciled with a view of the Church on earth as containing both good and evil in unresolved tension. And this problem was never completely worked out by St. Augustine."<sup>110</sup>

McGiffert states that St. Augustine was profoundly convinced that, apart from the Church, "there was no true knowledge of God and no genuine communion with Him."<sup>111</sup> Yet what he wrote in his two last treatises, "On the Predestination of Saints" and "On the Gift of Perseverance," is incompatible with the previous doctrine, for in these brief works he "emphasized his predestinarian views detached from the rest of his teaching and thus gave them an appearance of paradox and arbitrariness which, as an integral part of his religious view of the universe, did not really belong to them."<sup>112</sup> Lekkerkerker refuses to admit the existence of a duality of opposing theses in St. Augustine's writings although he is at a loss to integrate the coexistence of predestination on the one hand and the hierarchical institution and the sacramental system on the other.<sup>113</sup>

Others, such as Krüger,<sup>114</sup> Hofmann,<sup>115</sup> Ziegenfuss,<sup>116</sup> Kinder,<sup>116a</sup> Simon<sup>117</sup> find no incompatibility between being pre-

<sup>110</sup> G. G. Willis, *St. Augustine and the Donatist Controversy* (London: 1950), p. 174.

<sup>111</sup> A. C. McGiffert, *A History of Christian Thought* (New York: 1946), II, 107.

<sup>112</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 137.

<sup>113</sup> A. F. N. Lekkerkerker, "De actualiteit van Augustinus," *Theologisch Tijdschrift*, IV (1949), 92-111.

<sup>114</sup> G. Krüger, *Augustin der Mann und sein Werk* (Giessen: 1930), pp. 17 f.

<sup>115</sup> F. Hofmann: *Der Kirchenbegriff des hl. Augustinus* (München: 1933), p. 498: The Church exists "nur im Hinblick auf die in ihr lebenden und durch sie mit Christus herrschenden Heiligen." See also pp. 254-55.

<sup>116</sup> W. Ziegenfuss, *Augustinus: Christliche Transzendenz in Gesellschaft und Geschichte* (Berlin: 1948), pp. 143-44.

<sup>116a</sup> E. Kinder, *Reich Gottes und Kirche bei Augustin* (Berlin: 1954), pp. 16-17: "Die organisierte und institutionelle Kirche steht doch nicht beziehungslos daneben, denn man kann nur durch sie zur wahren Kirche und durch diese zur Vollendung des Reiches Gottes kommen, weil in ihr die Gnadenmittel sind."

<sup>117</sup> P. Simon, *Aurelius Augustinus: Sein gestiges Profil* (Paderborn: 1954), p. 114: "Diese Prädestinationslehre hing aufs engste zusammen mit der Kirchenlehre. Denn die Kirche war ja das Kommen des Gottesreiches, und die Erwählung geschah durch die Kirche und ihre Sakramente, die Bewährung der Erwählung vollzog sich in der Kirche."

destined and the necessity of belonging to the Church. Even if the concept of the Church and that of predestination are developed at different stages of his polemic activity, there is no element in predestination, as it is taught by St. Augustine, which would eliminate the need of the Church. To what extent the mind of St. Augustine envisaged them together is difficult to say, since he does not treat professedly of their correlation. His theology, if it is to be coherent, demands that the one be the counterpart of the other.

It must be borne in mind, in conformity with the results of the investigation made in previous chapters, that the Church is the mystical body of Christ—that the external elements of the organization and the internal elements of the organism are verified in the one true Church of Christ. The terms Church, *Catholica* and body of Christ are appellations of one and the same object. Suffice it to remind ourselves that Augustine constantly adduces the one as an apposition to or explanation of the other: “the Church, the body of Christ,” or the Church which is the “body of Christ.” The only reason why the mind of St. Augustine spontaneously associates these appellations is because it conceives an identity between them. The identity of the external Church with the mystical body becomes more evident if Augustine’s doctrine on the members of the Church is considered. As has been pointed out, both the Church as the mystical body and the Church as the visible organization embraces the same members.

However, to the mind of St. Augustine there is a different connotation to the term “Church” from that of the “mystical body.” The word “Church” (*Ecclesia*, *Ecclesia Catholica*, or simply *Catholica*) connotes the external, experimental, and juridical organization without excluding the internal life which belongs to the nature of the Church. The appellation “mystical body of Christ” connotes the inner life of grace and the bonds of faith, hope, and charity whereby men are united to Christ and to one another so as to form a certain supernatural organism. Thus there are men in the Church who are without faith, hope, and charity, but because they adhere to the external organization by professing the same faith of the Church and by participating in the same liturgy of the Church, they continue to be members of Christ’s



body although they are not the kind of members that they should be. They are not living members but dead and putrid ones which ought to be severed from the body, were it not for the fact that a conversion to a living member is easier in the body than it is outside of it.

Whatever applies to the predestination of men in the mystical body of Christ applies also to the predestination of men in the Church. If we say, therefore, that predestination cannot take place except in and through the body of Christ, then the same is true of the visible Church. Augustine's doctrine of predestination does not dispense either with Christ, or Christ's body, for, just as all salvation comes through Christ's work, so also is it wrought only through Christ's body. Since Christ's body is the Church, Augustine does not dispense with the Church when he speaks of the need of predestination in order to attain salvation.<sup>118</sup> He explicitly teaches that there is no salvation outside of Christ and His body; so he also expressly states that there is no reconciliation and nothing but damnation outside the Church.<sup>119</sup>

If St. Augustine had constructed the mighty edifice of predestination as independent and exclusive of his other sumptuous structure, viz., the Church, there would be two cardinal doctrines in his theology, each standing in itself without being able to be integrated with the other, in fact irreconcilable with it. Is it possible to presume that a mind that was as eager to solve all theological problems and that readily acknowledged a mystery where a solution is not possible, would not advert to so conspicuous an incompatibility of two paramount doctrines or pass over them in silence? Furthermore, does he not explicitly teach both doctrines? Does he not teach that the Church is necessary for salvation? Does he not teach that unless one is predestined he cannot be saved? Both are necessary: both are counterparts in the work of salvation. If predestination and the Church form but one edifice then there is a harmonious synthesis of doctrine. It is true that the Bishop does not synthesize the doctrine of pre-

<sup>118</sup> *Ep.* 185, 11, 50 (PL 33, 815; CSEL 57, ed. A. Goldbacher, IV, 43): "Ecclesia catholica sola corpus est Christi, cujus ille caput est Salvator corporis sui."

<sup>119</sup> *Sermo* 96, 7, 8 (PL 38, 588): "Mundus damnatus, quidquid praeter Ecclesiam: mundus reconciliatus, Ecclesia."

destination and the Church in their mutual relationship, but his doctrine presumes that the predestined on earth are incorporated into the Church, the body of Christ.<sup>120</sup>

Both doctrines, viz., that of the Church and that of predestination took form under the pressure of adversaries at different stages of the Bishop's life. The doctrine of the Church both as an external society and as the mystical body was developed in the earlier part of his life against the schism of the Donatists. The doctrine of predestination was brought to the foreground in his later years as an outgrowth of his controversy with the Pelagians over the necessity and gratuity of grace. Hence the problem of predestination in and through the Church did not enter into the scope of the controversy either with the Donatists or the Pelagians. There are, however, not unfrequent allusions to, and implications of the body of Christ, for the reason that it connotes the life-giving and salvation-bringing factors in the Church.

It was the contention of the Pelagians that a just man had no sin whatever even in this life. The true Church of Christ consisted only of such sinless men, for the Church, the body of Christ, could have neither blemish nor ruffle. St. Augustine denies that such is the nature of the Church here upon earth but concedes that such will be the Church of Christ after this earthly pilgrimage when it is transformed into the glorious mystical body of heaven. As long as it is in its earthly existence it will remain composed of the good and the wicked. The justice of even the good in the temporal Church is such that they must pray for the forgiveness of sin. This they daily do in reciting the "Our Father."<sup>121</sup> The wicked in the Church are burdened by mortal sin; the good are not without venial sin.

Much has been written by St. Augustine to prove that, according to the will of Christ, the wicked will coexist with the good, and that the separation of the goats from the sheep will take place only at the end of the world in the last judgment.<sup>122</sup> Since holiness consists in the internal life of grace, faith, and charity, it is

<sup>120</sup> A. Robertson, *Regnum Dei: Eight Lectures on the Kingdom of God in the History of Christian Thought* (London: 1901), p. 197, n. 4.

<sup>121</sup> *De dono persever.*, 5, 8 (PL 45, 998).

<sup>122</sup> *Sermo* 47, 10, 15 (PL 38, 304).

not possible for man to determine who is good and who is wicked; and to separate the ones from the others. Only He who has foreknowledge of men's deeds and freely moves their wills is able infallibly to discern between those who are good and those who are wicked.<sup>123</sup> Many of those who have been cleansed from sin by the waters of baptism and incorporated thereby into the Church of Christ will fail to attain the purpose for which the Church has been instituted. Some will apostatize, thus visibly and willfully deserting the unity; others will persevere in their wickedness but will remain attached to its unity until they are separated from it by force at the end of time.<sup>124</sup>

In fact those who appear to be good and are actually living members of the body of Christ may in the future change their conduct and lapse into the state of dead members in Christ's body. As long as such members do not sever themselves from the unity of the body they remain members of the Church. Thus it remains hidden from the knowledge of man whether an individual member pertains as a presently living member to the body of Christ, and if he actually does, whether he will continue to remain such to the end of his life. In a sense, then, those who are now a part of the body of Christ can be said to be, in the prescience of God, a part of the body of the devil.<sup>125</sup> He who stands today, may fall tomorrow. He who lies prostrate today, may rise tomorrow. Only He who predestines, calls, justifies and glorifies knows who are His now and are going to be afterwards.<sup>126</sup> And it is He also who grants the grace of perseverance which crowns all the graces that He has hitherto bestowed.<sup>127</sup>

<sup>123</sup> *Contra Jul.*, V, 64 (PL 45, 1505); *Sermo* 47, 10, 15 (PL 38, 304).

<sup>124</sup> *Contra Jul.*, V, 64 (PL 45, 1505): "Quid deinde illud est, quod in his sinistrae partis haedis in Dei praescientia, quae falli non potest, igni perpetuo destinatis, multi sunt qui lavacro regenerationis abluti, postea vel apostasia pereunt, vel tam facinorose flagitioseque vivunt, ut eidem sinistrae sine dubio deputentur; nec rapiuntur, sicut quidam, ne malitia mutet intellectum eorum (Sap. 4:11):"

<sup>125</sup> *De civ. Dei*, XX, 7, 3 (PL 41, 669; ed. Dombart-Kalb, II, 422).

<sup>126</sup> *Enar. in Ps.* 64, 2 (PL 36, 774): "Novit Dominus, conditor Jerusalem, quos cives ejus praedestinaverit, quos videat adhuc sub dominatu diaboli redimendos sanguine Christi, novit illos ipse antequam se ipsi noverint."

<sup>127</sup> *De dono persever.*, 23, 65 (PL 45, 1033): "Haec igitur quae poscit a Domino, et semper ex quo esse coepit, poposcit Ecclesia, ita Deus vocatis suis daturum se esse praescivit, ut in ipsa praedestinatione jam dederit."

By way of summation it follows that a disjunction between the doctrine of the Church and that of predestination makes no sense and destroys the harmony which one expects to find in the structure of the theological thought of the greatest Father. Making both the Church and predestination necessary for salvation subordinates predestination to the Church, but such subordination makes sense and preserves a harmonious unity of the two cardinal doctrines in his theology. The sequence of thought is: To be saved one must be predestined to salvation, but to be predestined to salvation one must be incorporated into the Church of Christ. The Church, the medium of salvation, is necessarily related to Christ. There is no salvation without the redemption of Christ. To be redeemed by Christ is to be made one with Him in the participation of His life. To be made one with Him is to be made a member of His body. To be a member of His body is to be a member of His visible and sacramental Church.

We are in that Church, which, although it reaches every place and is spread in the whole world, is only one great body of one great head, which is the Savior. . . . Therefore, beloved, let us continue to live, with assured mind and steadfast heart, under so lofty a head in so glorious a body in which we are members one to another. Wherefore if we were far from one another in the most distant parts of the earth, we would still be at the same time in this body, from whose unity we are not allowed to part. If we were contained in one house we would of course say that we are together; how much more are we together when we are in one body. But Christ the truth even teaches us that we are in one house, because Sacred Scripture, which says that the body of Christ is the Church, likewise says that the same Church is a house of God.<sup>128</sup>

#### CHRIST

Christ plays an indispensable role in the salvation of every man. No man can be saved without Him, hence no one can be predestined to salvation outside of Him. We are chosen in Christ before the constitution of the world.<sup>129</sup> Our regeneration cannot

<sup>128</sup> *Ep.* 142, 1 (PL 33, 583; CSEL 44; ed. A. Goldbacher, III, 247).

<sup>129</sup> *De dono persever.*, 9, 21 (PL 45, 1004); *In Io. Ev. tr.* 111, 18, 4 (PL 35, 1928).



take place but in and through Christ.<sup>130</sup> The beginning of a Christian life begins by believing in Christ.<sup>131</sup> We cannot be on the way to salvation unless we are united to Christ: separation from Him means spiritual death for the soul.<sup>132</sup> Nor can we attain the life of everlasting bliss unless we remain in Christ to the end.<sup>133</sup> So necessary is Christ for us that, if needs be, we must suffer martyrdom for Him.<sup>134</sup>

Just as the Church, the mystical body, is inconceivable without Christ the head, so is predestination meaningless without Christ the Redeemer who has made it possible for men to be predestined to the bliss of eternal life. There is no grace but that which is merited by Him in the present order. Predestination by God is dependent upon His merits, and the divine benefits which are prepared for the predestined are in view of His life, passion, and death. Deliverance from the bondage of Satan to the freedom of the sons of God was accomplished by Him, the true and eternal Son of God. Transference from the kingdom of darkness to that of light was the work of Him who became founder of a new kingdom and the light of the world. "Though man then did not cease to belong to God, yet God justly allowed him to fall into the power of the devil."<sup>135</sup> Entrance into the happiness of life everlasting cannot be made without man's incorporation into the life of His temporal mystical body.

Christ, too, was predestined. In fact, there is no more eminent an example of predestination than that of Jesus Christ. Having been made the one mediator between God and men, Christ becomes the Savior of all men.<sup>136</sup> This mediatorship between two

<sup>130</sup> *Contra Jul.*, III, 18, 35 (PL 44, 720): "Nemo liberatur, nisi regeneretur in Christo."

<sup>131</sup> *De dono persever.*, 2, 2 (PL 45, 995): "Quod enim est initium verius Christiano, quam credere in Christum."

<sup>132</sup> *De dono persever.*, 7, 7 (PL 45, 998): "qui in Christo sumus;" "ne a Christi corpore separentur."

<sup>133</sup> *De dono persever.*, 1, 1 (PL 45, 993): "Asserimus ergo donum Dei esse perseverantiam qua usque in finem perseveratur in Christo."

<sup>134</sup> *De dono persever.*, 2, 2 (PL 45, 995): "Quis finis melior est, quam pati pro Christo?"

<sup>135</sup> J. K. Mozley, *The Doctrine of the Atonement* (London: 1947), p. 121.

<sup>136</sup> *De praed. sanct.*, 15, 30 (PL 44, 981); *De dono persever.*, 24, 67 (PL 45, 1033).

so disparate extremes was possible by His peculiar constitution. In Christ we must recognize two natures, the human and the divine, as subsisting in a single but divine person. In virtue of this unique constitution Christ remains one with God through His divine nature, and possessing a human nature has an element making Him one with men.

The predestining of Christ can only have meaning if it is referred to His created, human nature and not to His divine nature and person. For it is the Word—the divine person and nature—that predestines in common with the Father and the Holy Ghost, but His human nature is the object that is predestined. For the human nature of Christ to have been predestined means that it has been chosen by God to a union with the divine Word, and in consequence of this union to a fullness of sanctification here upon earth and a glorification in the heavenly life. Of all graces conferred by God upon man or angel, this is the most excellent and greatest. No merit whatever on the part of the chosen nature preceded the union or determined the selection. Did that human nature perform any acceptable deed? Did it believe? Did it seek or petition God to be taken into a union with the Word? From the very first moment of its creation, it did not possess an existence of its own, but subsisted in the Word as a part of it. It was assumed by the Word at the time of its creation, and it was created for the purpose of being assumed by the Word.<sup>137</sup>

The predestination peculiar to Christ appears likewise in the circumstances attending His entrance into this world. He was born of a virgin, who was full of grace, and by the intervention of God Himself in the person of the Holy Ghost. As a result of such a conception, unassisted by the seed of man, the cupidity of the flesh had no part in His inception. Being free from the stain of original sin and from the burden of concupiscence at the first moments of life, there was no reason for sin coming to that nature when it would attain the age of reason. This unique condition of Christ's human nature was not due to any merits of its own, but was a gratuitous benefit bestowed upon it by God. Because God foresaw and prepared these graces from eternity for the human nature which was chosen to make the Word in-

<sup>137</sup> *De praed. sanct.*, 15, 30 (PL 44, 981).

carnate, the human nature of Christ is said to be predestined.<sup>138</sup>

While Christ's human nature can be and is predestined, it is meaningless to assert that Christ in His divine nature and divine person is predestined. Predestination has as its object the bestowal of grace and the giving of life eternal; these glories are prepared for those who are said to be predestined. The Word as such is not the recipient of grace and the beneficiary of glory, but the very source of grace, bestowing it upon others, and a self-sufficiency of His own happiness, communicating it to rational creatures. By the very fact that the divine Word assumed a human nature and that the human nature subsists in the unity of His divine person, it is subject to predestination. Whoever, therefore, denies the predestination of the Son of God, denies the existence of a human nature in Him.<sup>139</sup>

In his commentary on the passage of St. John's Gospel where Jesus prays that the Father glorify Him as He has glorified the Father,<sup>140</sup> Augustine alludes to Christ's predestination and to His mission on earth. By its very nature it is evident that this farewell prayer of Christ comes from His humanity. Some, says the Bishop, interpret the glorification of Christ in the fact that the Father did not spare His Son but delivered Him up to suffering and death for us all. It is rather His humility that stands out in His passion and death. How much more is His glory made manifest in His resurrection, which is the beginning of His everlasting glories: "Humility merits glory; glory is the reward of humility." The glorification of Jesus Christ can only be understood as referring to His assumed nature, since in His divine nature He is co-glorified supremely with the Father and Holy Ghost by an undivided and eternal glory.<sup>141</sup>

But how could the Son glorify the Father on earth when the divine glory, being infinitely perfect, cannot be increased or decreased. Although it cannot be augmented in itself, it can be made manifest, spread, and acknowledged in fuller measure by God's creatures. Christ in His human nature received power over

<sup>138</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>139</sup> *In Io. Ev. tr.* 105, 17, 8 (PL 35, 1907-8).

<sup>140</sup> John 16:1.

<sup>141</sup> *In Io. Ev. tr.* 104, 3 (PL 35, 1903).

all men and as the divine messenger made His name known among all men. If life eternal consists in seeing and knowing God ("for this is life eternal to know Thee"—God the Father), the more we know God already here below, the more do we live. In the future life of perfect bliss there will be no death but a fullness of life, no indirect and partial knowledge of God, but a direct and consummate one. "Where there is full knowledge of God, there will be praises without end, and hence the highest glorification." <sup>142</sup>

The predestination of the human nature of Christ does not stand unrelated to the predestination of men. Through the predestination of a nature which we have in common with Him, our own predestination has been rendered possible. His human nature originates from the same flesh and blood as does ours, He is our mediator, and it is precisely because of the assumed nature that He who is God is able to mediate between us and God.<sup>143</sup> Likewise He is our head and because He was appointed to be such by an eternal decree, men were appointed to be His members by the same decree.<sup>144</sup>

Christ's human nature has been predestined to such a dignity that it is impossible for any creature to be raised to a more exalted one. "Forsooth, nowhere are the goodness of grace and the generosity of the omnipotent God so manifest as in the mediator between God and men, viz., in Jesus Christ."<sup>145</sup> In the Incarnation of the divine Word there are two abysses which give rise to awe; viz., just as it is a peerless sublimation for a human nature to be assumed into a union with God, so it is a fathomless humiliation for the all-perfect God to be vested with the corruptibility of a human nature.<sup>146</sup>

Predestination is the preparation of divine benefactions which are to be bestowed in time. Christ as well as man are the benefi-

<sup>142</sup> *In Io. Ev. tr.* 105, 3 (PL 35, 1905).

<sup>143</sup> *De dono persever.*, 24, 67 (PL 45, 1033).

<sup>144</sup> *In Io. Ev. tr.* 105, 7 (PL 35, 1907); *De pecc. mer. et remis.*, I, 26, 39 (PL 44, 131; CSEL 60, 37). Cf. E. Braem, "Christus als model en genadebron van onze praedestinatie volgens Sint Augustinus," *Augustiniana: sexto decimo exacto saeculo a die natali S. Aurelii Augustini*, 354-1954 (Louvain: 1954), pp. 137-45.

<sup>145</sup> *Sermo* 174, 2, 2 (PL 38, 940).

<sup>146</sup> *De praed. sanct.*, 15, 30 (PL 44, 982).



ciaries of those divine bestowals which are grace. This gift, however, does not produce the same effect in Christ and man. Through its powers man's fallen nature is healed. In justification man is changed from a sinner to a child of God. Christ's human nature is capable of grace, but only inasmuch as it is sublimated thereby.<sup>147</sup> Since it is sinless, it has not the same starting-point as in the fallen children of Adam whose justification consists in a simultaneous remission of sin and infusion of grace. By the initial grace of faith man is made a Christian; by the initial grace imparted to the human nature of Christ, it was anointed once and forever to be the nature of the Mediator, Redeemer, High priest, and Prophet—Jesus Christ.

There are other differences between the predestination of the head and the members, between the grace bestowed on Christ and the grace conferred upon His members. Christ was born of the Holy Spirit; men are reborn of Him. Christ was made sinless in His very origin by the power of the Holy Spirit; men receive the forgiveness of sins by the power of the Holy Ghost.<sup>148</sup> Christ was endowed with a fullness of grace; it is conferred upon men according to measure. The Spirit of Christ dispenses His grace directly upon the human nature of Christ and upon others through Christ's human nature. For Christ's assumed nature is the point of contact between God above and men below: it has been chosen to be the source of grace for all men.<sup>149</sup> "Acknowledge Christ, therefore; He is full of grace. He wants to infuse that into you of which He is full."<sup>150</sup>

How can Christ be the source of grace for all men? The human nature that Christ assumed is related to the human natures of other men by origin inasmuch as it stems from the same stock of Adam, but also by divine design inasmuch as God wants all men to seek salvation through it. In the eternal decree of God the human nature of Christ is envisaged as being in a way one with all men who choose to be one with it by real, although spiritual, ties. For the human nature of Christ has been predestined to be

<sup>147</sup> *Contra Jul.*, I, 138 (PL 45, 1157).

<sup>148</sup> *De praed. sanct.*, 15, 31 (PL 44, 982); *De dono persev.*, 14, 67 (PL 45, 1034).

<sup>149</sup> *De praed. sanct.*, 15, 31 (PL 44, 982).

<sup>150</sup> *Sermo* 174, 2, 2 (PL 38, 941).

not only the individual nature of the Word, but also the head of all the faithful. "Just as He has been predestined to be our head, so also many of us have been predestined to be His members."<sup>151</sup> Thus predestination embraces the head and the members, in truth, the whole mystical body, the entire Church.<sup>152</sup> Predestination embraces all who are saved in the mystical body; it embraces Him who saves them. "This is the predestination of saints; it is most prominent in Christ, the Saint of saints."<sup>153</sup> For Christ and His saints predestination remains a grace since neither in the human nature of Christ nor in that of His members can we find any merit which determined the choice of the one to be the head or of the others to be the members of the mystical body.<sup>154</sup>

If Christ was glorified by the very fact that He was chosen to be the head of the Church, men are glorified by the same token since they are chosen to become His members. Now life is imparted to the members by the head. The grace of faith and charity, the gifts of holiness and perseverance—without these there can be no predestination—can be obtained in no other way except in and through Christ. He was chosen to be mediator between God and men for no other purpose than to make men partakers of the fruits of that mediation. Even before they were made, men were chosen, in God's inscrutable counsels, to bear a likeness to God's Son in order to be brought into the circle of the divine family. When the time of their temporal existence came, in order to attain their heavenly dignity, they were called to become members of the Son's mystical body on earth.<sup>155</sup> Through the glorification of Christ the glories of His immortal body are imparted to all human nature.<sup>156</sup> For a time man is still subject to the penalty of a temporal death, but his body will rise again as a result of Christ's victory over death.<sup>157</sup>

Incorporation into the mystical body of Christ takes place in virtue of spiritual ties infused into the soul of man at the time of

<sup>151</sup> *De praed. sanct.*, 15, 31 (PL 44, 983).

<sup>152</sup> *De dono persever.*, 14, 67 (PL 45, 1034).

<sup>153</sup> *De praed. sanct.*, 15, 31 (PL 44, 982).

<sup>154</sup> *De dono persever.*, 14, 67 (PL 45, 1034).

<sup>155</sup> *In lo. Ev. tr.* 105, 7 (PL 35, 1907).

<sup>156</sup> *In lo. Ev. tr.* 110, 3 (PL 35, 1921).

<sup>157</sup> *Ep.* 157, 19 (PL 33, 683; CSEL 44, III, 468).

his rebirth; a simultaneous incorporation into the Church takes place in virtue of external bonds such as the profession of the same faith and the participation of the same sacraments. The teaching of Christ during His temporal sojourn and the preaching of the apostles and their successors are a call to faith. *Fides ex auditu*. The internal preaching of the word of God is accompanied by the internal light of the Holy Ghost in the minds and hearts of those who listen. There is a twofold call. First, there is the call that was made to those who did not want to come to the marriage,<sup>158</sup> viz., to accept the faith and to enter the Church which Christ espoused in the Incarnation. The Jews to whom Christ crucified was a scandal and the pagans to whom He was foolishness frustrated this call. Secondly, there is the call sent out to those who, hearing the Gospel preached and drawn by the divine grace, enter the Church and become members of Christ's body.

The called and regenerated within the pale of the Church constitute again two categories of members. Some will not remain in the unity of the faith and the bond of charity except for a shorter or longer period of time. Others will persevere in a living union with Christ the head to the end of their lives. These are the ones who are given to Christ by the Father<sup>159</sup> in a manner so secure that not one of them will perish.<sup>160</sup> Indeed, they are the only ones that can be said to be genuinely called; they constitute "the predestined members of His only predestined Son."<sup>161</sup>

It is possible, therefore, to have been called effectively so as to have been reborn, to have entered the Church of Christ and to have become a member of His mystical body and yet not to attain the eternal life of bliss. St. Augustine recognizes a predestination to grace or an entire series of graces short of perseverance. To be justified and to become a member of the Church are the effects of grace prepared by God in His eternal designs. However, predestination in its full and true sense embraces more than an effective call to faith, regeneration and membership in

<sup>158</sup> Luke 14:16-20.

<sup>159</sup> John 3:19; 6:39.

<sup>160</sup> *De correptione et gratia*, 9, 21 (PL 44, 928-29).

<sup>161</sup> *De praedestinatione sancti*, 16, 32 (PL 44, 983).

the Church; it denotes a membership in Christ's mystical body to the very end. United to it, one is united to God; dying in it, one dies united to God; possessing the life of Christ at the moment of death, is the possession of the divine life for eternity. Such is the grace of final perseverance; it is a mystery of the divine prescience. Only He whose body they form knows whether this or that presently faithful and pious member of it will persevere or not in a living union to the end.<sup>162</sup>

In view of the divine predestination there are many sheep outside the fold and many wolves inside it; and again, many sheep in the fold will become wolves and many wolves outside the fold will become sheep. Many who are now without faith and justification will possess them before long or before their demise. Indeed, there cannot be charity outside the one body of Christ, but how many wicked men are there without it inside His body. They are deformed and putrid members clinging to the unity of His body without participating in its life. Because God foresees what will happen, for Him the future changes are facts that already exist in their finality. Those who are as yet not sheep are already in His predestination faithful members of Christ's body; those who are at present living members of His body but will not be such in the future are already now in His sight separated from it by apostasy, or attached to it as dead members who will be severed from it.<sup>163</sup>

Predestination, therefore, does not take place independently of Christ. All men have sinned in and through Adam, and all are redeemed in and through Christ.<sup>164</sup> There is no redemption except by His passion and death.<sup>165</sup> Without redemption there is no

<sup>162</sup> *De correptione et gratia*, 9, 23 (PL 44, 929-30).

<sup>163</sup> *In Io. Ev. tr.* 45, 10, 12 (PL 35, 1724-25).

<sup>164</sup> Cf. J. K. Mozley, *The Doctrine of Atonement* (London: 1947), pp. 121 ff.

<sup>165</sup> On St. Augustine's doctrine of redemption, cf. K. Kühner, *Augustin's Anschauung von der Erlösungsbedeutung Christi* (Heidelberg: 1890); J. Gottschick, "Augustins Anschauung von den Erlöserwirkungen Christi," *Zeitsch. für Theologie und Kirche*, XI (1901), pp. 97-213; O. Scheel, *Die Anschauung Augustins über Christi Person und Werk* (Tübingen u. Leipzig: 1901); *id.*, "Zu Augustins Anschauung von der Erlösung durch Christus," *Theologische Studien und Kritiken*, LXXVII (1904), 401-33, 491-554; C. van Crombrughe, "La doctrine christologique et sotériologique



salvation. Christ, therefore, is the universal cause of salvation; His teaching and life the only way leading to it. Divine prescience and the divine predestining will cannot bypass the indispensable medium for salvation and the only way leading to the bliss of heaven. He was appointed to be the only source of divine life for men on earth, and divine prescience and predestination cannot supplant it. For the same will that predestines men to life eternal is the same unalterable will that predestines Christ to be the exclusive source of that life upon earth and in heaven. Moreover, Christ is not only the objective means of salvation inasmuch as He redeemed men by His passion and death, but also the subjective means of salvation inasmuch as men must be incorporated into Him and participate in His life in order to attain salvation. There is no dispensation of grace except in virtue of a living union with Christ: for grace is bestowed upon one not yet a member of Him in order that he may become a member of Christ, or it is continually administered upon one already a member that he may be nurtured by the divine life, just as a member of the physical body is nourished by the life-giving blood stream of the body.

The need of oneness with Christ in obtaining salvation is brought into relief by a consideration of the oneness of all men in Adam, the protoparent. Following in the footsteps of St. Paul,<sup>166</sup> Augustine sees in Adam a type of Christ, but in disparate orders. Adam brings life to all men as does Christ. In the order of the life of grace the Bishop is only able to compare them by opposition.<sup>167</sup> Through our origin (*generatio*) from Adam we have become subjects of eternal death; through our rebirth (*regeneratio*) in Christ we attain eternal salvation. Adam was not only appointed to be the father of all human life but also chosen

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de saint Augustin et ses rapports avec le néoplatonisme," *Rev. d'histoire ecclésiastique*, V (1904), pp. 237-57, 477-503; J. Rivière, *Le dogme de la Rédemption* (Paris: 1905), pp. 248-61, 403-8; *id.*, *Le dogme de la Rédemption chez St. Augustin* (3me éd.; Paris: 1933); J. K. Mozley, *The Doctrine of the Atonement* (London: 1947), pp. 121 ff.

<sup>166</sup> Rom. 5:12.

<sup>167</sup> *Op. imp. contra Jul.*, II, 177 (PL 45, 1218): "Gratiam quippe Christi commendare intenderat, a contrariis formam constituens, et regenerationis principem principi generationis opponens." Cf. P. Platz, *Der Römerbrief in der Gnadenlehre Augustins* (Würzburg: 1937), pp. 90 ff.

to be the vehicle of the divine life which was bestowed upon him in creation and was intended for his progeny. He was to be the custodian of the life of grace not only for himself but also for his children. By his sin he turned away from God and forfeited the superadded gift of divine life not only for himself but also for all his offspring. The loss of supernatural life for all his descendants by the sin of Adam was possible because, first, he is the protoparent of all men, and, secondly, the gifts which were entrusted to his custodianship and made dependent upon his fidelity to God were not due to his nature and his children's nature, but were entirely gratuitous and superadded to man's nature. And thus through the first parent death of the soul entered into the human race and reigned thereafter in all mankind.

Jesus Christ, the second Adam, reconciles men to God and restores the lost divine life to them.<sup>168</sup> Just as there was a solidarity of all men with Adam in their fall, so there is also a oneness with the second Adam in their restoration. The difference lies in this: whereas the wills of all men were, in some manner or another, identified with the will of Adam in his fall,—since he brought them all down with himself—the wills of fallen men are free to associate themselves with Christ in their restoration. Life is restored to men in virtue of Christ's redemptive work, but by a voluntary act on the part of man who is by the same token united to Christ in the mystical body. Whoever is regenerated is united to Christ; whoever is in Christ is in His mystical body; whoever is in the mystical body is in union with God. Whoever remains in union with the body of Christ and with God to the very end, he is predestined. Predestination is a work of God because grace, a gratuitous benefit, is solely a product of God.<sup>169</sup>

The power of predestining that is proper to God is also ascribed to Jesus Christ.<sup>170</sup> It goes without saying that since pre-

<sup>168</sup> *De dono persever.*, 7, 14 (PL 45, 1001).

<sup>169</sup> *De praed. sanct.*, 18, 35 (PL 44, 986); *De dono persever.*, 7, 14 (PL 45, 1001).

<sup>170</sup> *De pecc. mer. et remis.*, II, 29, 47 (PL 44, 179; CSEL 60, 118): "Idem ipse Dominus noster hanc suam medelam, nullis generis humani temporibus ante ultimum futurum iudicium denegavit eis, quos per certissimam praescientiam et futuram beneficentiam secum regnatos in vitam praedestinavit aeternam."

destination is an act from eternity, the power of predestining does not belong to the intellectual and volitional powers of His human nature but to the intellect and will of His divine nature. To His human nature pertains the meriting of the means of salvation through which predestination is rendered possible. Christ has received from God the Father the power over every man "to free those whom He wills and to damn those whom He wills—He who shall judge the living and the dead."<sup>171</sup> He will give life everlasting to those who are "given" to Him, and not to those who are not "given" Him. But He has power over them all. Christ the head has promised a reward to all His predestined members—a reward that where He will be they also will be.<sup>172</sup>

#### ORIGINAL SIN

It is clear that grace and predestination, salvation and perdition cannot be properly understood in the full theology of St. Augustine unless they are considered against the background of original sin.<sup>173</sup> Just as St. Augustine is the universally recognized Doctor of Grace so he is also the undisputed exponent of the doctrine of original sin. Just as he is known as the second Paul because of his doctrine on grace, so he must be reputed to be the second Paul because of his doctrine on original sin. In both of these cardinal doctrines the Bishop as an exegetical commentator and as a theologian leans heavily on the Apostle of the Gentiles.<sup>174</sup> In virtue of the clash with the Pelagians "Augustine became the teacher of divine grace, the exegete of the Letter to the Romans, the preacher of predestination, the plaintiff of fallen nature."<sup>175</sup>

Regarding the Genesis account of the fall of man, Augustine interprets, in his exegetical work *De Genesi ad literam*, the narra-

<sup>171</sup> *In Io. Ev. tr.* III, I (PL 35, 1925); III, 4-5 (PL 35, 1928-29).

<sup>172</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>173</sup> For the condition of man before his fall, cf. A. Słomkowski, *L'état primitif de l'homme dans la tradition de l'Eglise avant saint Augustin* (Paris: 1928); *id.*, *Pierwotny Stan Człowieka według Nauki św. Augustyna* (Lwów: 1933).

<sup>174</sup> Cf. J. Freundorfer, *Erbsünde und Erbtod beim Apostel Paulus* (Münster im Westf.: 1927); for St. Augustine, see pp. 139-46.

<sup>175</sup> F. van der Meer, *Augustinus der Seelsorger* (Köln: 1951), p. 159.

tive of the fall of our first parents in Paradise according to the literal sense without, however, abandoning the allegorical interpretation.<sup>176</sup> In his commentary on St. Paul's classical passage referring to the origin of a universal sin,<sup>177</sup> the Bishop of Hippo was convinced that, when the Apostle said, "By one man sin entered into this world," he could only have meant original sin and not the personal sin of Adam. For the personal sin of Adam would have served as a bad example to other men, but original sin is a sin inhering as guilt in every individual. In fact the Doctor maintains that the universal existence of this true sin—although original and not personally committed—could not be more clearly expressed than it was by the words of the Apostle.<sup>178</sup>

If the word "sin" in the aforementioned Pauline text, proving the existence of a universal sin, were to be taken in the sense of a bad example, as the Pelagians had maintained, it would not have made its entrance into this world by Adam but by the devil.<sup>179</sup> In fact, Sacred Scripture describes every sin as being an imitation of the devil.<sup>180</sup> Moreover, the sin described by the Apostle is not a single, transitory transgression but an abiding disorder inhering in the soul of every man born into this world.<sup>181</sup> To substantiate this interpretation of St. Paul as the only right one the Bishop of Hippo appeals, against the obstinacy of the Pelagians, to tradition.<sup>182</sup> There was no doubt in his mind that Romans 5:12 ff. established the existence of original sin and that

<sup>176</sup> Cf. K. Frühstorfer, *Die Paradieses-Sünde* (Linz: 1929), p. 16.

<sup>177</sup> Rom. 5:12; cf. P. Platz, *Der Römerbrief in der Gnadenlehre Augustins* (Würzburg: 1937), pp. 91 ff.

<sup>178</sup> *De pecc. mer. et remis.*, I, 9, 10 (PL 44, 114; CSEL 60, 11).

<sup>179</sup> John 3:8.

<sup>180</sup> Wisdom 2:24 ff.

<sup>181</sup> J. R. Espenberger, *Die Elemente der Erbsünde nach Augustin und der Frühscholastik* (Mainz: 1905); J. Clémence, "Saint Augustin et le péché originel," *Nouvelle rev. théol.*, LX, (1942), 727-54; B. H. Vanderbergh, *Saint Augustin et le sens du péché* (Bruxelles: 1954).

<sup>182</sup> E. V. McLearn, "The Fall of Man and Original Sin in the Theology of Gregor of Nyssa," *Theological Studies*, IX (1948), 175: "When St. Augustine was accused of innovation in teaching that Adam's sin passed to his descendants, he appealed to a number of the Western and Eastern Fathers." G. Martil, *La tradición en san Agustín a través de la controversia pelagiana* (Madrid: 1943).



it was so understood by both the *Ecclesia docens*<sup>183</sup> and the *Ecclesia discens*.<sup>184</sup>

Although original sin is a habitual, lasting disorder it is not a physical substance or a positive entity. Like all evil, it is something negative. For if it is a substance, something positive, it must be good, and as such it is a participation in the goodness of God.<sup>185</sup> Nor is original sin concupiscence.<sup>186</sup> Augustine calls original sin concupiscence at times<sup>187</sup> but he is also careful to distinguish the one from the other at other times.<sup>188</sup> The close relationship of cause and effect is sufficient reason for this indulgence in a metonymic figure, just as he supplants the word "incorporation" (the effect of baptism) for the word "baptism" (the cause of incorporation). Augustine, like St. Paul<sup>189</sup> calls concupiscence a "sin," inasmuch as it comes from sin (the sin of Adam) and inasmuch as it leads to sin (personal sin):<sup>190</sup> *filia et mater peccati*. Concupiscence becomes a sin in the true sense only then when we give our consent to its solicitations.<sup>191</sup> And thus when the Council of Trent explained concupiscence to be

<sup>183</sup> *Contra Jul.*, I, 5, 20 (PL 44, 654).

<sup>184</sup> *Contra Jul.*, V, 1, 4 (PL 44, 784).

<sup>185</sup> *Confes.*, VII, 12 (PL 52, 743; ed. M. Skutella, 142): "Malumque illud quod quaerebam unde esset, non est substantia; quia si substantia esset, bonum esset. Aut enim esset incorruptibilis substantia, magnum utique bonum: aut substantia corruptibilis esset quae nisi bona esset, corrumpi non posset."

<sup>186</sup> Such is the interpretation of St. Augustine by some writers, e.g.: L. Labauche, *Leçons de théologie dogmatique* (11 ed.; Paris: 1925), p. 87: "Saint Augustin identifie le péché originel avec la concupiscence." Bartmann, *Lehrbuch der Dogmatik* (8 ed.; Freiburg im Br.: 1932), I, 298: Concupiscence constitutes "das Hauptmoment der Ersünde." J. Gross, "Das Wesen der Erbsünde nach Augustin." *Augustinus Magister* (Paris: 1954), II, 780; J. M. Hasselaar, *Erfzonde en Vrijheid* (Gravenhage: 1953), p. 47: "Concupiscence is not altogether original sin" with St. Augustine.

<sup>187</sup> *Contra Jul.*, V, 3, 8 (PL 44, 787): "Concupiscentia carnis . . . et peccatum est . . . et poena peccati."

<sup>188</sup> *De nupt. et concup.*, I, 23, 25 (PL 44, 428): "Sic autem vocatur peccatum, quia peccato facta est, cum jam in regeneratis non sit ipsa peccatum; sic vocatur lingua locutio, quam facit lingua, et manus vocatur scriptura, quam facit manus."

<sup>189</sup> Rom. 7:17.

<sup>190</sup> *Contra duas ep. Pelag.*, I, 13, 27 (PL 44, 563); *Contra Jul.*, VI, 13, 40 (PL 44, 844); *Op. imp. contra Jul.*, II, 226 (PL 45, 1243).

<sup>191</sup> *De perf. just. hom.*, 21, 44 (PL 44, 316; CSEL 42, 47): "Non autem peccare, qui eidem peccato, quamvis in carne habitanti, ad nullum opus malum omnino consensit, vel facti, vel dicti, vel cogitati, quamvis ipsa con-

a "sin" in the sense that it originates from sin and makes one prone to sin—*ex peccato est et ad peccatum inclinatus*<sup>192</sup>—the Council follows the lead of the African Bishop.<sup>193</sup>

The most basic cause of the disorder in the soul of man is the lack of the proper orientation to God—a condition which has been induced by the sin of Adam. Instead of being turned toward God and of approaching Him by the steps of his morally good and salutary deeds, every man is from birth turned away from God and whatever he accomplishes in this condition, no matter how good and lofty it may appear, it is without value in the eyes of God who has established a standard of His own values. The element which unites one with God and orients him properly to God was, in the case of Adam, the grace bestowed by God, and in the case of every other man the grace merited by Christ and conferred in union with the mystical body of Christ.<sup>194</sup>

Concupiscence is not an evil substance as the Manicheans taught, nor is it a natural sensitive appetite as the Pelagians maintained. It has genetic and moral implications. Emotions are one thing and evil desires another.<sup>195</sup> Concupiscence is an evil, or rather the core of evils, because it is the cause of the struggle between the flesh and the spirit; it is an incentive which draws us, notwithstanding our unwillingness, toward sin; it is a disorder

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cupiscentia moveatur, quae alio modo peccati nomen accepit, quod ei consentire peccare sit, nobisque moveatur invitis."

<sup>192</sup> *Concilium Tridentinum, Diariorum, Actorum, Epistularum, Tractatum Nova Collectio*; ed. Societas Goerresiana (Friburgi Brisgoviae: 1901 ff.), V, 239.

<sup>193</sup> *De nupt. et concup.*, I, 23, 25 (PL 44, 428; CSEL 42, 238).

<sup>194</sup> In agreement with this interpretation is J. Mausbach, *Die Ethik des heiligen Augustinus* (Freiburg im Br.: 1909), pp. 187–88: Original sin consists in a "Verlust der geistigen Lebensverbindung mit Gott, in den bleibenden Abgewendetsein der Seele von Gott." In disagreement is J. de Blic, "Le péché originel selon saint Augustin," *Rech. de science rel.*, XVII (1927), 416–33, who maintains that in Augustine the loss or want of grace is not the constitutive element of original sin; N. Merlin, *Saint Augustin et les dogmes du péché originel et la grâce* (Paris: 1931), p. 372, where he says that original sin consists in a twofold element: a material, being the state of insubordination, and this is tantamount to concupiscence, and a formal, being a *reatus* or an obligation of satisfying the divine justice for the disorder common to all.

<sup>195</sup> *Op. imp. contra Jul.*, IV, 29 (PL 45, 1353): "Alia est vis sentiendi, aliud vitium concupiendi."

which inclines us to prefer created goods to eternal ones.<sup>196</sup> Essentially it consists in an insubordination of the lower man to the higher one—of his sensual appetites to his rational faculties.<sup>197</sup> This disordered condition does not arise from some positive element transmitted into human nature, but from a defect, a deficiency of strength on the part of the spirit. It may be compared to the lameness in the legs or some malady affecting the members.<sup>198</sup> It is called a *languor*, a *morbis*, a *naturae vitium*, a *malum*; it stems from the sin of the protoparent and on that account it is a punishment.<sup>199</sup> "Affectio est quaedam malae qualitatis sicut languor."<sup>200</sup>

This capital text of St. Paul, Romans 5:12 ff., serves theologians as a guide in their study of the origin of the human soul.<sup>201</sup> It is an aid to solving the question regarding the transmission of the personal sins of parents to their progeny.<sup>202</sup> From it many other passages of Sacred Writ receive their elucidation and full meaning. Original sin offers a ready and simple explanation for the sufferings universally afflicting mankind,<sup>203</sup> although it does not constitute the only possible explanation.<sup>204</sup> The wise men of old surmised that the miseries weighing down upon man were a

<sup>196</sup> *De mendacio*, 7, 10 (PL 40, 496; CSEL 41, 428).

<sup>197</sup> *Contra Jul.*, V, 3, 8 (PL 44, 787).

<sup>198</sup> *De perf. just. hom.*, 2, 4 (PL 44, 294; CSEL 42, 5).

<sup>199</sup> *Contra Jul.*, V, 3, 8 (PL 44, 787).

<sup>200</sup> *De nupt. et concup.*, I, 25, 28 (PL 44, 430; CSEL 42, 240).

<sup>201</sup> *De Gen. ad. lit.*, X, 11-16, 18-19 (PL 34, 415-20; CSEL 28, 307-17); *Ep.* 166, 9, 27 (PL 33, 722; CSEL 44, 583); *Ep.* 190, 1, 3 (PL 33, 858; CSEL 57, 130); *De anima et ejus orig.*, I, 17, 28 (PL 44, 491; CSEL 60, 328); *ibid.*, II, 14, 20 (PL 44, 491-507; CSEL 60, 355).

<sup>202</sup> *Contra Jul.*, VI, 7, 21 (PL 44, 835); cf. J. Mausbach, *Die Ethik des hl. Augustinus* (Freiburg im Br.: 1929), II, 169.

<sup>203</sup> *Contra Jul.*, VI, 12, 39 (PL 44, 843); *De civ. Dei*, XXI, 15 (PL 41, 729; ed. Dombart-Kalb, II, 518); *Op. imp.*, I, 25 (PL 45, 1061); *ibid.*, VI, 9 (PL 45, 1517); *ibid.*, VI, 27 (PL 45, 1574). Cf. St. Thomas, *Contra Gentes*, IV, 52, where he expressly states that the miseries plaguing man form only a probable argument for the existence of original sin.

<sup>204</sup> Cf. C. Boyer: "Dieu pouvait-il créer l'homme dans l'état d'ignorance et de difficulté?" *Essais sur la doctrine de St. Augustin* (Paris: 1932), pp. 266-71; Y. de Montcheuil, "L'hypothèse de l'état originel d'ignorance et de difficulté d'après le 'De libero arbitrio' de saint Augustin," *Rech. de science relig.*, XXIII (1933), 197-221; *Mélanges théologiques* (Paris: 1946), pp. 93-111; C. Boyer, "La concupiscence est-elle impossible dans un état d'innocence?" *Augustinus Magister* (Paris: 1954), II, 737-44; G. P. Dwyer, *St. Augustine and the Possibility of State of Pure Nature* (Rome: 1937);

punishment consequent upon some wrongdoing. But the real reason for these afflictions was not pervious to the natural light of their unaided reason; it had to be made manifest by the light of the revealing God.<sup>205</sup>

St. Augustine clearly shows that the words of St. Paul, "Wherefore as by one man sin entered this world and by sin death; and so death passed upon all men, in whom all have sinned,"<sup>206</sup> constitute the classical proof for the existence of a sin inhering in the souls of all men upon their entrance into this world. His exegesis left an imprint upon the succeeding generations of Latin Fathers. The Scholastics and the following schools of theology are unanimous in accepting his doctrine on original sin and the given text of the Epistle to the Romans as being the source of the teaching.<sup>207</sup> Finally, the Church through the Council of Trent approved the use of this same text as the source of the revelation for the existence of original sin.<sup>208</sup>

A summary of St. Augustine's exegesis on Romans 5:12-21 follows.<sup>209</sup> Throughout the length of this passage there is a comparison between Adam and Christ. The comparison hinges about two main points: the likeness that exists between Adam and Christ, and the excellence and superiority of Christ over Adam. As might be expected, the description of Christ's pre-eminence over Adam is more forceful than the portrayal of the likeness existing between both. Augustine's attention has been absorbed by the words of verse 12 ("by one man sin entered into this world. . .") to the extent that verses 18 and 19, setting forth the likenesses of both, have almost disappeared from his vision.

In the eyes of God all men are sinners, because sin has entered this world through the protoparent, Adam. Just as all men stem from him, all are affected by it. Hence the wrath of God rests

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A. Trapè, "Un celebre testo de Sant' Agostino sull' 'Ignoranza e la difficoltà,'" *Augustinus Magister* (Paris: 1954), II, 795-803.

<sup>205</sup> *Contra Jul.*, IV, 15, 77 (PL 44, 728); V, 14, 51 (PL 44, 812).

<sup>206</sup> *Rom.* 5:12.

<sup>207</sup> J. R. Espenberger, *Die Elemente der Erbsünde nach Augustin und der Scholastik* (Mainz: 1905).

<sup>208</sup> *Concilium Tridentinum, Diariorum, Actorum, Epistularum, Tractatum Nova Collectio*; ed. Societas Goerresiana (Friburgi Brisgoviae: 1901 ff.), V, 238 ff.

<sup>209</sup> Cf. Platz, *op. cit.*, pp. 120-21.



on all men. The influence of Adam's fall is not confined to being a bad example which his children imitate and in consequence of their own actions bring damnation upon themselves. It is actually and really a sin—a deprivation of divine life and a disordered condition—transmitted from Adam to his children and in turn from these to their descendants by the medium of the paternal seed. In consequence of original sin mankind has become "a universal mass,"<sup>210</sup> "a mass of clay,"<sup>211</sup> "a mass of sin,"<sup>212</sup> "a mass of perdition."<sup>213</sup> "We are formed according to flesh by death-bringing generation, and we have all become a mass of clay, which is a mass of sin."<sup>214</sup> The concept of "mass," from the Greek *phyrama*, i.e., that which is kneaded leaven, is drawn from the same Epistle to the Romans: "Hath not the potter power over the clay, of the same lump (*ex eadem massa-phyrama*) to make one vessel into honor and another into dishonor?"<sup>215</sup> The image of St. Paul is applied to sinful humanity by *Ambrosiaster*.<sup>216</sup> St. Augustine makes use of it for the same purpose in his commentary on the Romans,<sup>217</sup> and then on many occasions.<sup>218</sup>

<sup>210</sup> *De nat. et grat.*, 8, 9 (PL 44, 251; CSEL 60, 238): "universa massa"; *De civ. Dei*, XIV, 26 (PL 41, 435; ed. Dombart-Kalb, II, 54): "Universa massa tamquam in vitiata radice damnata."

<sup>211</sup> *Expos. ex. ep. ad Rom.*, prop. 62 (PL 35, 2081): "massa luti."

<sup>212</sup> *De div. quaest. ad Simpl.*, I, 2, 16 (PL 40, 121): "Una quaedam massa peccati, supplicium debens divinae summaeque iustitiae."

<sup>213</sup> *De grat. Christi*, II, 29, 34 (PL 44, 402; CSEL 42, 194): "universa massa perditionis." *Contra duas ep. Pel.*, II, 7, 13 (PL 44, 580; CSEL 60; ed. C. Urba and J. Zycha, 473).

<sup>214</sup> *De div. quaest. LXXXIII*, 68, 3 (PL 40, 71): "Secundum carnem mortali generatione formamur, et omnes una massa luti facti sumus, quod est massa peccati."

<sup>215</sup> Rom. 9:21; cf. G. Krüger, *Augustin, der Mann und sein Werk* (Giesen: 1930), p. 11.

<sup>216</sup> *Ambrosiaster, In Ep. ad Rom.* V, 12 (PL 17, 92): "Manifestum est itaque omnes peccasse quasi in massa." Cf. *Oeuvres de saint Augustin*, v. IX: "Exposés généraux de la foi," by J. Rivière (Paris: 1947), pp. 345-46, n. 13; B. Leeming, "Augustine, Ambrosiaster, and the 'massa perditionis,'" *Gregorianum*, XI (1930), 58-91; E. Buonaiuti, "Pelagio e l'Ambrosiastro," *Ricerche Religiose*, IV (1928), 11 ff.

<sup>217</sup> *Expos. quorumdam propos. ex ep. ad Rom.*, prop. 62 (PL 35, 2081): "Quamdiu figmentum es, inquit, et ad massam luti pertines. . . ." Cf. *Oeuvres de saint Augustin*, v. X, "Introduction to the *De diversis quaestionibus LXXXIII*" by G. Bardy (Paris: 1952), p. 44.

<sup>218</sup> O. Rottmanner, *Der Augustinismus*, p. 8, tr., *L'augustinisme, étude d'histoire doctrinale* (Paris: 1949), pp. 33-34, where texts occur in which

In consequence of sin every human being is punished by both corporeal and spiritual death. Death of the soul and death of the body have been inherited by all men because all have sinned in Adam (v. 12). More than once in the said passage does the Apostle emphasize the universality of original sin, which like a deluge spreads over all men (vv. 18 and 19). Surely a palpable indication that all men inherit the sin of Adam are children who do not sin and who cannot die as a consequence of their personal sins, but who nevertheless die as a result of original sin. The same is true of adults who, living before the time of the Mosaic legislation, were not threatened by God with the punishment of death for their personal sins, yet they too succumbed to death (v. 14).

In St. Paul's presentation, Christ's redemptive work does not exhaust itself in recovering the losses which the sin of Adam brought to mankind. For Christ is more excellent than the proto-parent who left upon his progeny the image of sin and death (v. 14). Even if the number of the chosen is smaller than the number of the damned, the richness of the grace of Christ is manifest in this, that from Adam on man remains subject to temporal death but attains life eternal from Christ (v. 15). Although the sin of Adam brings eternal death and damnation, the grace of Christ brings pardon not only to this one sin inherited from Adam, but also to the many personal sins superadded to the original one. These thoughts the Apostle of the Gentiles does not tire of repeating in order to impress them on the minds of the readers (vv. 17 and 20).

Around these thoughts of St. Paul Augustine forms his doctrine of original sin and redemption. Men are reclaimed from the universal mass corrupted by sin through the unmerited grace of Christ.<sup>219</sup> He as mediator reconciles us with God and thus de-

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the concept of *massa* is employed. He says: "Aucune idée n'est plus courante chez lui que celle de la *massa justae damnationis*, ou de la *justa damnatio massae*, de la *Adami massa*, quae profecto ex uno in condemnationem tota collapsa est."

<sup>219</sup> *Sermo* 293, 8 (PL 38, 1333); *Sermo* 294, 14-15 (PL 38, 1344); *Sermo* 144, 1 (PL 38, 788); *Sermo* 165, 7, 9 (PL 38, 907); *De nat. et grat.*, 39, 46 (PL 44, 269 f.; CSEL 60, 267); *De perf. just. hom.*, 21, 44 (PL 44, 306; CSEL 42, 47); *Ep.* 177, 11 (PL 33, 769; CSEL 44, 679); *Ep.* 179, 6 (PL 33, 776; CSEL 44, 694); *Ep.* 186, 19 (PL 33, 823; CSEL 57, 61); *Op. imperf.*, I, 126 (PL 45, 1128).

livers us from the "mass of perdition" by the grace of redemption.<sup>220</sup> It is impious to assert that "there can be men freed and saved from sin without the mediatorship of Jesus Christ who alone delivers and saves from sin."<sup>221</sup> For its restoration fallen human nature needs a physician who himself is not subject to its own misery and ills.<sup>222</sup> Such a one is Jesus Christ who, "born of the Holy Ghost and the Virgin Mary," was outside the masculine lineal descent which transmits the sin of Adam.<sup>223</sup> Without Him and His grace there can be no justification, no life eternal, no predestination.<sup>224</sup> His grace brings us the Holy Ghost, transforms us from enemies into sons of God,<sup>225</sup> restores the original image of God in man,<sup>226</sup> incorporates us into His mystical body here upon earth and prepares us for His mystical body in heaven.

Nevertheless St. Augustine is of the opinion that as a result of the sin of Adam the number of those who do not attain salvation, and therefore are not predestined, exceeds those who attain life everlasting through the grace of Christ. Even so those who will constitute Christ's heavenly mystical body, and who are therefore predestined, will form a countless multitude.<sup>227</sup> The difficulty arising out of the words: "In Christ all shall be made alive,"<sup>228</sup> Augustine interprets in the sense that no one is made alive unless through Him. In like manner does he solve the difficulty that obtrudes itself from Romans 5:18: "As by the offense of one, unto all men to condemnation: so also by the justice of one, unto all men to justification of life." Augustine answers: As no one is born to corporal life without contracting the stain of original sin from Adam, so likewise no one is reborn to spir-

<sup>220</sup> *Ench.*, 33, 10 (PL 40, 249): "Per mediatorem reconciliamur Deo."

<sup>221</sup> *De perf. just. hom.*, 21, 44 (PL 44, 316; CSEL 42, 47).

<sup>222</sup> *De grat. Christi*, II, 29, 34 (PL 44, 402; CSEL 42, 193); *De nupt. et concup.*, II, 3, 9 (PL 44, 441; CSEL 42, 261).

<sup>223</sup> *Ench.*, 34 (PL 40, 249): "Nam nihil naturae humanae in illa susceptione fas est dicere defuisse; sed naturae ab omni peccati nexu omni modo liberae."

<sup>224</sup> *De nat. et grat.*, 9, 10 (PL 40, 252; CSEL 60, 238).

<sup>225</sup> *Ench.*, 33, 10 (PL 40, 249).

<sup>226</sup> *De spir. et lit.*, 27, 47 (PL 44, 229; CSEL 60, 201).

<sup>227</sup> Apocalypse 7:9.

<sup>228</sup> I Cor. 15:22: "Et sicut in Adam omnes moriuntur, ita et in Christo omnes vivificabuntur."

itual life except through Christ.<sup>229</sup> For the sake of illustration, the Bishop adduces the example of a grammar teacher in some locality, of whom it is said that all the inhabitants learn their language from him, not because all learn it, but because no one learns it unless through Him.<sup>230</sup>

In the theology of St. Augustine there is an undertone of pessimism—the fall of the protoparent, the infection of the whole human race with original sin and its consequences, the multitudes of personal offenders of God and finally the reprobation of many—but there are overtones of optimism—the Incarnation of Christ, His redemption of the human race, His headship in the Church, His grace, and the divine predestination.

God loving His creation and the capability of man to love God and to attain one's happiness in God is the sun bringing light, cheerfulness, and joy to the heart of man and brightness to the whole universe. Divine love permeates the divine work and offers itself to man, but neither sin nor hell will frustrate the divine plan. If God cannot make men sharers of His love in and through the Church, the body of His Incarnate Son, He will make them participants of His justice in and through damnation. The universe is the effect of His divine love so that every created being bears the stamp of His love on itself. The redemption of man is preeminently the work of God's love; the adoption of man by God and the assimilation to Him come from it. Man and life, history and time are enveloped in the circulatory motion of love descending from God and leading back to God. In the union of man with God, climaxed in the beatific vision, all creation attains its end. Love and glory of God will be realized in the good angels, in the just who have reached heaven, and above all in Christ Jesus, in whom all creatures are embodied (recapitulated)—and this is the perfect and eternal mystical body of Christ.

<sup>229</sup> *De pecc. mer. et remis.*, I, 15, 19 (PL 44, 119 f.; CSEL 60, 19); *ibid.*, I, 28, 55 (PL 44, 140; CSEL 60, 53-54); *Sermo* 293, 8 (PL 38, 1333); *De nat. et grat.*, 41, 48 (PL 44, 270); *Ep.* 157, 3, 13 (PL 33, 680; CSEL 44, 460); *ibid.*, 187, 9, 31 (PL 33, 844; CSEL 57, 109); *De nupt. et conc.*, II, 27, 46 (PL 44, 463; CSEL, 42, 299); *Contra Jul.*, VI, 4, 9 (PL 44, 827); *ibid.*, 24, 80 (PL 44, 871); *Ench.*, 14, (PL 40, 256); *Op. imperf.*, II, 135 ff. (PL 45, 1197 f.).

<sup>230</sup> *Contra Jul.*, II, 209 (PL 45, 1231); cf. also *De pecc. mer. et remis.*, I, 28, 55 (PL 44, 140; CSEL 60, 54); *De nat. et grat.*, 41, 48 (PL 44, 271; CSEL 42, 299); *Contra Jul.*, VI, 24, 80 (PL 44, 871).



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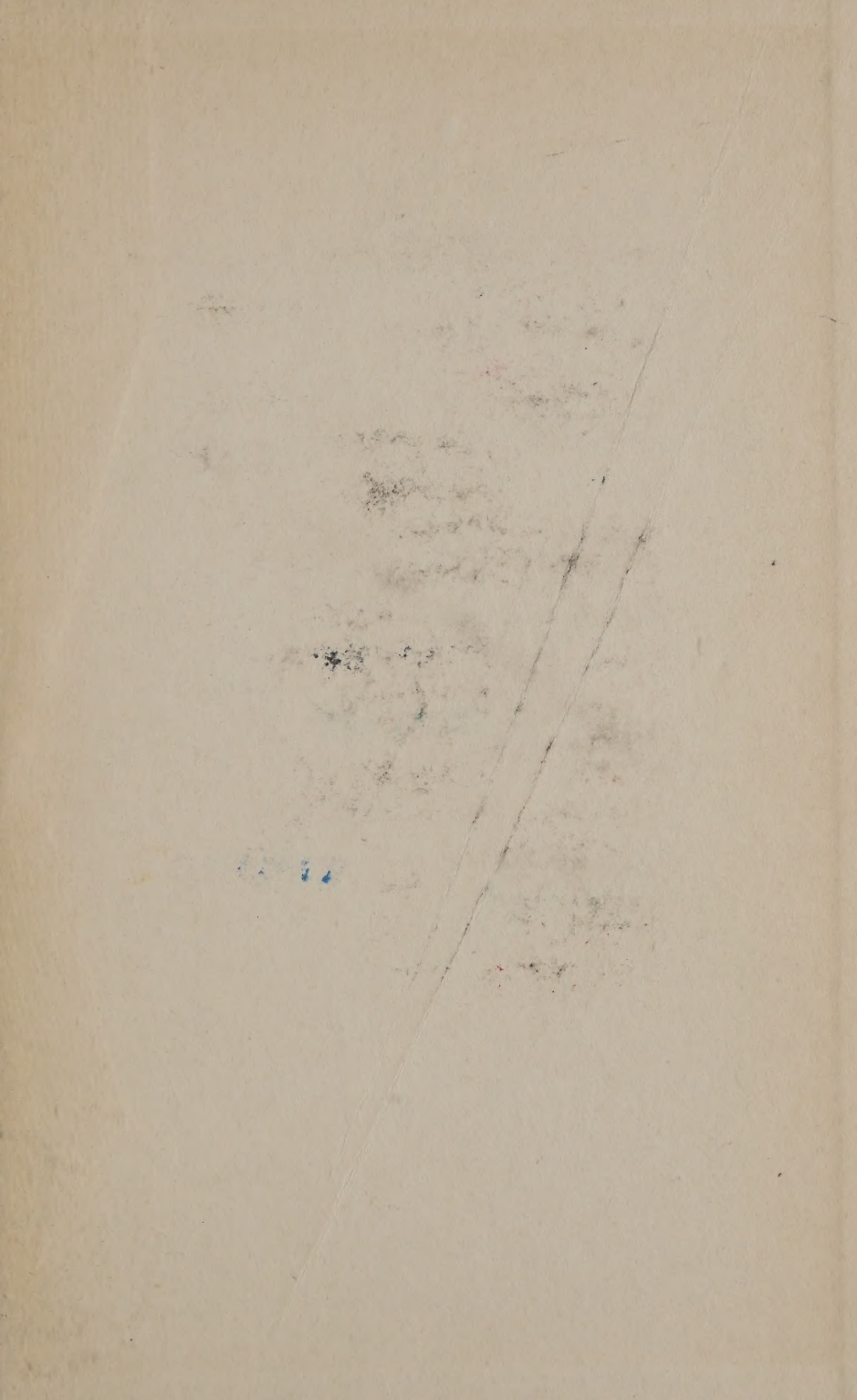






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